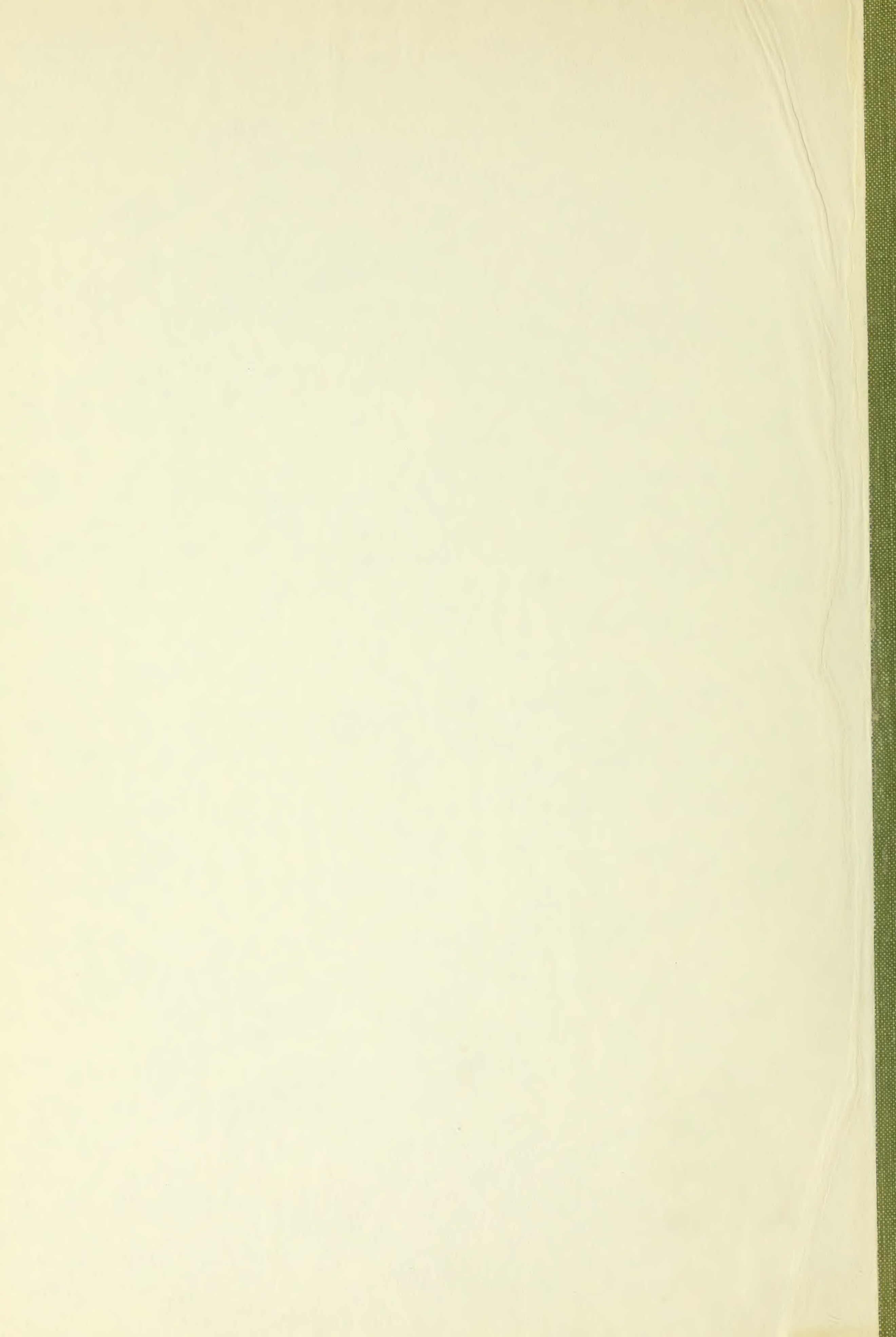
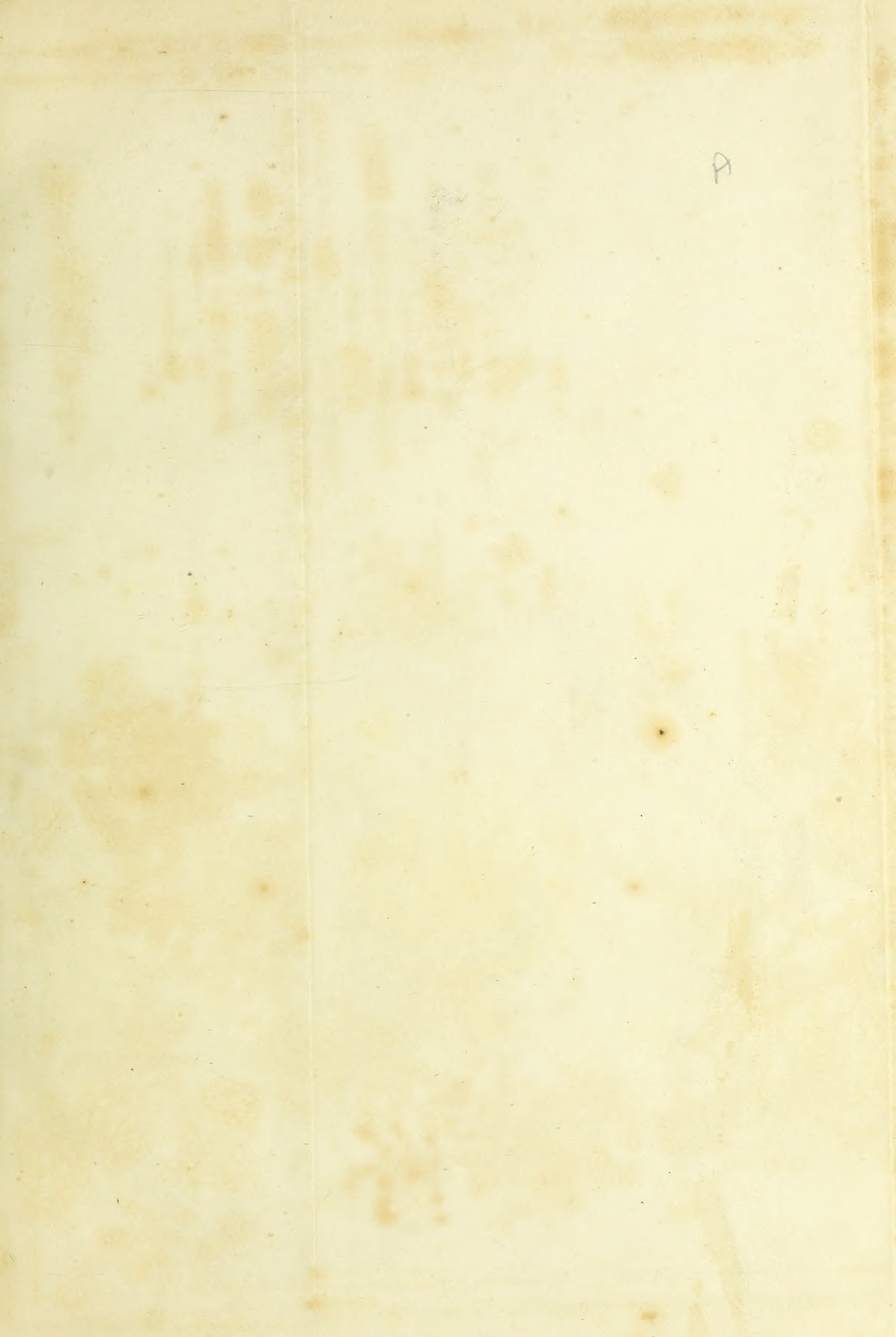













Map of Syria,
with the Route pursued by
Mr BUCKINGHAM,
in his Travels among the
ARAB TRIBES on the EAST of the JORDAN,
including a great portion of the
ANCIENT AURANITES or MODERN HAURAN,
with the newly ascertained positions in the intermediate districts of
Palestine & Syria,
from the
DEAD SEA to ALEPPO.
Drawn & Engraved by Sidy Hall.
English Miles.
5 10 20 30 40 50
Longitude East from Greenwich
London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, Paternoster Row, Decr 1824.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ALEPPO
DAMASCUS
TRIPOLI
Palmyra
Hhamah
Homs
Balbeck
JERUSALEM
BAHR LOUT
R. Euphrates
Scanderoon or Iskenderun Bay
PLAINS OF HOMS and HHAMAH

TRAVELS

AMONG

THE ARAB TRIBES

INHABITING THE COUNTRIES

EAST OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE,

INCLUDING A JOURNEY

FROM NAZARETH TO THE MOUNTAINS BEYOND THE DEAD SEA,

AND FROM THENCE THROUGH THE

PLAINS OF THE HAURAN

TO

BOZRA, DAMASCUS, TRIPOLY, LEBANON, BAALBECK,

AND BY THE VALLEY OF THE ORONTES

TO SELEUCIA, ANTIOCH, AND ALEPPO.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A REFUTATION OF CERTAIN UNFOUNDED CALUMNIES
INDUSTRIOUSLY CIRCULATED AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF THIS WORK, BY MR. LEWIS BURCKHARDT,
MR. WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, AND THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN PALESTINE AND THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE JORDAN;
MEMBER OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF BOMBAY AND MADRAS,
AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

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TO

BENJAMIN BABINGTON, Esq.

THIS

VOLUME OF TRAVELS

IS

GRATEFULLY DEDICATED,

AS

A TOKEN OF THE SINCERE ESTEEM AND REGARD

OF

HIS AFFECTIONATE AND FAITHFUL FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

It is now three years since I had the pleasure of laying before the public a volume of Travels in Palestine, through the countries of Bashan and Gilead, and the region of the Decapolis, East of the River Jordan. The flattering reception given to that work by the literary world in general, and the uniform testimony of the principal critics of the day to its merits, occasioned it to pass rapidly into a second edition; when the Quarterly Review, which had been convicted, by certain passages in these Travels, of glaring errors in its criticisms on the works of others, put forth one of the most slanderous articles that ever appeared even in its pre-eminently slanderous pages, with a view to condemn and destroy (as far as its malignant influence could effect such destruction,) what almost every periodical publication in England had before commended, with the most unequivocal appearance of sincerity and good faith.

Being then in India, I was unable to do more than publish a Reply there to the aspersions of this Review, for criticisms they

could not be called; and this was done without a moment's delay. Circumstances, over which I had no control, prevented the republication of this Reply in England, from which, no doubt, many must have inferred that nothing had appeared elsewhere. Having myself, however, been compelled to leave India, and return to this country, from causes sufficiently well known to the public to render any detail of them in this place quite unnecessary, I have embraced the earliest opportunity, which a suspension of my struggles to obtain redress for the injuries I have received from the East India government, now fortunately admits, to bring before the public the present volume of Travels among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the countries East of Syria and Palestine, in the hope of its being found still more worthy their approbation than the former one, already named.

The calumnies of the Quarterly Review, with the complete refutation by which I was enabled to repel them as soon as they appeared in India; the unfounded aspersions of the late Mr. Burckhardt, with an exposition of their falsehood by the very individual cited by him as an authority for his facts; and the unparalleled conduct of Mr. William John Bankes, Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, and son of Mr. Henry Bankes, the Member for Corfe Castle; with a complete exposure of the unwarrantable proceedings of the father and son, in an attempt to suppress my work, in which they succeeded for nearly two years, by deterring Mr. Murray, the bookseller, from fulfilling his engagement, after it had been finally made binding on his part; are all included in an Appendix at the end of the present volume.

The reader is, therefore, earnestly requested not to close the book without glancing through the Appendix in question, where he will find, among other attractive pieces, the following choice *morceaux* to repay his attention:—Some fragments of letters from the late Mr. Burckhardt to myself, sent to me from Egypt and Arabia, full of the most friendly professions and assurances.—Portions of a paper shortly afterwards circulated among others, and without my knowledge, by the same Mr. Burckhardt, full of the most infamous aspersions on my character; citing as his authority for many of the facts, a gentleman who positively denies, in writing, having ever made many of the assertions imputed to him!—Letters of Mr. William John Bankes, addressed to me in Syria, after we had travelled together for a considerable time, acknowledging the superiority of my activity in writing, and the greater accuracy of my judgment in observing, as compared with his own; admitting his having read my notes, and expressing a hope that I should not be ashamed to see my name associated with his in any joint literary undertaking.—A Letter from the same individual, sent from Thebes at a subsequent period, insinuating that I had never written any notes of my own at all; and stating my ignorance to be such that I could not even copy a Greek inscription, and did not know a Turkish building from a Roman one!—A Letter from Mr. Henry Bankes, senior, to Mr. Murray the bookseller, cautioning him against publishing any thing of mine on Syria, as his son was soon expected in England; and desiring that my work should be suppressed, until his son could get his materials on the same country published before me!—A Letter from Mr. William Gifford, the editor of the Quarterly Review, to Mr. Murray, acknowledging that my manuscript was interesting and

important in some degree, but recommending him to retrench forty or fifty pages of my volume, under the pretence of its containing blasphemy of so powerful and influential a nature, that it would not be safe to put it even into the hands of the printers, as they, he supposed, had souls to be saved as well as other men, and could not read it without being inevitably corrupted, and thus becoming subject to everlasting damnation! adding, however, that with all this, he rather wished the work to be published.—A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, acknowledging the perusal of several portions of the work, (the whole of the manuscript being placed in his hands for revision,) without objecting to the use of any expressions, except that of the word "supernatural" instead of "miraculous," in alluding to some scriptural event.—A Letter from the Rev. Dr. Burder, a celebrated author and Christian Divine, characterising the very same volume, which Mr. William Gifford declared to be too full of blasphemy to be trusted even in the hands of the printers, as the very best book of Travels he had ever met with on the country of which it treated, and one that could not fail to stand high in that class of literature to which it belonged.—The article from the Quarterly Review itself, in which not a single proof of blasphemy is fairly established against this alleged magazine of "infidelity and obscenity," though the forty or fifty pages that Mr. Gifford had advised to be blotted out, to prevent the eternal perdition of the printers, had neither been obliterated nor retrenched.—And lastly, a Reply to the calumnies of Mr. Burckhardt, Mr. Bankes, and the Quarterly Review, as well as to various writers in India who followed in their steps, and whose continued aspersions were no doubt greatly instrumental in provoking that hostile feeling on the part of the

government of India, by which I was so unjustly, without a trial or a hearing, banished from that country, while I was proceeding in an action for damages against those slanderers, in the Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta; when, no justification being in the slightest degree proved, damages were awarded against them accordingly.

These remarkable documents, placed as they are in illustrative juxtaposition, will, it is hoped, reward the attention of even the most indolent and indifferent; and it is, therefore, with a view to lessen the chances of their escaping the reader's attention, that I advert to them so pointedly in the Preface; again repeating my urgent request, that he will examine the evidence therein developed, for himself, and let it have its due weight on his mind, in estimating the real merits of the question.

I pass from this subject, to advert to a few of the more prominent circumstances connected with the preparation of the present volume, and on which I desire to found my claim to some degree of indulgence for any imperfections which it may be supposed to display.

The notes of the journey, copious as they were in their original form, were taken under all the disadvantages of Asiatic travelling, which are now so well known as to require little more than a bare mention to be immediately understood. They continued in this state, from the period of their being first made in 1816, up to the moment of my quitting India in 1823. The same may be said of the sketches, which were rude and

imperfect even at first, as I never pretended to greater skill in this, than the capacity to preserve a general idea, in outline, of remarkable buildings and striking views, and never intended these for any thing more than to assist my memory in preserving more accurate recollections of the scenes to which they related. It must be evident, however, that after a lapse of seven years, (my mind, during that period, being wholly engrossed with pursuits of so different a nature, that these had never any share whatever in my thoughts,) the difficulty of retouching, enlarging, and filling up, either the one or the other class of such materials, must be extremely great. With this conviction, I preferred not attempting it to any extensive degree; and though I feel that this will be considered a defect in the estimation of those who desire to see all works sent from the hands of their authors in the most polished state; yet, to those who value Books of Travels chiefly for the vivid freshness and reality of the descriptions, and the rigorous fidelity with which impressions received on the spot are preserved, I am also persuaded that this roughness and boldness of the original picture will be far more acceptable than a more highly polished tablet, in which the spirit might have been refined away by too much care in the subsequent retouching.

The original notes were put into form for publication, with such slight emendations only as the connection of the narrative required, on my late voyage from India to England; and, as I was then altogether without books of reference connected with the countries to which these notes relate, there are much fewer illustrations and quotations from older writers in the present volume than in the former one. The abundance of these was urged by

some, indeed, as giving the Travels in Palestine too learned and heavy a character for a volume aiming at popularity. Such a defect (if indeed it be one), will not at least be observable in the present; though I have not wholly overlooked the interest which such illustrations, when sparingly and appropriately given, possess even for the general reader, and have accordingly introduced them where they appeared to me most required.

The map of Syria, with the route pursued by me through it, has been constructed by Mr. Sydney Hall, from the manuscript journals of my track, and from the numerous sets of bearings and distances taken by me at almost every station of note on the way. It will be found to include a considerable number of places, the names of which are entirely new, and the positions of which occupy points that were hitherto blank in our best maps of the country in which they are situated.

The Vignettes at the head of the Chapters were drawn partly from rude sketches made on the spot by myself; partly from written descriptions of particular scenes, carefully noted in sight of them, and afterwards embodied into form; and in a very few instances from portions only of the beautiful views of Casas, in the western parts of Syria; which will still be new to the greatest number of English readers. These last, however, do not amount to more than six out of the twenty-eight which the present volume contains.* They are all appropriately illustrative of the

* They are those at Chapters 1. 20. 21. 23. 26. 27.;—and are thus purposely indicated to prevent misrepresentation.

costume, architecture, manners, and natural scenery of the several portions of country described in the chapters to which they are prefixed, and as such it is hoped that they will be approved.

The whole of these have been drawn on the wood, by W. H. Brooke, Esq., of Percy Street, an artist of the most distinguished and justly deserved celebrity in this particular branch of his profession, and of exquisite taste and great power in every other department of the labours of the pencil. They have been engraved by different hands, and vary, therefore, in the merit of their execution; but even in this respect they are generally so well executed that they cannot fail to be acceptable.

The greatest attraction of the present volume, will, however, undoubtedly be its containing the fullest and most accurate descriptions of numerous ruined towns and cities in the Great Plain of the Haurān, the ancient Auranites, the very names of many of which have not before been made public; as well as faithful pictures of the state of manners in these highly interesting and almost untrodden regions, which are likely to afford matter of agreeable consideration to readers of all classes.

In the hope that this portion of my labours will be found still more worthy than preceding ones of the approbation of the world, I consign it to the tribunal of public opinion, to receive its just sentence of neglect, of censure, or of praise.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park,
London, December 1. 1824.

CONTENTS.

ILLUSTRATIONS AT THE HEADS OF CHAPTERS.



CHAPTER I.

FROM NAZARETH, THROUGH THE VALLEY OF THE JORDAN, TO ASSALT.

Nazareth, Tuesday, February 20. 1816.—My previous excursions in Syria had so impressed me with the difficulty of getting to Damascus or Aleppo from hence, in the present state of the country, and the consequent delay I should experience in the prosecution of my intended journey to India (by the route of the caravans from the latter city), that I thought it best to ascertain if there were any hopes of my being able to proceed from hence to Assalt, a town on the east of the Jordan; from thence to Karak, on the east of the Dead Sea; and so on through the Bedouin tribes that encamp on the Desert from the borders of Palestine to the banks of the Euphrates, and from that stream to the Tigris and the neighbourhood of Baghdad.

As the town of Nazareth is constantly frequented by persons from Assalt, who come here to purchase many of their supplies, there happened to be a party just now on the point of setting out on their return to that place; which furnished an excellent opportunity of journeying thus far in their company. To render myself as secure of accomplishing this as possible, I sought after a guide, and succeeded in procuring a Christian Arab of Nazareth, named Georgis, who had often been at Assalt, and knew most of the residents there, and who consented to accompany me on very easy conditions: I therefore closed with him, as my enquiries had been answered in a manner that strengthened my hopes of being able to accomplish the ultimate object of my wishes in getting to Baghdad by the route proposed. As, however, caution and secrecy are necessary to be observed by those who study their safety on journies in the East, I abstained from communicating to any one, in direct terms, the full extent of my intended progress in this direction, leaving this until I should be able to ascertain at Assalt or Karak how far it was certain of being successfully attained.

Mr. Bankes, my former companion in our journey from Jerusalem to Jerash, had a great desire to accompany me as far as Assalt; but an excursion to Nablous, for which he had made some engagements that could not well be put off, rendered this impracticable, without involving a further delay on my part, which my desire to get to my destination as speedily as possible would not permit. I accordingly began to prepare for this new and hazardous journey, among the people of a country hitherto untravelled by Europeans. My Turkish clothes were laid aside, and their place supplied by a Bedouin Arab dress of the meanest kind; as it was thought safest and best to assume the appearance of extreme poverty, in order to lessen, as much as possible, the temptation to robbery or molestation on the way. The few papers that I possessed were rolled up in a small and dirty sack, or purse, of coarse cloth, and the little money that I intended to take with me on my way was concealed in the *keffeah*, or Arab handkerchief, which covered my head. My

only arms were an old crooked *yembeah*, or dagger, and a common musket, with a few ball cartridges and a leathern bottle of priming powder. My letter of credit, being on Aleppo, had not yet been made use of for the defraying my expences; but as the wants of my intended route across the Desert were likely to be supplied without either frequent or large demands for money, I had still enough with me to meet all probable charges that might occur before I reached my journey's end. The horse on which I rode, with all its furniture, was my own; of clothes, I considered that I should require little or none; and a scanty supply of provisions was all that could be needed: so that, under all the circumstances of the case, I felt myself as well prepared for the journey as the occasion demanded, or as prudence would permit. It was right, however, in undertaking a route of such uncertainty and risk, that I should calculate on the possibility of a failure at least; and to provide against this, I entrusted all that I was obliged to leave behind me at Nazareth, in the form of baggage, to the care of Mr. Bankes, who undertook to have it conveyed to Damascus; to which city, if I should be unable to penetrate across the desert beyond Karak, it was my intention to return by the shortest route, which would be through the Hauran, and from thence proceed as circumstances might direct: this, however, for the reason before mentioned, I refrained from communicating to others, as the knowledge of my intentions *might* impede their accomplishment, while it could answer no beneficial purpose, either to myself or others.

When I retired to repose, it was not without many reflections and apprehensions, suggested by the unknown state of the road on which I was about to enter, with a conjectural estimate of obstacles, which, as they could not be clearly foreseen, could not be fitly provided against. My determination, however, was fixed; and having already well weighed and considered the subject in all its bearings, it would have been weakness to suffer any considerations of apprehended danger to shake my resolution.

Wednesday, February 21.—My guide, Georgis, who was a petty trader in every description of goods, had determined to make this journey to Assalt a source of profit to himself, by taking a small supply of portable articles with him ; and, with a view to buy them at a cheaper rate (as I afterwards learnt), had suffered the Assalt party of traders to set out without us, that he might remain behind to take advantage of the dull morning's market, and get his articles at a less price than could have been done while they were here ; hoping, at the same time, by quickening his speed, to overtake them at their halting place for the night. The first intelligence that reached me in the morning was, that the party returning to Assalt had set out soon after sun-set on the preceding evening. I sent off immediately for my guide, who, keeping himself purposely out of the way till the end of his detention should be fully answered, was no where to be found. About ten o'clock, however, he made his appearance at the convent, out of breath from hurry, and hardly able to tell his excuses, so many were they, and so little breath had he to utter them. When he became more composed, he expressed his belief that we should not be able to overtake our intended companions, an apprehension that was but too well founded, as they had already gained upon us by a long night and the better part of a day. It was an ominous commencement of a journey, but there was no remedy. It only called for an exercise of greater patience, and created a necessity for greater perseverance, both virtues of which we stood eminently in need, and which it was doubly incumbent on me to exercise on this occasion.

It was a little after ten o'clock when we mounted our horses at the convent-gate, and receiving the benedictions of the friars, we quitted Nazareth and proceeded on our way.

Our course was directed to the south-east, over the hills which environ the valley of Nazareth, or the hollow of the mountain in which that town is seated ; and descending over these hills on the

outer face, we came out at the foot of Mount Tabor, rising from the plain below. *

At noon we passed over a portion of the great plain of Esdraelon, having Daborah on our left, and Nain and Endor on our right; the two last being seated on the slope of Hermon, at a distance of about three miles from our path. The plain was in a great measure waste, and the aspect of the scenery forbidding; but this was counterbalanced by the agreeable associations necessarily created by the sight of so many places celebrated in holy writ as could be seen from this spot.

At half-past one we passed a ruined building, of very rude construction, resembling an old fort. The name given to it by the people of the country is Dabboh; but I could learn no further particulars regarding its history or former condition.

At two o'clock we reached the village of Tayeby, consisting of twenty or thirty houses only, and inhabited wholly by peasants or cultivators. There were in this village the remains of a large edifice, apparently of Roman construction; the blocks of mouldings, cornices, and friezes, that lay scattered about, were of a large size, some smoothly hewn and others sculptured; but no tradition had been preserved respecting the building to which these belonged. We halted here at the house of the Sheikh, and were served with coffee by his youngest daughter. During our conversation, the Sheikh could not contain his surprise at finding we we were going *alone* to Assalt through the dangerous valley of the Jordan, and among the thieves of Jericho. The heavy rain that fell detained us here for about half an hour, during which time the good old man said every thing he could think of to dissuade us from our purpose, and after exhausting all his arguments, appeared sorrowful, as well as disappointed, to find that all his friendly admonitions were in vain.

We quitted Tayeby at half-past two, and going still towards the south-east, passed, at about three o'clock, near to a ruined site of a

* See the Vignette at the head of this Chapter.

town called Yubba. In this place were vestiges of walls and buildings apparently of an ancient date, but the peasants of the neighbourhood knew nothing of its history.

Soon after this we passed under a small village seated on the summit of a hill on the left of our road. It was called Ooom-el-Russās, or "The Mother of Lead," but we could learn no assignable cause for this appellation. The village was full of inhabitants, and the rugged and stoney plain at the base of the hill on which it stood abounded with more cattle than there appeared pasture to feed on the spot. This place was under the government of the good and benevolent Hadjee Ahmet Jerar, of Sanhoor, of whom I had before occasion to speak*; and the blessing of whose paternal care seemed to extend over all the villages subject to his power.

We travelled on in a direction seldom varying from south-east, and going, on an average, about four miles an hour, when, at five o'clock, we came to a torrent called Waadi-el-Hhesh. On the left of this stream, at a short distance to the northward, stood Kafera and Jabool, two Mahommedan villages, which my guide assured me were once Christian towns of note, and were acknowledged by all to be very old. We saw, encamped on the banks of this torrent, several parties of Bedouin Arabs, who fed their flocks on the neighbouring hills, and brought them to water and to shelter near their tents at night. The source of the stream is at a short distance from hence, to the north-west, and it winds down in an easterly direction till it discharges itself into the Jordan.

At five o'clock we reached a narrow pass, between two approaching hills, and entered from thence into the valley of the Jordan. On the left of the pass were the ruins of a fortress which had once probably guarded the passage, and formed an important military post.

We continued our course about south-east across the plain, which was well cultivated on the west side of the Jordan, and looked beautifully verdant on the east; when, in about an hour after our first entering the valley, we came to the banks of the

* See Travels in Palestine, 4to edition, p. 498.

river. We found here a number of Arab tents scattered along its edge, and from the dwellers in them we received the accustomed salutation of peace as we passed through the encampment. We had some difficulty, indeed, in resisting their entreaties to halt at their tents for the night; but as we were informed that the Sheikh of this tribe was encamped with another portion of his people on the east bank of the river, and were equally sure of a welcome reception there, we passed on, returning thanks to those whose solicitations we found it so difficult to refuse.

In fording the Jordan at this spot, which was at a distance of two hours, or about four miles to the southward of its outlet from the lake of Tiberias, we found it so deep near the banks of the stream as to throw our horses off their legs for a few minutes, and oblige them to swim; but they soon regained their footing as they approached the middle of the stream, and in the very centre we found it quite shallow. It still appeared rather as a brook or torrent, than a river, being no where more than one hundred feet wide, as far as we could observe it from hence; and the water, which was clear and sweet, winding slowly over a sandy and pebbly bed at about the rate of a mile and a half per hour.

After going up on the eastern bank of the river, and proceeding for a league onward, we came to the principal encampment of the Arab tribe whom we had first met with on the opposite bank of the Jordan. The name of the tribe we learnt to be Beni-Ameer-el-Ghazowee, and that of the place of their encampment, Zubbah. Their tents were very numerous, and larger than usual; and there were an abundance of fine horses, camels, and flocks, betokening great wealth among them in property of this description.

We alighted at the tent of the Sheikh or Chief, by whom we were well received, and invited to take shelter with him for the night. Immediately after our halting a meal was prepared for us, the principal dish of which was a young kid seethed in milk. Many of the Arabs encamped around us came to pay their visits to the strangers, and some few ate with us as they came, and then retired; but the

greater number of the visitors made their suppers of bread and oil alone. I had already had occasion to perceive that my Nazarene guide, Georgis, was one of the most loquacious of his race that I had ever before met with ; and mingling, as he did, a large portion of good humour with his talkativeness, he was often highly entertaining. The present was an occasion well calculated to draw him out, and, accordingly, his long and well-told stories contributed greatly to the amusement of the chief, and all who came to share his hospitality with us.

Midnight approached before our visitors retired, and, as we proposed starting early in the morning, it was very desirable that we should enjoy some rest ; but this was a blessing not destined for us. The first and most powerful cause that prevented it, was a dreadful tempest, which gathered up in pitchy darkness, and descended in a torrent of thunder, lightning, and rain. The tents were thus beaten down, and the affrighted flocks and herds flying to them for shelter, increased the general confusion ; while, amid the awful darkness which succeeded to the lightning's glare, and the deluge of rain that swept every thing before it, the mingled cries of terror uttered by the women, the children, and the cattle, added only to the horror of the scene.

Thursday, February 22.—We continued in this situation until the day broke upon us, and displayed a perfect wreck, as not a tent throughout the whole encampment was left standing. And many of the young infants, as well as the tender kids and lambs which had been exposed to the storm without shelter, were dead and dying around us : in short, the devastation was more marked and more extensive than I should have thought it possible for such a storm to have occasioned on shore.

When the sun rose, the rain abated, and the sky cleared up ; but being unable to render any assistance to those with whom we had shared the common evils of the tempest, we mounted our horses without a dry thread in our garments, and entered on our journey

before we had broke our fast, so that we were wet, weary, and hungry, even at the beginning of the day.

We now directed our course nearly S. S. E., keeping along the foot of the hills that border the valley of Jordan on the east; and about seven o'clock, or within an hour after setting out, we passed under the village of Arbagheen or " Forty," but could learn no reason for its numerical name. On the opposite side of the river, in a direction of nearly west from this, we could perceive the town of Beisan, the ancient Scythopolis, where there is a large population, and a general mart for the supply of the Bedouin Arabs of these parts. There are several remains of antiquity at this place, particularly the vestiges of a theatre, and many marble columns erect and fallen; but as we did not visit the spot in our way, I had no opportunity of ascertaining minutely what else it might have contained.

Continuing our course about S. S. E. parallel to the stream of the Jordan, and near the foot of the hills on the east of it, we came at eight o'clock to a station called Maka, where we found an encampment of Arabs of the tribe of Beni Sheikh Hussein, who, though they had pitched their tents so near to those of Beni Ameer Ghazowee, were on terms of deadly hostility with them. We were called upon to pay a tribute to this chief as we passed; which, as it was a small sum, we did not dispute, though it is contrary to the Arab custom to demand money as tribute from single travellers, as they content themselves in general, when at peace, with exacting a fixed duty on goods carried as merchandize or traffic, and let the mere journeyer pass free. We found an extensive burying-ground at this place, the most conspicuous object of which was the tomb of Sheikh Hussein, from whom the tribe derived its name. There were a few palm trees near this, and pits in the earth for preserving corn; the Arabs of this tribe being partly cultivators and partly shepherds, and consequently of that mixed character which partook equally of the manners of the

Fellahs or agricultural peasantry, and the Bedouins or wanderers of the Desert.

We quitted Merkah soon after nine o'clock, and about ten passed under a spot on the hills on our left, which by some was called Tabakat Fehhil, and by others Jerim Mooz. As it was on an eminence difficult of access, we did not go up to it; but my guide, who had been frequently there in his journeying through these mountains, described it as containing tombs with massy stone doors, like those at Oam Kais or Gamala, and other remains of ancient works, in columns and large blocks of hewn stone.

Soon after leaving this spot, we passed two ruined and deserted villages in the hills on our left, called Hejeja and Soolikhat, both of which, like the former, were thought to be ancient stations; and, indeed, from the number of old fortresses that were seated among the hills on each side of the Jordan, nothing is more probable than that each of these marked the position of some ancient place.

At noon we were opposite to Jebel Adjeloon, a lofty mountain on our left, covered with snow. At its base, on the western side, we saw a number of ruined buildings, with appearances of aqueducts leading along the uneven parts of the hill. This place was called Fakāris, and was thought to be the site of an ancient town. Its position is marked by a stream of water, descending from hence into the Jordan.

We had been anxiously on the look-out ever since our leaving the Arab camp, as this valley is so notoriously infested with robbers, that persons scarcely ever pass through it even in large parties without being attacked, and it was thought madness for single travellers like ourselves to attempt it. Our expectations were soon realised, as we met here a party of eight men, two of whom were on horseback and six on foot; the former armed with lances and sabres, the latter with large bludgeons; but not one among them having fire-arms.

As they approached toward us on the high road, we turned off from it a few yards on our left, in order to watch their motions; and, as they drew nearer, they turned off also to meet us. Knowing their intentions to be hostile, we called a halt; and having our muskets cocked, threatened with instant death whoever among them should advance a step farther. They assailed us with every species of abuse, demanded to know who we were, and asked what business we had to be journeying through territories which they called exclusively their own, without paying tribute to them as the lords and masters of it. We replied that when they wanted tribute, they should send larger parties to collect it; and we bade them defiance. They advanced in a sudden rush to surround us; I discharged my musket at random, and the sound was as that of a cannon, rolling and reverberating through the hollows of the hills near us, like the echoing of peals of thunder. The consternation which this occasioned was such, that the Arab horses started and reared, and the men on foot ran with precipitation in opposite directions. The scene was rather ludicrous than otherwise, and proved to us how contemptible were the enemies we had been taught to dread as irresistible, and how much their numbers should preponderate to make them at all formidable.

When we had dispersed these robbers by such a simple effort, we continued our way along the valley as before, having the Arabs to hang about our rear for half an hour, when they quitted us, probably in the hope of meeting with some more defenceless objects of plunder.

About one o'clock we came to the site of considerable ruins, where we saw foundations of buildings, outlines of streets, blocks of hewn stone, and other fragments, evidently marking the position of some considerable town. This place still bears the name of Amatha, and from its name, as well as situation near the banks of the Jordan, may with great reason be taken for the site of Amathus, to which in these particulars it so exactly corresponds. The extent of space covered by the ruins here, is much greater than

that which is seen of ancient Jericho; and on the hills above it, where another city of the name of Raajib is said to have stood, we could see from hence remains of aqueducts and other works of building; while my guide, who had himself been on the spot, described it as containing fallen columns and other marks of architectural grandeur, now in dilapidation and decay.

At this place we crossed a torrent of water descending from the hills, and running westward into the Jordan, under the name of Waadi Raajib, from its passing close by the ruins of that ancient town.

At two o'clock we reached a place called Abu-el-Beady, where we determined to turn in and enquire the news of the road, as well as to obtain shelter and repose for an hour, as the rain had scarcely ceased for a moment since our first setting out; and we were wet, weary, and half famished with hunger.

Abu-el-Beady is a name given to a small village of huts, collected round a mosque, built over the tomb of some distinguished personage, who had given his name to the place. This Abu-el-Beady was said, according to the traditions preserved of him here, to have been a powerful sultan of Yemen, who died on this spot on his way from Arabia Felix to Damascus; but of whom no other particulars are known. The tomb and mosque appeared to be very ancient, and both were ornamented with a number of Arabic inscriptions in a square formed character. A large piece of green glass, weighing probably from three to four pounds, was placed in the wall near the door of entrance; and as it passed for a real emerald, it was highly valued and even venerated by the people here. My guide, Georgis, who was a Greek Christian, preserved his decorum throughout, and was as unwilling to defile himself by entering a mosque as the keepers of it would be to suffer the mosque to be defiled by letting him enter it. As I had no such scruples, however, and was considered by the attendant to be a good Mussulman, I paid a small donation of forty paras to support the lamps kept constantly burning around the tomb;

when, throwing off my slippers at the threshold, and kissing the reputed emerald in the wall, I entered the mosque.

The interior of this building offered little to repay the curiosity of a visitor; its walls were plain, and from the ceiling hung numerous paltry lamps, ostrich eggs, shells, &c. The tomb of Abu-el-Beady is an elevated mass, rising from the floor, spread over with a covering of cloth, ornamented with Arabic inscriptions worked into it. The ceremony enjoined on the visitor is simply to circumambulate the tomb barefooted; to salute the ashes of the saint by kissing the cloth, and placing the forehead on the corners of it, exclaiming at each salutation—"Ya, Allah! Ya, Abu-el-Beady!" Though tradition calls this departed being a king of Yemen, and states that he died here on his way to Damascus, the present guardians of his remains were ignorant of any further details of his history. The tomb has the appearance of considerable antiquity; and the Arabic inscriptions seen around it, were too intricately written for me to make out any date, or decypher more than the name of God, and of the saint who lies interred there.

The family residing here in charge of this sanctuary, were remarkable for having (with the single exception of the father only) negro features, a deep black colour, and crisped hair. My own opinion was, that this must have been occasioned by their being born of a negress mother, as such persons are sometimes found among the Arabs, in the relation of wives and concubines; but, while I could entertain no doubt from my own observation, that the present head of the family was a pure Arab of unmixed blood, I was also assured that both the males and females of the present and former generations were all pure Arabs by descent and marriage, and that a negress had never been known, either as a wife or a slave, in the history of the family. It is certainly a very marked peculiarity of the Arabs that inhabit this valley of the Jordan, that they have flatter features, darker skin, and coarser hair than any other tribes; a peculiarity rather attributable, I con-

ceive, to the constant and intense heat of that deep region than to any other cause.

We remained here the whole of the day, and at night slept on the outside of the building, there being no accommodation within, from the females and cattle occupying every inch of the room. As our clothes were still wet, and we had no changes with us, we suffered much from exposure to the cold wind that blew, and passed altogether a most uncomfortable night.

Friday, Feb. 23.—We prepared to depart from Abu-el-Beady before day-light, without even the common enjoyment of a pipe and coffee, which few among the Arabs forego on such occasions. We started with the earliest dawn, and still pursued a course of S. S. E. along the foot of the eastern hills. We had not proceeded far before we met a party of robbers driving home the cattle and the camels that they had stolen during the night. There were others still further on, who called out to those to arrest us, so that we were once more obliged to assume an attitude of defence. As we were yet within reach of assistance, we returned to Abu-el-Beady to see if we could procure from the neighbourhood a horse-man or two to strengthen our party. Being under the walls of the venerated tomb, by the time the robbers passed it, they did not venture to molest us there, though they were loud and lavish in their abuse of us for daring to travel alone without seeking their protection and paying them for the same, consoling us with the assurance that unless we did so, we should be certain of being plundered before we reached Assalt.

We could procure no assistance or additional escort at Abu-el-Beady, and were consequently in great doubt as to what course we should pursue. As we sat smoking and conferring together under the walls, a third party of Arabs passed by on foot, and these sent two of their number to us to examine and report. From these we learnt that the two first parties which had gone by were out-laws or outcasts of the tribe of Beni-Szakker, who occupy the

Desert to the east of the Dead Sea; and that those who now addressed us were of the tribe of Beni Abad, who were on friendly terms with the people of Assalt, and derived their chief supplies from the market of that town. Even these, however, had been on a plundering excursion, and had carried off some goats and kids from the camps through which we had passed on the preceding day. We succeeded, after some negotiation, in obtaining two of these Arabs to accompany us as guides, and as a security also against our being molested by any of their own tribe in our way, while we counted on their forming some addition to our strength in the event of our meeting with any of the Beni Szakker, who were likely to plunder us if we crossed their way. The pledge of fidelity was mutually exchanged between us by our eating and drinking together; and the sum agreed to be paid to each of the men that accompanied us was three piastres only. Their companions continued their way in charge of their plunder of the night, and we set out from Abu-el-Beady a second time, about nine o'clock, with our new companions, going now about south-east inclining easterly.

In the cour e of our way we noticed several artificial mounds, which had the appearance of ancient tumuli, and many hewn grottos in the rocky cliffs on our left; these were originally perhaps excavated tombs, and may have been subsequently used as retreats for anchorites, of whom these solitudes are known to have been once the favourite region.

In about an hour after quitting Abu-el-Beady, we turned up to the eastward to ascend the hills, passing at the same time by the remains of a double aqueduct, with many vestiges of former buildings strewed around, and a small square chamber in the cliff above. There was also a singularly formed passage through a rock here, resembling a natural arch, under which we passed; the name given to this was Makhrook.

About a league further on, going now in an easterly direction, we came to the stream of the Zerkah, which I had crossed before,

much further to the eastward, on my journey from Jerusalem to Jerash; from which I could discover that it discharged itself into the Jordan much farther to the southward than is represented in the maps. We observed at this place an artificial canal of nearly a mile in length, for carrying the waters of the Zerkah to the ruined aqueduct described. The main stream itself was narrower here than we had found it farther to the east; but, on the other hand, it was deeper and more rapid in its course. At the spot where we forded it, there were appearances of walls and buildings on its banks, now half-hidden by tall reeds from twelve to fifteen feet in height, oleanders, and other trees and shrubs. On both sides of the stream were seen patches of partial cultivation; the corn on its banks being now green.

From this ford of Zerkah we went up a steep ascent on the south, over a hill called Arkoob Massaloobeah; this hill forming the southern, and Jebel Adjeloon the northern boundary of the stream.

While we were ascending the hill, our new Arab guides discovered a fray in the plain, between their companions, whom they had left in charge of their spoils, and the owners of the stolen cattle, who had pursued the robbers and overtaken them. Nothing could surpass the ardour and animation with which these men rushed instantly down to the assistance of their fellows. Both Georgis and myself were off our guard at this moment, so that the Arabs, taking advantage of this circumstance, rushed on us, seized our muskets, and ran violently down the hill. I alighted from my horse to pursue the man who had taken mine, and after a hard struggle recovered it, though Georgis, making no effort, suffered his to be carried off without resistance. The Arabs had thrown aside their upper garments to be light for the chase, and my companion taking possession of these as some compensation for the loss of his musket, we pursued our way, not even staying to see the result of the contest, as we were anxious to reach Assalt before the night closed in.

We were nearly two hours in getting up this steep hill, though it was of inconsiderable height. When we reached its summit, we could perceive from thence the mountains of Jerash to the N.N.E. of us, with two ruined villages to the eastward, called Hharatein; and a little further on were pointed out, to the northward of east, the positions of Sihhan and Ullan, two ruined buildings that I had before passed on my way from Jerusalem to Jerash.

On the summit of Jebel Arkoob Massaloobeeah, we found a level plain extending to the southward and eastward, having a fine light red soil, with turf and thistles, besides a number of oak trees scattered over its surface. The unexpected appearance of such a plain on this high level was an agreeable contrast to the low and barren ground that we had just left, particularly as this elevated tract bore every mark of having once enjoyed, and being still capable of maintaining, the highest degree of fertility.

We found on this fine plain the remains of some apparently very ancient place, the traces of which were but barely visible. They were unquestionably, however, the remains of a town of some consequence; for, besides the vestiges of walls, marks of foundations, and lines of enclosures in the land, there were several fragments of stone columns scattered around. The shafts of these were perfectly plain, and composed of circular pieces placed one above the other; the capitals were rude square masses, in some instances detached from, and in others formed out of, the same block as the upper part of the shaft; there were no traces of sculpture on any of the blocks, either as mouldings or flutings: all was plain and rude, and bore the marks of the highest antiquity.

The spot is called by the Arabs, Massaera, and Mashaera; and as its position corresponds with that assigned to the ancient city of Machaerus, there can be little doubt but that the remains are those of the city of that name.

After passing over this plain about a mile to the south-east, we began to ascend another range of hills, the base of which lay on this high level tract, and which was called Jebel Assalt. On the brow of

the ascent, we observed several small encampments of Bedouin Arabs, and in one of the hollow valleys which lay on the left of our road, were seen the tents of the Beni Abad, the tribe to which our robber-guides belonged. My companion, Georgis, who had lost his musket, was impatient to go down to them, and demand redress from the sheikh for the loss he had sustained at the hands of some of his people; but as the road was rocky and bad, the night drawing on, and we had but an hour of sunshine, of which we stood in need to keep us warm and dry, I was determined to push on rather than risk being obliged to pass another night without shelter.

In ascending Jebel Assalt we soon came to the snow, which lay thicker and deeper the higher we ascended. We had, indeed, almost despaired of getting over the summit of the hill before dark, which gave rise to a warm dispute; my companion wishing to go down to the Arab tents to pass the night, and I being determined to persevere. In the midst of this hot and angry debate, and just as we were turning the angle of a rocky pass, two men on foot, who must have lain concealed waiting for our approach, sprung upon us from behind an opening, and seized the bridles of our horses. They were armed with sabres only, which they idly flourished in the air; and had their faces covered with the keffeah, or kerchief, worn beneath the turban, after the manner of the Arabs when they attack, leaving nothing but the eyes to be seen, which renders it impossible to recognize a murderer if he escapes, or trace on whose head the blood of the victim lies. With these men, as it has already been with those who had interrupted us in the valley of the Jordan, the sight of a musket was sufficient; I presented my piece cocked, and ready to discharge, when they instantly abandoned their hold, and sued for mercy. Had they been determined, they might have cut us both down from our horses before we could have been prepared for our defence, so suddenly did they spring upon us from their hiding place; but their resolution failing, they were glad to sneak off in safety; and

when they had got at some distance from us they set up a shout of defiance and triumph at their escape.

We found the summit of Jebel Assalt to be like that of Arkoob Massaloobeeah below it; a fine fertile plain, with undulations here and there, a rich green turf, abundance of wood, and pines nodding on the surrounding eminences. From hence we enjoyed a magnificent view, as beautiful in many of its features as it was grand in the whole; and extending in every direction almost as far as the range of vision.

Among other objects within sight from the summit of this mountain was a small portion of the Bahr-el-Loot, or the Sea of Loot, the name given by all the Arabs of these parts to the Dead Sea. The north-west extremity of this sea was the portion seen from hence; and the nearest part of it appeared to be distant from us about twelve or fifteen miles. The picture which the Valley of the Jordan presented to us from this spot was highly interesting. From the southern edge of the Lake of Tiberias to the mosque of Abu-el-Beady, the plain appeared to be partially cultivated on each side; and the clusters of black Arab tents seen scattered over the bare yellow patches of the uncultivated parts, formed a fine contrast to the rich green of the young corn growing all around them. To the southward of Abu-el-Beady the valley presented a white, parched, and barren aspect; while the sterility of the hills that bordered the Sea of Death, increased as the eye traced them in the distance.

We had still a slight ascent to make, and reached the extreme summit of the mountain soon after four o'clock. The cold here was excessive; and the snow, presenting one unbroken mass, was hardened into solid frost. We had no means of determining accurately the height of the mountain on which we stood; but from a rough estimate of our progressive ascent, and the extreme depth of the Jordan and the Dead Sea at our feet, as contrasted with other mountain views of which I retained a perfect recollec-

tion, I should consider the height to be about 5,000 feet from the level of the ocean.

Tradition confirms the Arabs of the country in the belief, that this is the summit of Mount Nebo. On the very peak of the highest eminence stands a tomb, with other common graves around it. This is called the tomb of Nebbe Osha, or the prophet Joshua; and the belief is general, that the successor of Moses was buried here. The humbler graves around it are said to be those of Jews who had chosen this as the place of their sepulchre. The tomb appeared to me to be a Mohammedan structure, differing little in exterior appearance from the reputed tomb of Rachel, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem; but we did not go near enough to examine it closely.

Leaving these graves on our right, we began to descend to the eastward over a terraced slope, deeply covered with snow; but neither so hardly frozen, nor its mass so unbroken as we had found it on the other side of the mountain. At five o'clock, while descending the hill, we passed a small place called Cafr-el-Yahoodi, or the village of the Jews, probably an old settlement of that people residing near the reputed tomb of their prophet Joshua; and a few minutes after passing this we came in sight of Assalt.

Approaching this town from the west, we passed through a narrow valley, terraced all around with little corn plots, and beds of vines, though the soil was now covered with snow. The most prominent object of the view was a large castle standing on the edge of a rock, which, from its steep site and elevation, as seen through a long valley, had an imposing aspect.



CHAP. II.

STAY AT THE TOWN OF ASSALT.

It was sunset when we entered Assalt, which lies on the eastern brow of the hill whereon the castle stands, and which is therefore not seen when approaching from the west, until the traveller turns suddenly round to the right, and finds himself among the houses. The scene was new and interesting; and the pleasure which I felt at having attained this first point in my journey, made me view every thing through the most favourable medium. The whole of the town was filled with snow, the streets being in some places almost impassable; and the terraces of the houses, which, from the steepness of the hill, rose one above the other like steps, presented a number of square and snow-white masses, like sheets exposed on the ground to dry. The inhabitants, including men,

women, and children, were clothed in sheep-skin jackets, with the skin, looking like red leather, turned outside, and the wool within; while the florid complexions and the light-brown hair of the people gave to the whole an appearance of a scene in the north of Europe, rather than one in the southern part of so hot a region as Syria, and bordering, too, upon the parched deserts of Arabia Petræa.

We were conducted to the house of one of the most wealthy inhabitants, a Christian, named Aioobe or Job, who was reputed to be one of the greatest traders in the country. Like Job of old, this man was rich in abundance of flocks and cattle, was blessed with sons and daughters, and was as renowned for his piety, as he was celebrated for his wealth.

Our reception at his house was warm and hospitable; and we were offered every accommodation that it afforded. When supper was served up to us, almost all the heads of families in the town came to visit us, as strangers: the arrival of new persons among them exciting a sensation of curiosity which extended itself through all classes. There being no Mohammedans present, my guide and companion, Georgis, took care to inform the whole company that I was an Englishman. As to the fact of my being a Christian, he said it was difficult for him to decide, as some persons imagined the English to have no religion at all, and others contended, that though Christianity was nominally the prevailing faith of the country, it was altogether so remote from that of the Greek church, to which they belonged, that it did not deserve the name. This subject became one of lively interest to the party, and was discussed with great earnestness by most of those who were present; but having at length come to the determination that the English were neither Moslems, Jews, nor Catholics, the three great sects which they consider inimical to their own, I was received by all as a friend, and welcomed accordingly.

In the course of the evening, the conversation turned on the visits of Dr. Seetzen and Mr. Burckhardt to this town. The former

was known by the name of Hakim Moosa, and the latter by the name of Sheikh Ibrahim. Both of these travellers were habited in the same manner as I had found it necessary to be, namely, in the dress of a Bedouin Arab ; each of them wore a beard, and spoke the Arabic language ; the former very imperfectly, the latter tolerably well. In the company of Mohammedans, these travellers preserved the appearance and profession of the Moslem faith ; but with the Greek and Catholic Christians, who abound on the east of the Jordan, they passed invariably as Englishmen, and were well treated on that account ; although Dr. Seetzen was a German, and Mr. Burckhardt a Swiss. The former of these travelled always on foot, accompanied by an Arab guide, to whom he gave a Spanish dollar per day, which was considered a munificent reward ; and it is said, that the chief objects of his enquiry were the mineral and vegetable productions of the country, with such curiosities in natural history as fell in his way, to the collection and examination of which his mode of journeying was particularly favourable. Mr. Burckhardt usually rode, either on a camel, a mare, or an ass ; and the chief objects of his pursuit were thought to be antiquities, geography, and the manners of the people. These were the impressions that I gathered from the conversation of the party regarding these distinguished travellers, who were well known to most of the persons present, as each of them had made a stay of many days at this place.

Our supper was followed by card-parties, which assembled in different quarters of the room, all sitting on the ground, and having stools of about a foot in height to serve for card-tables. The games played were various ; one of them, however, resembled Quadrille, and another Loo. The cards were dealt and played backward, or from right to left, and the names of the suits were Italian, though not all correctly applied ; spades being called *bastoni ;* clubs, *spadi ;* diamonds, *argenti ;* and hearts, *cuori.* The parties played for money ; but though the sums staked were

small, it was sufficient to agitate very warm disputes among the players.

We broke up early, dispersing before nine o'clock, when we were taken to another house to sleep. The mistress of it, who was a widow, and related to my guide, received us kindly, and insisted on going through the ceremony of washing my feet, observed, as I understood, among the Christians of Assalt to all strangers who come among them as guests or visitors. The house in which we were now lodged, consisting of two rooms only, one above the other, I naturally concluded that the widow and her children would have slept in one of these, and that Georgis and myself would have occupied the other. It was otherwise arranged, however; the lower room was used in the daytime for all the purposes of cooking, and other household labour, and at night was converted into a bedroom; while the upper story was made entirely a storehouse for the secure keeping of provisions, clothes, and other articles, put under lock and key. Mats were therefore spread for us all on the lower floor; and what struck me as a remarkable feature of the arrangement was this, that while the widow, who was not more than 30 years of age, lay in the middle of the room, Georgis and I were directed to lie on each side of her, and the young children were placed beyond us respectively; leaving scarcely two feet space between each person, as the room was not more than twelve or fifteen feet square. It did not appear to be the custom of the place to undress for sleep, as each lay down in the garments worn during the day. Our rest was, however, occasionally disturbed during the night; and as neither of the parties had any specific bounds assigned, I found the widow rolling alternately toward Georgis or myself, as she turned sides for relief; so that we often pressed closer on each other than was at first intended, and might be literally said to have slept all in one bed.

Assalt, Saturday, February 24. — The day broke in tempests, accompanied by thunder, lightning, and hail. The storm was

indeed awful, and the aspect of the weather throughout the day was such as to forbid all hope of our moving on our journey. The high wind was productive of terrible consequences to some of the inhabitants, as we witnessed, indeed, from the door of our dwelling. Before the gale commenced the ground was already covered with snow; and the thunder and hail of the morning being followed by violent gusts of whirlwind and torrents of rain, some of the cliffy parts of the mountain broke away, and the lower parts of the town which filled the valley beneath these cliffs became buried under the fallen masses of rock, earth, and snow, by which many of the inhabitants were severely hurt, and such of their cattle as were not crushed by the fall of these masses very narrowly escaped drowning in the accumulated floods and pools which filled the obstructed hollows of the vale throughout.

Notwithstanding the tempestuous weather, which continued with little intermission during the day, we had a number of curious visitors, who came to enquire of us the news of other parts, and from whom I was equally glad to gather some local information in return.

In the course of the day the two Arabs of the tribe of Beni Abad, who had been our guides from the mosque of Abu-el-Beady to the passage of the Zerkah, came all the way from thence to Assalt to demand the restitution of their garments, thrown off by them when they quitted us on the mountain to go to the assistance of their fellow-robbers in the plain below. My guide, Georgis, who had retained these garments as a security for their return of his musket, carried off by them at the same time, expressed his willingness to restore them the moment the musket was produced. They replied that this was impossible; as it had been taken from them by the owners of the stolen cattle, who had rescued their property, disarmed the robbers, and succeeded in bearing back the spoil in triumph to their own camp. They contended, therefore, that the musket was lost by the will of God; and that it was both irreligious and unjust to demand its restoration; a demand, indeed,

impossible now to satisfy. "With regard to the garments," said they, "the case is quite different. It is evident, from their being safe in your keeping, that it was the will of God to have them restored to their proper owners: why, therefore, should you, by withholding them, oppose the destinies of heaven? Give us back our robes," said they, "and let us again break bread together in friendship." Absurd as this distinction may appear, there was an earnestness of natural eloquence in the pleadings of these Arabs which made them all-powerful; and though they were avowed robbers, as well as men of a different faith, the Greek Christians unanimously agreed, that though the musket could not be recovered, the garments should be restored, exclaiming, "*Allah kereem!*" or "God is bountiful!" and inferring from thence that his creatures should follow the dictates of liberality and benevolence, rather than those of retaliation and revenge.

Assalt, Sunday, February 25.—The weather had not yet become settled, though there were short intervals which admitted of our going out of doors, and this was of itself a great relief, as my confinement of the preceding day had been very irksome and painful to me. I had not suffered it to pass, however, more unprofitably than I could help; and as the observations which occurred to my notice or experience were committed to writing at broken periods, as I could find time between the almost incessant coming and going of visitors, I shall follow them in the order in which they were noted down, and if deficient in arrangement and connection, they may at least be relied on for their accuracy.

The town of Assalt * is seated on the slope of so steep a hill

* In writing this name I have followed the exact pronunciation of the present inhabitants, although if the word were written "*Ṡalt*," they would pronounce it in exactly the same manner, from their almost constantly placing an aspirate before the *s* in words beginning with that letter. There is reason to believe that this is the city of "Salt" mentioned in the book of Joshua, chap. xv. ver. 60., and enumerated among the towns and villages which formed the portion of the tribe of Judah in the southernmost part of their possessions towards Edom,—Salt being classed with the cities in the mountains and the wilderness, or near the Desert, where it may be said to lie. It is men-

that the houses rise one above another like a succession of steps or terraces, the buildings themselves facing chiefly towards the east and the south. On the summit of the hill is a large castle, which looks down upon the houses, and completely commands the town. * At the foot of the hill is a narrow ravine, in which stands a small square tower, not unlike some of the country church steeples in England, and probably once belonging to a Christian place of worship, but no traditions of its history are preserved. There appeared to be on the whole about a hundred separate dwellings in this small town of Assalt; and the computation, by taking an average of twenty ordinary houses, made the population from five to six hundred souls only.

The Sheikh el Belled, or chief of the town, is a Mohammedan; but holds himself independent of all the Syrian pashas. He does not receive tax or tribute, however, from any of the inhabitants, either in money or in produce; and differs only from the rest of the community in the influence he possesses, from having more houses, lands, and property than any of his fellow-townsmen. He lives in the castle, of which he occupies the largest portion; but several other families reside in other apartments of this large building; and the only source of his power is his superior wealth, as he is not vested, either hereditarily or by election, with any

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tioned as this city in Adrichomius, Theatrum Sanctæ, folio ed. p. 54., and was a place well known to the historians of the Crusades. In an article published in the "Mines de l'Orient, tom. v. p. 145., it is mentioned among the "Extraits historiques relatifs au Temps des Croisades du Livre, Insol. djelil fit tarikhi Khods el Khaleel," thus; "In 626 (A. H.) Jerusalem was delivered up to the Franks, in consequence, as the Mohammedan writers say, of the divisions among the reigning princes, who, though all of one family, made as many parties as they were brothers in number. Some of the conditions were, that the walls should not be repaired from their present ruined state; that the domes of the mosques of Sakhra and Aksa should not be touched, and these temples be equally open to Christians and Moslems, while those villages only which lay on the road between Acre and Jerusalem should belong to the Franks. Kamel having made these conditions, and having still his troops at his own disposition, pursued his original plan of marching against Damascus; when Nassir, the governor of that city, made it over to his brother, Eshrif Moise, and received in exchange for it the castles of Karak, Shaubeck, Belkah, and Salt."

* See the Vignette at the head of this chapter.

direct authority, either from the governments around him, or the people, over whom he nevertheless exercises an influence nearly equal to that of a regularly appointed governor in any of the provincial towns of the Syrian territory.

There are conceived to be about a hundred male Christians in Assalt, most of whom came here to seek refuge from the persecutions of Jezzar, or the "Butcher," the late Pasha of Acre, during the expedition of the French against Egypt and Syria; and these refugees were chiefly Nazarenes: they continue to be related to or acquainted with the people of Nazareth, with whom they generally live on friendly terms.

On their first flight to this place for protection against the persecutions of Jezzar, they found only Mohammedan inhabitants; but these were independent of the Syrian pashas, and seldom visited the larger cities, while the Arabs of the Desert mixed with them on friendly terms, for the sake of securing their supplies. There was, therefore, little or no bigotry among these isolated Moslems, so that the Christians, who came to them for protection, were permitted freely to reside among them and enjoy all the privileges and immunities common to themselves, without an enforcement of those odious distinctions of dress, tribute, and name, observed in the more civilized parts of Syria, where the power of the pashas extends. From these circumstances, coupled with their greater activity in matters of trade, the Christians have gradually increased in numbers and in wealth; and they may be said at present to enjoy at least an equal degree of influence with the Mohammedans, though these are still superior to them in numbers.

Among other confined notions entertained here on geographical points, is the singular one of there being but four seas in the world, which they thus enumerate: —

Bahr-el-Tabareeah — The Sea of Tiberias.
Bahr-el-Loot —The Sea of Lot.
Bahr-el-Melhhé—The Salt Sea.
Bahr-el-Hheloo—The Fresh Sea.

They ask, too, if there are houses in Europe, like those of Assalt; and think there is no single building in the whole world so large as the castle that overlooks their town.

Karak, which is three days' journey in an E.N.E. direction from this, is said to be about as large as Assalt; and the Christians are reported to be more numerous there than the Mohammedans. The duties of the Greek church at Karak are performed by two Arab priests from Jerusalem. It is asserted, in the most positive manner, that between Karak and the convent of Santa Catharina on Mount Sinai there are Bedouin Arabs dwelling in tents, who are Greek Christians, and live in the regular exercise of their religion. This fact was attested by many persons in the party in which I first heard it mentioned; but no one could say any thing about their history, or tell whether they were originally Christians from a long Christian descent, or whether they had been converted from Mohammedanism to Christianity at any recent period. *

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* In the article from the Mines de l'Orient, before mentioned, there are the following passages alluding to Karak, which may be worth inserting in a note here: "After the death of Salah-ed-din, his brother, Melek-el-Aadel, or the Just Prince, possessed Karak, Shaubeck, and the eastern countries beyond the Dead Sea. He posted himself at Tal-el-Adjoul, or the Hill of Adjoul, near to Gaza, and received succours from Egypt, under the protection of Sancor, governor of Jerusalem, and Main-oun-el-Kasri, governor of Balbeis. He afterwards took Yafa by the sword, this being the third conquest of that place. Aziz, one of the sons of Salah-ed-din, was his nephew, and reigned in Egypt at the same time, afterwards joining him in his Syrian war, which led him as far as Maredin on the north-east, and into Nubia, the country of the Blacks, on the south-west. He pillaged all the country between Beisan and Balbeis, and killed and made many prisoners. He first possessed the country of Karak, Shaubeck, &c. about the year of the Hejira 590; and died at the village of Aalkain near Damascus in 615, aged 75 years. He is described as a prudent and circumspect prince; a man of extensive knowledge, sound judgment, mild temper, patient, and favoured by fortune. He was succeeded in his government of Egypt by his son Melek-el-Kamel Aböu-el-Mali Mohammed; and in Syria by the brother of Kamel, Melek-el-Maazem Jesus, who possessed all the country from Homs to El-Arish, with the sea-coast, Cœlo-Syria, Palestine, Jerusalem, Karak, Shaubeck, Sackhad or Salkhad, and the countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. In 618 the Franks were in possession of Damietta, and contemplated the conquest of Egypt, which they began with the capture of Mansoura. Kamel engaged six princes of his family, who governed at Damascus, Aleppo, Hamah, Balbeck, Homs, &c., to join him in an expedition against these Christians, and

The church of Assalt being open to-day, as it was the Sabbath, I accompanied a party there at an early hour. We found it situated among the dwellings of the town, about half way between the foot and the summit of the hill. The entrance was through a small court, which led to a vaulted room about thirty feet by fifteen, and from twelve to fifteen feet high, resembling in form and size the "House of Peter," at Tiberias. It differed from it only in one particular, by having a part cut off from the body of the room for the altar. This stands at the east end of the building, and is separated by a screen with two arched doorways; from these are suspended two sliding curtains, which are drawn when the mysterious parts of the service are performing, and are again withdrawn when it is permitted to the congregation to behold what is passing. The only furniture of the church consisted in a large wooden cross, and two wooden birds carved in the act of flying: these were placed on the top of the screen that divided the altar from the body of the church. Empty ostrich eggs suspended from the roof by cords, and a few common glass tumblers hung as lamps, were also counted among the ornaments; while three small pictures, containing more gilding than painting, and presenting the most grotesque figures of certain Greek saints, were as much objects of devotion as of admiration.

At our first entrance, we found the room so crowded that it was difficult for us to make our way in. There were assembled at least a hundred persons, which was a large congregation for so small a church: the men were placed in front, with the women behind

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marched to Mansoura, where they attacked them. At the same time they proposed to them to deliver up Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tiberias, Laodicea, Gebela, and all the conquests that Salah-ed-din had made upon the coasts of Syria, reserving to themselves only Karak and Shaubeck, which were fortresses of the interior, east of the Dead Sea, on condition only of the Franks evacuating Damietta. These offers, the Christian warriors, however, refused, and demanded in their turn three hundred thousand ducats as an indemnity for the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem, and insisted upon the restitution of Karak and Shaubeck."—*Extraits Historiques, relatifs au Temps des Croisades du Livre Insol. djelil-fit-tarikhi Khods-el-Khaleel.*—*Mines de l'Orient*, tom. v. p. 145.

them; and every individual, whether old or young, was seen standing. When we got near the altar we were presented with crutches; and as the service is extremely long, and all are required to stand during its performance, we found them very acceptable. Being a stranger, and this being my first visit to the church, all eyes were directed towards me, to see how I crossed myself, so as to determine, by the mode of my making that sign, whether I was Greek, Catholic, or Infidel. The service appeared to me nearly the same as I had before witnessed in the Greek churches of Asia Minor; and differed only in being performed in the Arabic instead of the Greek language. The priest wore a coat of many colours, a garment apparently as much esteemed throughout these parts in the present day, as it was in the days of the patriarch Jacob, who had one made for his favourite son Joseph; or in the time of Sisera, when a coat of divers colours was enumerated among the rich trophies and spoils of the battle of Tabor or Kishon. In the exercise of his functions, the priest remained mostly at the altar, while young boys, bearing censors of incense, were constantly waving them around his sacred person.

On the outside of the screen were two side-altars, at each of which a person repeated certain passages of the Psalms to another near him, who sung them. The individuals of the congregation criticised the faults of these singers as they proceeded, without scruple or reserve, sufficiently loud to be heard by every one in the room; and the noise and confusion arising from this general conversation was such as to take away from the scene all appearance of an assembly met to worship. When the priest came to the door of the screen to read aloud some portion of the service, a number of men, who had bared their heads and shoulders, pressed around him, and bowed down their necks to make of them a resting place for the large book from which he read the service of the day. When this ceremony was ended, the priest walked through the body of the church with the sacramental cup elevated, and a silk covering on his head: those of the congregation who were nearest to him

falling on the earth, and kissing his feet and the hem of his garment; while those who were not near enough to pay him this mark of homage, stretched forth their hands to touch some part of his robes, kissing their own fingers afterwards with great reverence, and even communicating the benefit of this holy touch to those who were behind them, and could not come in direct contact with the priest's person.

On our quitting the church, all the men of the congregation saluted each other by kissing on the cheek and forehead; and I came in for a large share of this, being saluted by upwards of twenty of my guide's friends, some of whom were smooth-faced boys, and others bearded elders.

Though the snow was still so deep upon the earth, as to render many of the narrow streets of the town impassable, yet the two hours following the church service were given up to visiting, and going from house to house, often by the most circuitous routes, to get at some dwellings that were otherwise inaccessible. As we ate something at each, we may be said to have dined at several houses in succession: but the mode of feeding was so offensive to an European taste, and the nature of the messes prepared was so contrary to our notions, that it required a great effort to overcome the disgust excited even by their appearance, and to preserve a show of being satisfied. Among other novelties, I observed that large lumps of solid butter were eaten by the people of this place, without the addition of bread, vegetables, or flesh meat; and this is accounted so wholesome that it is frequently given to infants in arms, by ounces at a time, as nurses in England would give bread only. At all the dinners there was an abundance of boiled rice, and generally a goat or kid served up with it, though often so tough as to require to be literally torn in pieces before it could be eaten. Raisins and olive oil, both produced from the surrounding country, were also in abundance, with bowls of butter and sugar melted and mixed together, and a kind of pudding about the shape

and size of a large lemon, made of barley paste stuffed with onions and pepper.

In the course of the conversation that passed over our meals, I learnt that during the present year, all the necessaries of life had experienced an unusual advance in price. Corn, which during the last year had been sold at six gallons for a piastre, was now at a piastre and a half per gallon. Butter is first melted, and then sold while it is liquid, by a measure called a *mudd.* This article was now selling at twelve piastres, or about two Spanish dollars the gallon. The wages of a labourer, if hired for a day, would be now about two piastres: but wages are seldom paid in money, the people undertaking their labours jointly, and dividing the profits of it in shares. Rich individuals who have lands, maintain the husbandmen in their own houses on the farm, and in addition to their food, give them one-fourth of the produce of the soil to be divided equally among them, reserving the other three-fourths for the landlord or occupier. This ratio of division is always observed, whether the produce of the farm consist of corn, fruit, and oil, raised from the land, or cattle born on the soil since the commencement of the husbandmen's servitude. The same regulation prevails also between shopkeepers and mechanics and their servants, who are all fed by their respective masters, and in addition to this, receive from them one-fourth of the profits on all works produced by their labour, in lieu of fixed wages. By this arrangement, the servants and labourers become in a manner incorporated with the family, and seldom or never change their masters, both parties being interested in the long continuance of their servitude.

The houses of Assalt are very small; each dwelling, with few exceptions, consisting of only one floor, and this having only one room, subdivided into recesses, rather than separate apartments. They are mostly built of stone; and, where necessary, a few pointed arches are thrown up on the inside, to support a flat roof of branches of trees and reeds plastered over with clay. The interior

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of the dwelling is generally divided into a lower portion for the cattle and poultry, and an upper part raised as a terrace, about two feet above the ground floor, for the use of the family. In this raised part the fire-place for cooking is generally placed, but in no instance that I observed was there a chimney for carrying off the smoke; and as wood and turf are the fuel generally used, it becomes painful to those not accustomed to it, to sit in any house for more than an hour, where a fire is burning. In the upper division are the beds, clothes-chests, and provisions; and for the better security of these, there are again other subdivisions made in the upper part of the house by walls, shelves, and recesses, all formed of dry mud or sun-baked clay, without being white-washed or ornamented in any manner. There is seldom any aperture for light, except the door, which must be shut when storms of rain or snow occur, and are always closed at night, so that those within are then enveloped in darkness and smoke. I remarked that all the modern wooden doors of these houses, were hung in the same manner as the ancient stone doors seen in the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem and in the sepulchres at Gamala, a wooden post forming the inner edge of the door itself, and terminating in a pivot at each end, the upper pivot traversing in a hole in the beam above, and the lower pivot traversing in the sill or threshold of the door below.

The house of the merchant Aioobe, which was the best and most comfortable dwelling in the town, consisted in this manner of one room only, about twenty feet square, divided into a lower portion for the cattle, and an upper part or terrace, about two feet above the former, for the family. In the first of these was contained also a large supply of fire-wood and provisions for the winter; and in the last his whole stock of merchandise, consisting of cotton cloths from Nablous, Bedouin garments, and various articles, chiefly for sale among the tribes of Arabs, that come to the market of Assalt from the surrounding country. This chief of the merchants of Assalt was estimated to be worth about 5000 piastres, or *250l.* sterling; and by most of his fellow-townsmen he was considered to

be as rich as any merchant could hope or desire to be. In comparison with his neighbours he might be called wealthy indeed; for many of those who were considered traders, had never more than 10*l*. sterling invested in stock, and the average of the town might be safely taken at 20*l*., as rather beyond than below the state of their trading property.

After a day passed in visits to all the principal Christian inhabitants of the place, and eating, contrary to my inclination, at almost every house, we assembled in a large evening party at the dwelling of the widow in which Georgis and myself had taken up our temporary abode. Though the dimensions of this building were very small, not exceeding fifteen feet by twelve, it had a chimney in the wall, and an apartment of the same size above, the ascent to which was by a flight of narrow steps made of dried clay, with a carved wooden balustrade; the only instance I had met with in all the town, of so much convenience and ornament.

Although this was the evening of Sunday, cards were introduced, and I was pressed to take a part in the game against my will. Fortune was adverse to me: and in playing for garments, I lost my booza, a sort of thick woollen cloak, which I had bought at Nazareth for four piastres. There was no remedy: and though all exclaimed *Allah kereem!* "God is bountiful!" yet I felt that this was neither the season nor the country in which to gamble away warm garments, particularly as it would have been imprudent, at the present moment, to show that my finances were so good as to admit of my purchasing it back again from the winner.

The conversation of the evening was such as I should gladly have retained, had it been practicable to have stored my memory with all the geographical and topographical facts mentioned respecting the positions of ancient and modern places in the neighbourhood, the very names of which are unknown in England, as the whole of this tract is little better than a blank in our best maps. But amidst so many loud and discordant voices, and the innumerable questions that were incessantly asked me on every

side, the names of places that I heard in one moment escaped me in the next.

Among the many ridiculous questions that were seriously proposed to me, when talking of the different countries that I had visited, I was asked, whether I had ever been to the Belled-el-Kelb, where the men had dogs' heads? and, whether I had seen the Geziret-el-Waak, or the island in which women grow on trees, budding at sunrise, and becoming mature at sunset, when they fall from the branches, and exclaim, in the language of the country, *Waak! Waak!* "Come and embrace me!"

The opinions entertained by the people of Assalt on all matters beyond their own immediate sphere of observation, are like those which prevailed among the most ignorant of the ancients; and there is no fable of antiquity, however preposterous, that would not find believers here. Even now, places not a league distant from the town are made the scene of miracle; and the people seem not only to believe, but to delight in the marvellous. My guide, Mallim Georgis, who was a consequential old man, of diminutive stature, with a scanty beard confined to the extremity of his chin, small grey eyes, an aquiline nose, thin lips, high arched forehead, and a round back, might have passed for a true descendant of Æsop, for he talked incessantly, and almost constantly in fables and parables. I have no doubt, from the reputation he seemed to enjoy with every one, that he was a man of integrity, and, in matters of common intercourse in life, a person of general credit and good faith; yet even *he* made no hesitation to swear by the few hairs of the scanty beard he possessed, that he had seen a Muggrebin at Oom Kais, by the art of magic, transport one of the columns of the ruins from that place to his own country; that he had distinctly heard him order it to rise and begone; and that he himself, with his own eyes, had seen it take its flight through the air! Others said, that at a place called Oom-el-Russās, in the way to Karak, several Muggrebins had, by the aid of perfumes and

prayers, raised up out of the earth copper cases full of gold, and carried them off to their own countries !

Amidst these absurd stories, there were now and then mingled some useful facts that were more worthy of remembering. I learnt, for instance, from the conversation of the evening, that Mallim Moosa, or Doctor Seetzen, had gone round the Bahr-el-Loot, or Dead Sea, from the outlet of the Jordan to the same point on his return, passing round from east to west, and that he had found the remains of many Greek monasteries and churches among the barren rocks that border it. Sheikh Ibrahim, or Mr. Burckhardt, had gone from hence, it was said, to Karak, and from that town round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, by the ancient Zoar, to Egypt, with a party of Bedouins, about three years since. When I mentioned to them that I had, at Mr. Burckhardt's request, made minute enquiries into the particulars of Dr. Seetzen's death at Mokha, in my way from Egypt to India through the Red Sea, it excited a deep interest, and apparently a sincere regret ; * both these enterprising individuals being well known to most of the persons present, and being, indeed, the only Europeans that had ever, till this period, penetrated much to the east of the Jordan, as far, at least, as was known to us by any trace of such a visit.

The general topics of conversation were, however, relating to the Muggrebins, and their exploits whenever they came into this part of the country. These Muggrebins — the name being common to all the Arabs that come from any part of Africa between the Nile and the Atlantic—have the character of being profound magicians ; and as the country east of the Jordan abounds with ruins, the people think that in all of them treasures are buried, and that the chief, if not the only object of all strangers coming among them, is to

* The particulars here alluded to were sent by me to Mr. Burckhardt from Mokha, and by him transmitted to the Baron Von Hammer at Vienna : by whom they were published, in a letter bearing my name, in one of the numbers of a large work published at that capital under the title of "*Les Mines de l'Orient.*"

discover these hidden treasures, and carry them off for their own use. On the summit of Jebel-el-Belkah, or Bilgah, as it is equally often pronounced, the Pisgah of the Hebrews, from which Moses saw the promised land and died, and which is only three hours south of the reputed tomb of Joshua, on the mountain of Assalt, there grew, according to the testimony of all present, a species of grass, which changed the teeth of every animal that ate of it to silver! And in a party of twenty persons then assembled, there were not less than five witnesses who declared most solemnly that they had seen this transmutation take place with their own eyes!!

This conversation led to a debate on the history of Moses, his birth, and rescue by one of the daughters of Pharaoh, his wonderful works in Egypt, and his leading the Jews through the Desert to Canaan. Mallim Georgis, who shone in all matters of recitation and narrative, took so large a share in the debate, that he was unanimously requested to give it in detail, when he accordingly cleared his throat, and began with a loud voice, as if he were addressing a larger audience. To hear this history related in the Arabic language, and in a party of Arabs, so near as we were to the principal scenes described, was like the pleasure of hearing a tale from the Arabian Nights recited near one of the old Saracen buildings of Grand Cairo, the associations in each case making the hearer almost a spectator of the scene, and giving him a personal share in the events detailed. Every one present listened to the discourse of Georgis with evident pleasure; and during the pauses which were allowed for the guests to take coffee, and the narrator to take breath, various entertaining comments were made by the hearers on the several parts of the story that struck them most forcibly, or interested them particularly from the events or places to which they principally related.

In the course of the evening I observed, as peculiarities of conversation, that when one person wanted to arrest the attention of another, or to interrupt him in his discourse, he first called him by name, and then said, "A good evening to you, my friend;" to

which the other replied, "Good evening." This was considered as an assent to listen, when the orator proceeded with his discourse. Again, when the narrator of a story wished to obtain the particular attention of any individual in the company to what he was about to say, he first called that individual by name, and then bid him pray, as thus, "O Job! pray to the Prophet!" to which the person addressed replied, "I pray;" and then the discourse proceeded as before. These interruptions were of very frequent occurrence, and were equally in use among the Mohammedan and Christian Arabs of these parts, to whom they appeared to me peculiar, as I had not observed them in any other society of Arabs before.



CHAP. III.

FURTHER DETENTION AT ASSALT.

Assalt, Monday, February 26th. — The frost had been so severe during the night, that, in the room where we slept, the water in vessels for drinking was coated over in the morning, although all the external air had been excluded and the apartment had been heated throughout the night by the breath of eleven individuals; and the snow outside the door was hardened into a solid mass of ice. The morning was, however, clear and fine, the sun beaming out in full splendour without a cloud; but when I talked of proceeding on our journey, every one opposed it as precipitate and ill-judged. My guide, indeed, refused to stir until he saw how the weather would settle, which, he said, could not be ascertained till twenty-four hours of clear sky had passed over us; and this, he

contended, was the more necessary, as we should meet with no houses in our way, and, from the severity of the season, even the Bedouins might have removed their tents to the low countries and the plains. All my efforts to persuade him that by perseverance we might overcome every obstacle were useless, and as I could not prevail, there was nothing for me to do but to appear content.

After suffering a tedious morning of idle visits from men who had communicated all they knew before, I caught a spare hour to go up and see the castle of Assalt, the pride and wonder of all its inhabitants. This edifice is seated on the summit of a round-topped hill, composed of white lime-stone, out of which a deep and wide ditch has been excavated all around its base, so that it is literally founded on a rock. The building consists of an outer wall of enclosure, about one hundred yards square, with towers at each corner, and in the centre of each of its sides. Within this enclosure is a square citadel, and from twenty to thirty private dwellings, inhabited by Mohammedans connected directly or indirectly with the sheikh of the town. The general aspect of the castle is that of a work of considerable antiquity, but there were no particular features decisive of its age or date of original construction. The masonry is good, and the stones are large: many of them six feet by three; and these smoothly hewn and neatly joined at the edges, but rough in the centre of the outer front, or what is called the rustic masonry of the Romans, like the work in the lower part of the castle of the Pisans, or palace of David at Jerusalem, which, indeed, this citadel of Assalt very strongly resembles. Much of the original pile was in ruins, but a portion of one of the square towers remained: the eastern face of this was about fifty feet high from the bottom of the ditch, even in its present state. At the foot of this was a sloping mole, faced with smooth stones, forming a casing to the living rock on which the castle stood; and this casing of masonry presented appearances of the marks of water, with which the ditch had no doubt formerly been filled. Within the castle is a fine spring of water,

and from the well in which it is contained nearly the whole of the town is supplied. The original wall and tower have evidently been built upon by more modern hands, and of smaller and inferior materials; and the present gate of entrance into the castle has a pointed arch, well built, but doubtlessly constructed since the original erection of the edifice, being formed of smooth stones, unlike the rustic masonry of the castle generally, and of a smaller size as well as inferior workmanship. In different parts of this motley building, the Roman and the Saracen arch are seen together; but both of these appear to be modern additions, much posterior to the original building, the large rough stones, and the general aspect of which, give it the air of a place of higher antiquity than either Roman or Saracen times: the several portions are, however, now so confusedly mixed together that it would require great skill and patience to separate the one from the other.

At one corner of the citadel is a small mosque, frequented by the Mohammedan inhabitants of Assalt. Near this place we were shown two small European swivels, apparently two-pounders; they were each marked with a P., and the weights rudely cut on them were respectively 2cwt. 1qr. 18lbs., and 2cwt. 1qr. 16lbs. There was no device or emblem on them by which it could be determined from what nation they originally came: their appearance, however, was that of English ship-swivels, and the same circumstance induced me to think they could not be more than fifty years old. So rapidly, however, are things and events forgotten in countries where no written or printed records of them are kept, that no person at Assalt knew any thing of the history of these guns; although, from the difficulty of bringing such articles to an isolated spot like this, and from their being, probably, the only cannon that were ever known here, the circumstance of their first arrival at the town must have been an event of great importance at the time, and have been talked of for months and years afterwards. Here, too, within the castle, we saw the marble capital of a Corinthian column, small in size, and of inferior workmanship: but no one knew from

whence it came, or to what building it originally belonged, nor did I observe, throughout all the town of Assalt, any other vestige of Roman architecture, except this single capital.

At the bottom of the south-western valley, below and almost in the centre of the town,— for there are houses on both sides of the hill,— I observed a small square tower, which was said to have belonged to a mosque in that quarter long since destroyed, and the remaining portion of the work has nothing about it to lead to a contrary impression.

From the walls of the castle of Assalt the view of the surrounding objects is highly interesting. The north-western hills appeared covered with an unbroken sheet of snow, and the south-eastern hills had their hoary summits capped with the same wintry emblem : while the cultivated valley, that half environed the hill on which the castle stood, presented a surface broken by green patches of garden land, terraced vine beds, corn fields, and olive grounds ; and the town below rose like a series of steps or stages, the roof of one house serving as a platform on a level with the door of the one immediately above it.

On returning from my visit to the castle, I found, as usual, a number of visitors and enquirers assembled, both within the house and around the door. In the course of my conversation with them, I was glad to find one who had been a great traveller in the country round about these parts; and having drawn him into a communicative humour, and filled his pipe from my own tobacco-bag, he readily furnished me with the following information as to the bearings and distances of several of the principal places in the neighbourhood, computed from this town of Assalt. I had a small pocket compass with me, brought from Bombay, about the size of a watch, which had a traversing card, and was contained in a morocco case. In order to obtain the bearings, I placed this on the ground before the door, and bade my informant point with his hand, as nearly as he could, to the quarter in which particular places lay. The distance was computed by the only method known here,

namely, by days and hours, at a quick walking pace on horseback. Both the bearings and distances are thus, no doubt, imperfect, the former particularly; but, in a country so entirely unknown, and the whole of which is a blank in our best maps, even an *approximation* to the truth is valuable, and as such I readily availed myself of the opportunity to set down the names and relative positions of the several places named, as follows: —

Bearings and Distances of Towns from Assalt.

Jerusalem	W. S. W.	2 days.
Nablous	W.	2 days.
Nazareth	N. W.	3 days.
Ammān or Ammon	S. E.	6 hours.
Gerash or Geraza	N. E.	1 day.
Fahaez	E. S. E.	2 hours.
Huzbahān or Heshbon	S. S. E.	9 hours.
Chahāf	S. E.	8 hours.
Karak	S. S. E.	3 days.
Oom-el-Russās	S. E.	2 days.

Bearings and Distances of several Places lying in the Road to Oom-el-Russās from Assalt.

Fahaez and Mahus	E. S. E.	2 hours.
Arrack-el-Ameer	S. E.	6 hours.
Huzbhan	S. S. E.	9 hours.
El-Hhaal	S. E.	12 hours.
Emshucker	S. S. E.	14 hours.
El-Ekferaat	S. S. E.	16 hours.
Massooeh	S. E. by S.	18 hours.
El-Burrazene	S. E. by E.	19 hours.
Mahhine or Yussera	E. S. E.	21 hours.
Gerrayne	E. S. E.	23 hours.
Madaba	E. S. E.	25 hours.
Etuheame	E. S. E.	26 hours.
Suthehah	E. S. E.	28 hours.
Lib	E. S. E.	32 hours.
Dellilāt	E. S. E.	35 hours.
Jelool	E. S. E.	36 hours.
Oom-el-Russās	S. E.	40 hours.

There are many places of inferior note, which my informant thought too inconsiderable to name. For greater accuracy, the list was read over to him a second time after being written, and confirmed by his assent to the positions assigned.

Road back from Oom-el-Russās by another Route, through Ammān to Assalt.

1. Oom-el-Russās (1)
2. Oom-el-Hamed
3. Ghobeyah
4. Oom-el-Burrak
5. Beit Zeirahh
6. Oom-el-Kundool
7. Oom-el-Anafish
8. Jowah
9. Yadoodi
10. El-Kissaire
11. Korbtho-el-Homeiry
12. Mussulmaak
13. Griet-es-Sookh
14. Oom Ghaezathy
15. El-Theaeby
16. El-Hummān
17. Oom-el-Hhairān
18. El-Chahāf
19. Oom-el-Soweweny
20. El-Ghoessemy
21. Oom-el-Russās (2)
22. Fokharah
23. Nahhoor
24. Oom-el-Kenāfit
25. Beddeagh
26. Gherbt-el-Saadi
27. Gherbit Saa (1)
28. Gherbt-el-Seiry
29. El-Koursee
30. Gherbit Saa (2)
31. Oom-el-Summaah
32. Dabook
33. Deir-el-Nussāra
34. Deir-el-Seir
35. El-Jehannah
36. Tehhein
37. Abdoon
38. Ammān
39. El-Gherrenein
40. El-Hhurjaan
41. El-Newekees
42. Oom-el-Thebāh
43. Gherra Nurrhish
44. Oom Mahaleleefy
45. Gholdaak
46. Oom-el-Theimy
47. Oom Jozy
48. El-Jebeiah
49. Gherbt-el-Beitha (1)
50. Yajoos
51. Tabikirah
52. Merhel
53. Beddnān
54. Abu Nesseer
55. Moobus
56. El-Khermshay
57. Merah
58. Ethelehhey
59. Erramān
60. El-Mustabah
61. Joobba
62. Aith
63. El-Alook
64. El-Owalaké
65. Surroot
66. Beerein
67. Reijemeshook
68. Malēgha
69. Saffoat
70. Ezzhah
71. El-Bekkah
72. Oom-el-Dennaneer
73. Jellait (Elia Ghioor)
74. Jelhood
75. El-Musheijee
76. Oom-el-Hamed
77. Sehhoof
78. Zey
79. Sumia
80. El-Elaghoone
81. Seehaal
82. Allaan
83. Gherbt-el-Beitha (2)
84. Cufr Elma
85. Cufr Oada
86. Aira
87. Yergah
88. Gherbt Aioobe-el-Nebbé
89. Haramulla
90. El-Beggbeah
91. El-Bugghān
92. Lezzedeeah
93. Gherbit Tobbalah
94. Shoogahor
95. El-Megibbely
96. Mēllikaruk

97 Er Rohawah	100 Gherbit Sennit	103 Gherbt-el-Sookh
98 Gherbt-el-Allāly	101 El-Annab	104 El-Robbaheehāt.
99 Gherbt-Aboyey	102 El-Maezy	

Here my informant grew tired of his task, and exclaimed, " By the beard of the Prophet ! there are three hundred and sixty-six ruined towns and villages about Assalt, and I know the names of all ; but who could have patience to sit down and recite them to another, while he writes them in a book ?" I said all I could to explain the utility of this ; and added, that my chief object in taking this trouble was for the purpose of ascertaining what scriptural names were still retained and extant among the ruined cities here : but all my efforts were of no avail ; the patience of my companion was exhausted, and there was no prevailing on him to resume his task. I had ascertained, however, by this means, at least one highly interesting fact, namely, that the whole of this region was, in a manner, studded with the ruins of ancient towns, and must have been once highly fertile and thickly peopled. On a reference to the division of the places given to the tribe of Judah, there appear only three names of places in this modern list corresponding with those of the cities mentioned there : — Assalt, for the city of Salt (Joshua, xv. 62.) ; El-Anab, for Anab (verse 50.) ; and El-Jehennah, probably for Janum (verse 53.). I have no doubt, however, but a visit to the places themselves, and the comparison of names on the spot, might lead to the most interesting discoveries towards the elucidation of scriptural topography, and restore the lost knowledge of this interesting region, which appears, both from ancient testimony, and the existence of innumerable ruins up to the present time, to have been one of the most fertile and thickly peopled countries on the face of the earth, though it still remains a blank in our maps, and is considered by all who treat of these countries as a desert or a wilderness.

In the evening we were visited by one of the Arab priests of Assalt; a fat, coarse, ignorant, vulgar, and haughty man, who made

himself a sort of temporary deity among the party by which he was surrounded. In his endeavour to flatter me, by paying a compliment to the English nation generally, he said that the Christians of the East must be as glad to see any one from England as if the Madonna herself (the Virgin Mary) were to appear among them! Theological distinctions, and reprobation of heretical sects, formed the chief topics of conversation; and in the course of this it was admitted, that the Russians were the only truly orthodox people in matters of faith among the whole of the nations of Europe: although the English, it was allowed, were a much superior race, notwithstanding the general conviction that they had no religion whatever, and, consequently, none of its appendages — neither churches nor priests; —a belief, in which they were so firmly rooted, that my most solemn asseverations to the contrary, accompanied by a long detail of our form of church government and worship, had no effect whatever in changing their preconceived notions.

This Greek divine officiated, by leading the prayer of the evening, as the party was about to break up. In doing this he stood before the rest, who followed his motions, after the same manner as the Mohammedans follow those of the Imams; and, indeed, the ceremony itself very nearly resembled the Mussulman manner of prayer, except that there were not so many prostrations to the earth, and that the hands, instead of being elevated towards heaven, were almost constantly employed in marking the form of the cross on the head and breast. There was the same indecorous hurrying through the prayer, as among the Mohammedans; and, as with them also, the chief aim of the Greek priest seemed to be to say as many words as possible, by the most rapid utterance, without taking breath, making the last word louder than all the preceding ones, and hurrying forward again with all speed after drawing breath, without any regard to pause or emphasis, so that the whole resembled a barbarous mode of singing, rather than solemn breathings of the soul poured forth before the throne of the Supreme Being. To add to this revolting picture, there was neither solem-

nity in the manner of the speaker, nor respect in that of the audience; for some talked, others laughed, and the mistress of the house, to save time, took this occasion to spread out the mats for our beds, at the same time muttering her prayers in an under tone with the rest. The priest, when his hurried service was at an end, determined to sleep at the house, instead of going to his home in another part of the town as he had intended, and by this step most disagreeably added to the number of our already crowded party.

Assalt, Tuesday, Feb. 27.—The heavy snow and intense frost which commenced soon after sunset on the preceding night, had continued until sunrise, and in the course of the forenoon we learnt that great destruction had been committed among the flocks and herds of the surrounding country; two persons indeed were said to have died from exposure to the cold, at a short distance from the town. This return of tempestuous and snowy weather created a new obstacle, or rather revived and strengthened the original hindrance to my prosecuting my intended journey from hence. I felt my stay here indescribably tedious, and would willingly have shortened it, had it depended on any exertions of my own: but we could not command the elements. It is true that there was no want of good and wholesome food, nor of shelter from the inclemency of the weather; but the first was disgusting, from the mode in which it was prepared, and the last was little better than the open air, from the myriads of vermin of every description which tormented me during the night. Had I been granted the enjoyment of a single day *alone*, I should not have regretted my detention so much; but during the daytime the house was filled with visitors and enquirers; and in the night, the crowded state of the room, in which we were all shut up together, rendered it difficult to enjoy even one hour's quiet and unbroken repose. It was only in the intervals between sleep that I could find time at night to commit any facts, or remarks on them, to paper, by the light of a dull lamp,

which burnt while all but myself lay asleep on the ground. This, of itself, will sufficiently account for the unconnected and imperfect nature of many of the observations that appear; some in mere outline, others only half expressed; and others again, probably, unimportant and uninteresting, but still thought worthy of preserving, at the time they were first made.

In the course of the conversation that passed among our visitors to-day, I learnt that the young men of Assalt invariably marry soon after their arriving at the age of puberty; and early marriages and a numerous offspring are accounted blessings to both sexes. Children, indeed, are sources of wealth in such a country; for the young sons are sent out to labour at an early age, and soon become capable of maintaining themselves, and even of bringing home a portion of their wages to the father, until they are twenty, when they are considered independent, and receive the whole. Young girls are also given in marriage for certain sums of money, varying from 500 to 1000 piastres, according to their connections or beauty; which sum being paid by the bridegroom to the bride's father, adds to his wealth, and makes girls as profitable as boys to their parents, particularly when they are handsome.

Many of the inhabitants of Assalt have light-coloured eyes, and fine soft auburn hair, with fair complexions, like the inhabitants of northern climates. The women would be agreeable in their persons, if they did not so strangely disfigure themselves, after the manner of the Arabs, by staining their lips with the most repulsive of all colours for the flesh, a deep indigo blue, as well as marking spots and lines of the same colour on the chin, forehead, and cheeks. The dress of the men resembles that of Syrian Arabs on the coast, with the exception only of their wearing over their ordinary dress a short sheep-skin jacket, the woolly part on the inside, and the skin, of a reddish colour, and tanned, as well as it can be while the wool is on, outside. The women dress also like the Syrians, but are rather more profuse in their display of strings

of gold and silver coin, with which they decorate their heads, arms, and necks.* The manners of both sexes resemble those of the Bedouins more than of the citizens of Syria, although they are originally descended from the latter, and mix more frequently with them than with the people of the Desert. The language, though Arabic, differs in many respects so widely from the language of Egypt and the Yemen, that I had often much difficulty in following a person whose utterance was more thick or more rapid than usual; and I felt this inconvenience the more, as I was without an interpreter; for my guide Georgis spoke more after the manner of the people of Assalt than of Nazareth,—and there is a striking difference even in places so near to each other.

The Bedouins of the neighbouring country are tall, well-made men, and have a prepossessing aspect and commanding exterior. They live on good terms with the inhabitants of Assalt, although their credit is so bad, that no trader of the town will trust them with any supplies, without having the purchase-money paid at the time. Assalt is the bazar or market for the supply of all the country as far as Karak, and this last place for the country east of it, which is said to extend a long way in that direction, before the sands of the Desert are met with. The Bedouins of these parts, however, though living in peace with the people of the town, on whom they chiefly depend for all supplies not raised within their own camps, are not in general esteemed by them; the common impression being that they are a barbarous and unjust race, and that no one, unless accompanied by an armed escort, or furnished with security, as well as pledges, from the sheikhs of the tribes, could with safety trust himself among them. From their character at present, as compared with the earliest accounts of them, it

* Rows of these coins, sometimes mixed with precious stones, bound round the temples and hanging over the cheeks, remind the scriptural reader of the verse, "Thy cheeks are comely with rows of jewels, thy neck with chains of gold." — *Song of Solomon*, i. 10.

appears indeed that they have undergone little alteration for many centuries past. *

One of the consequences of the nearly equal mixture of Christians and Mohammedans in this community is a proportionate diminution of the force of bigotry and religious intolerance. It is well known that throughout the whole of the Turkish empire, and wherever the authority of Arab or Turkish governors extends, the Jews and Christians are not permitted to wear the gay colours worn by the Mohammedans; neither are they permitted to use the salutation of peace, or to swear by the oaths or ejaculations peculiar to the faith of Islam. At Assalt, however, no such distinctions exist. The Christians wear freely, and without molestation, the same garments and the same gay colours that are worn by their Mohammedan townsmen: they use the same mode of salutation; and there is no difference of exterior appearance, or even of manners, between the one and the other: so perfectly are they on a footing of equality. In return for this absence of intolerance on the part of the Mohammedans, there is a corresponding abstinence from what so particularly offends them in the Syrian towns among the Christians, namely, pork and spirituous liquors. In all the sea-ports particularly, there are pigs, spirit-shops, and wine-cellars

* The Arabians, called the Nabateans, inhabit a tract partly desert, and in other parts without water; and very little of this tract bears any fruit; therefore the inhabitants live by robbing and stealing, and for that end roving up and down the countries far and near, they vex the inhabitants with their continual incursions and robberies, it being a very difficult matter to subdue them. For in the dry country, they have wells digged in convenient places, unknown to strangers, whither they fly for refuge and are safe. For knowing where the waters lie hid and private, upon opening of the wells they are largely supplied: but strangers who pursue them, (unacquainted with those fountains,) either perish for thirst, or falling into many other disasters, and quite tired out, scarcely ever return home. And therefore these Arabians (being that they are not to be conquered) are never enslaved, nor ever admit any foreign prince over them, but preserve themselves continually in perfect liberty; and therefore neither the Assyrians anciently, nor the Medes and Persians, nor the very Macedonians themselves, were ever able to conquer them; who, though they often marched with great forces against them, yet they ever failed in their designs. — *Diodorus Siculus*, *Booth's Translation*, fol. 1700. Book ii. c. 4. p. 78.

in abundance, all of which are used and frequented solely by the Christians. At Assalt none of these are to be seen ; and although the country about the immediate precincts of the town produces an abundance of grapes, no wine is made from them ; but such as are not eaten in their fresh state are dried as raisins, and stored up for winter use. They make also of these raisins a sweet, thick syrup, which is eaten by dipping bread in it, and is in great esteem among all classes, old and young. It is called *Dipse*, and is in general use in all parts of Syria where grapes are produced. *

The Bedouins take a quantity of this last article away with them into the Desert for their women and children, and to present it to guests to whom they may extend their hospitality. They also take from Assalt the manufactures of Egypt and Syria, including Sechem and Tyre, in return for which they bring camels, horses, and goats, as they did in the earliest times. † Indeed, in all respects they appear to have stood still, while every other part of the world has been either receding or advancing, and they are probably the only people now on the globe, to whom the most ancient description would apply with equal fidelity in the present day. ‡

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* The learned Dr. Vincent, in his Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, says, that this article, under the same name, *Dipse*, formed one of the exports of the ancients, from Diospolis in Egypt to Arabia and India. It is mentioned as frequently by early writers as by modern travellers. Ebn Haukal calls it Doushab, and says that it was made also at Argham in Susiana. — *Vincent*, *Appendix*, vol. ii. page 68.

† Arabia and the princes of Kedar purchased the fabrics of Tyre, and brought in return lambs, rams, and goats. By the princes of Kedar may be understood the sheikhs of the tribes of the Desert, who lived in tents which were black. * *Kedar* signifies black; and Bochart concludes from this, that they were Arabs burnt by the sun; but that it refers to the tents is evident from Canticles, i. 5., " I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem : as the *tents* of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." See the Song of Maisuna, wife of Moawiah, in Abulfeda, *Reiska*, p. 116., which presents a true picture of the Arabs of the Desert. — *Vincent's Periplus*, vol. ii. page 548.

‡ " It is worth our pains here," says Diodorus Siculus, " to relate the manners and customs of these Arabians, for the information of them that are ignorant; by the use

* All the tents of Bedouins, that I have ever seen, are made of sheep's wool and goat's and camel's hair, and are mostly black, with sometimes, but rarely, stripes of white, grey, or brown ; but this is so small a proportion, that even these striped tents all look black at a distance.

At the return of evening, we all met together as before, at the house of Aioobe the merchant, where a large party was collected before our arrival. We had not been seated long, however, before my companion, Mallim Georgis, gave the company a specimen of his powers as an Improvisatore, in Arabic, reciting, as he told me, extempore verses in that language, which, as far as I could discover, were generally thought successful efforts of skilful arrangement and correct rhyme. This was followed by one of the company repeating a set of lines on the letters of the Arabic alphabet, similar to those known to all nurses in England.

A — was an archer, and shot at a frog,
B — was a butcher, and kept a great dog.

Tales from the Arabian Nights were recited by some of the younger members of the party; and after this, the priest who was present closed the evening's entertainment by narrating, in set phrase and pompous manner, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, by their being engulphed in the Dead Sea. The peculiarities of this Sea, though within a day's journey of the spot on which we stood, were not accurately known to any one of the party, so indifferent had

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of which customs they have hitherto secured themselves, and preserved their liberty. They live in the plain and open fields, calling that Desert their country, wherein are neither inhabitants, rivers, or springs, whereby an enemy's army can be relieved. It is a law amongst them neither to sow, plant, build houses, or drink any wine; and he that is discovered to do any of these is sure to die for it. And the reason of this law is, because they conceive that those who are possessed of such things are easily (for fear of losing what they have, or in hopes of gaining more,) forced to comply with the will and humour of those that are more powerful. Some of them breed up camels, others employ themselves in feeding of sheep, roving to and fro in the wilderness for that purpose. There are no few indeed of the Arabians, that though they give themselves to the pasturage of cattle in the Desert, yet are far richer than the rest, but exceed in number above 10,000. For many of them use to carry frankincense, myrrh, and other rich perfumes down to the sea-side, which they traffick for, and receive from them that bring them from Arabia the Happy. They highly prize and value their liberty, and when any strong armies invade them, they presently fly into the wilderness, as into a strong fortress and castle for refuge; for, no water being there to be had, none can follow them through those Deserts." — *Diodorus Siculus*, book xix. c. 6.

they all been to an object of so much natural curiosity, and doubly interesting from its association with the history of their religious faith. No two persons were agreed as to *all* that was said respecting it: some of their assertions indeed were so extravagant, that no reflecting person could give them credit; but most of the individuals present concurred in these facts; namely, that the sea was seldom or ever agitated by storms; that its waters were heavier than any other known; that though the river Jordan, which comes through the fine fresh lake of Tiberias, and continues sweet to the end, discharges itself into the Dead Sea, its smell is offensive, and its taste salt, bitter, and highly disagreeable; that neither are birds seen to fly over it, nor fishes found in its waters; that the heaviest bodies float on its surface; and that it is constantly throwing up from its bottom large masses of black bitumen, which is secured, as it drifts on the shore, by the Arabs, who take it up to Jerusalem for sale. These facts appeared to be well authenticated, and even these correspond in a striking degree with many of the descriptions given of this sea by ancient writers. As one of the wonders of these parts, the Dead Sea engrossed a large share of the attention of all who wrote on Syria and Palestine; but their accounts of it, differing as they do in many particulars, are not half so discordant as the verbal description which I heard with my own ears at Assalt in a company of twenty persons, not twenty leagues from the spot, and each of whom had seen the sea for himself, an advantage enjoyed by few or none of the ancients who wrote of it.*

* Having collected, in a little book set apart for the purpose of extracts, several passages from different works, as accident threw them in my way, relating to the Lake Asphaltes, I shall, perhaps, save others the trouble of reference, by subjoining a few of them in a note.

"There is a lake also in that country (the valley of Jericho), which, by reason of its greatness and immoveableness of the water, is called the Dead Sea; for it is neither stirred with the winds, (the glutinous substance with which all the water is covered resisting their violence,) neither is it patient of navigation, for all things wanting life do presently sink into the bottom, neither doth it sustain any matter unless it be washed over with rock alum." — *The History of Justin.* Codrington's Translation. London, 1688. 12mo. 5th edit. Book xxxvi. p. 253.

The mode of living at Assalt, and the conveniences and comforts of the people, as well as their manners, are much ruder than in Egypt, low even as the people of that country must be ranked in

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"The Lake (Asphaltites) breedeth no living creature. Nothing will go down or sink into it. It exceeds 100 miles in length, is 25 miles over at the broadest part, and six miles at the narrowest. On the east are the Arabian Nomades, on the south Machærus, a fortress next in importance to Jerusalem. * On the same coast there is a fountain of hot waters, called *Callirrhoe*, esteemed wholesome and medicinable. Along the west coast lived the Esseni, a people living without women or money, having community of property, and aiming at an extraordinary degree of purity in their lives and manners." — *Plin. Nat. Hist.*, book v. c. 16, 17.

"The Lake Asphaltes lies in the midst of the province of Edom, and stretches forth in length five hundred furlongs, but in breadth it is but three-score. The water is very bitter and stinking, so that neither fish, nor any other thing used to the water, can live in it. And though many remarkable rivers of very sweet water empty themselves into it, yet it remains as corrupt and unsavoury, both to the taste and the smell, as ever it did before. Every year rises out of the middle of it great massy pieces of bitumen and pitch, sometimes bigger than three plethras (of one hundred feet each,) and sometimes little less than one. And upon that account the barbarous inhabitants call the larger pieces *bulls*, and the lesser *calves*. These pieces of pitch and brimstone, floating upon the water, seem, at a distance, to be as so many islands. There are evident signs that forego and give notice of the casting up of this bituminous matter at least twenty days before; for a horrid smell of brimstone and pitch infects the air round about the lake at many furlongs distance; and all metals, whether of gold, silver, or copper, near the place, change their natural colour, which presently returns again, as soon as the brimstone is exhaled. The places bordering on it are so burning hot (by reason of the sulphur and brimstone under ground), and cast forth such an horrible stench, that the inhabitants are very unhealthy and short-lived. Yet the country thereabouts, being watered with many pleasant rivers and refreshing springs, bears abundance of palm-trees; and in a certain vale near to this place grows that they call *balm*, from which they raise a great revenue, inasmuch as this plant grows in no part of the world beside, and is of excellent use among physicians, for the healing and curing of wounds and other distempers. The inhabitants on both sides this lake are so eager to carry away this brimstone that they fight one with another, and they bring it off in a strange manner without shipping. For they cast in huge bundles of bulrushes fastened close together, upon which three or more of them place themselves; two of which ply the oars, which are fastened to the bulrushes, and the third carries a bow and arrows to defend themselves against such as attempt to make up upon them from the other side, or that offer them any violence. As soon as they come to the brimstone they get upon it and hew it in

* This does not correspond with the position of the ruins now so called.

the scale of happiness and ease. They have here, as on the banks of the Nile, a very fertile and productive country; and though the one is a flat plain of alluvial soil, and the other is mountain and valley interspersed, yet each would, with proper cultivation, produce abundantly all the fruits of the earth, for which the climate is favourable. In Egypt, however, they are most severely taxed, which might account for their general poverty; but at Assalt they are free of all burdens, and the slow progress made by them in the acquisition of wealth and improvement must be attributed mainly to their ignorance, and their excessive love of idleness and gossiping from house to house, to hear the news and acquaint themselves with every man's business, at the same time that they neglect their own. This is indeed more or less the case among all the Turks and Arabs that I have ever yet seen, and materially assists, conjointly with the destroying influence of despotic governments, to keep them in the low state of civilization in which they remain. The Christians in Syria, who are really oppressed by heavy burdens and odious distinctions, however much they may be inclined to indolence, do not generally indulge it, but lead a very active and busy life. The Christians of Assalt, however, being free of all such hardships, instead of profiting by that freedom to increase their strength, wealth, and respectability, waste more than half their time in idleness, and instead of advancing beyond, seem really to recede behind, their Christian brethren on the coast.

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pieces with axes, as pieces of stone out of a soft rock; and so, loading the bulrush boat, they row back. If any fall into the water through the deficiency of the boat, yet he never sinks as in other waters, though he knows not how to swim, but lies upon the water as if he were the best swimmer in the world. For the lake naturally bears any thing that has either a vegetative or an animal life, except such things as are solid, and seem to be without pores, as silver, gold, lead, or the like; and even these are much longer and slower in sinking than when they are cast into other waters. And this profit and advantage the barbarians reap from it: they transport this pitch into Egypt, and there sell it for the use of embalming of the dead; for if they do not mix this with other aromatic spices, the bodies cannot be preserved long from putrefaction. — *Diodorus Siculus*, Book xix. c. 6.

The people here rise early, and after prayers at home sally forth as if in quest of society, often halting at the door of the first house before which they may happen to find others assembled. Here they remain to smoke and drink coffee sometimes till eleven or twelve o'clock, when perhaps they go home to dinner. After this they must have tobacco and coffee again; and then an hour's sleep, or even two, is a common indulgence. By the time they awake they feel disposed to take another stroll from home to hear the news; and this ramble from house to house continues until sunset, when they return home to supper, and even after that often go out to join some assembly, at whatever house they may have met to pass away the evening. Except the mere cultivators of the soil, and men who live by the work of their own hands, no one seems to labour; and with the small traders and shopkeepers, as well as those who are proprietors of land or animals, however inconsiderable the amount of their rent or produce, they scarcely apply an hour a day to the transaction of business: all the rest is given up to going about from house to house, or indulging in the most unprofitable indolence, leaving the females of the family at home to do all the drudgery of the household work, while they either sleep or smoke away their lazy existence. Not a single interval is filled up by reading, either on religious or any other subjects; and of writing they do as little as possible, it being thought troublesome to pen even a common letter of business when really necessary. Their information on all subjects of general knowledge is extremely confined, and their enquiries, when prompted by curiosity to make any, are so ill-directed, that it will be long before these alone extend their knowledge to any good or useful purpose.

The Christians of this place being all of the Greek church, are great admirers of the Russians, who are the only people of any great nation that are of the same faith. They constantly speak of their prowess, and consider them the first people in the world. The sovereigns of Europe they consider bound to unite together

for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Land from the infidel grasp of the Turks; and they understand the Holy Alliance to have no other aim in view. Buonaparte is their favourite hero; and not even by his warmest admirers in Europe was he ever so extravagantly eulogized as he is here. They all believe that *his* only object was to rescue the holy sepulchre from infidel hands, and give to the Christians of the East a complete deliverance. The French army, and the battles fought by them in Syria, are therefore frequent themes of conversation, and are never spoken of without the greatest exaggeration; though it must be admitted that a mere handful of the French often defeated and dispersed thousands of Turks and Arabs combined. Facts, indeed, and those too notorious to be controverted, would furnish them sufficient food for admiration; but not satisfied with this, they relate events which none but those who believed in the existence of modern miracles could for a moment credit.

Assalt, Wednesday, February 28. — My Nazarene guide, Mallim Georgis, not being so well acquainted with the road from hence to Karak as with the first part of our journey, it became advisable to procure a person who not only knew the way, but was acquainted with the Bedouins of the country through which we had to pass. The man who was deemed best qualified for this journey was soon brought to me; and Abu Fārah, for that was his name, pleased me much at our first interview. From his general appearance and manner I had taken him for a Mohammedan; but I had occasion to learn soon afterwards that he was quite as much a Christian as a Moslem; his faith and practice being so equally balanced, that he might be taken for a connecting link between the two. He had all the manners of a Mohammedan, though his profession was that of a Christian; but he was by nature so constituted, that his feelings would be always on the side of whichever religion afforded him the greatest privileges; as, in the present instance, he regarded his confinement to one wife as a very painful sacrifice, though

enjoined by his faith, and consoled himself, as well as he could, for this restriction, by rejoicing that he was at least permitted to eat pork and drink wine whenever he could obtain them, a pleasure denied to those who could exceed him in the number of the females of his harem.

As the morning appeared to promise us a favourable day, I was determined to set out in prosecution of my journey ; but, as usual, new difficulties were started, and new objections moved. So common is it, however, to be interrupted in the most reasonable designs and ordinary occupations of life, by the busy idlers who throng round every one setting out on a journey of any distance, that I conceived their objections less worthy of attention than perhaps they deserved. Some were of opinion, that, if we should get to Karak in safety, it would be difficult at any time, but quite impossible at the present, to make a journey from thence to Baghdad, from the hostile operations of the Wahabi Arabs extending over the intervening country. A still greater number thought we should not even reach Karak, in consequence of the Beni-Szakher Arabs often coming in upon the borders of that town, and making the road dangerous to all passengers, but particularly to strangers. Abu Farah, my new companion, was well known, however, to all the Bedouins, whose small encampments lay between the places on the road, and we hoped by this means to make our journey good. An objection was next raised by my guide himself, as to our setting out to-day, he insisting on it that *Youm-el-Arbaah*, or the fourth day, was the most inauspicious day of the week on which to commence a journey. It was a long while before he would be prevailed on to start until to-morrow ; but the threat of procuring another guide, if he declined, removed his scruples, and our departure was accordingly determined.



CHAP. IV.

JOURNEY FROM ASSALT TO THE RUINS OF AMMĀN.

Wednesday, Feb. 28.— It was about ten o'clock in the morning when we mounted our horses to set out on our journey. On leaving Assalt, we passed down by the foot of the hill, on the side of which the town stands, and watered our horses there at a large trough and well, at which the women of the place were washing garments. From hence we passed on through a narrow valley, which runs eastward of the town; and, after continuing about a quarter of a mile in that direction, turns off to the south-east, and grows wider and wider till its termination. Near the town, on this its eastern side, the hills that enclose the valley are laid out in vine-beds. In the rocks are grottoes, which particularly abound on the northern side of the valley, and many of these are, even

now, inhabited by shepherds, who feed their flocks on the neighbouring hills, and retire to these caves for shelter at night.

On turning to the south, in which direction we soon proceeded, the valley became more fertile, and appeared to be well wooded and watered throughout its extent, being capable of a much higher degree of cultivation than it is likely to enjoy for a long time to come, and of sustaining five times the population that now inhabit the town and neighbourhood. From the eastern extremity of this valley we ascended a steep hill, from the summit of which we enjoyed a fine view of the castle and town of Assalt to the westward. Our course from this lay south-east for the first hour, on a rugged and stony road. In our way over this we saw the Dead Sea, about five leagues distant to the south-west, and the town of Bethlehem in the mountains of Judea, bearing by compass W. S.W., distant, perhaps, in a straight line, about thirty miles.

On reaching the end of this elevated and stony plain, we descended over the brow of the hill in which it terminated, and alighted at a place called Anab — no doubt the same as that enumerated among the various cities and towns in Joshua (chap. xv. v. 20.). The word itself signifies " grapes," a fruit with which the whole of this region abounds, and which it appears to have possessed in the earliest ages; for this is the part of the country into which the spies were sent by Moses, when encamped in the wilderness of Paran, to spy out the land, and from whence they brought back a branch with a cluster of grapes, as a proof of the fertility of the soil, or, in the figurative language of those days, of its " flowing with milk and honey." (Numbers, xiii. 23. 27.)

Anab is still inhabited by about one hundred persons, but these all live in grottoes or caves excavated in the rock, which were probably more ancient than any buildings now existing. Their preservation, however, offers the strongest proof that the very earliest of their occupiers must have been men of the ordinary size of the present generation, and not giants, as described by these

emissaries from the camp. Their exaggeration of the size of the cities, which were said to be " walled and very great," might be pardoned in those who were born during the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, in which they had never seen any towns ; though such a description could not have been given of any of the places of the Amorites, by those who had seen Memphis, and others of the many really " great" cities in Egypt. But their exaggeration with respect to the men is not so easily accounted for, as they must have seen men of as good stature among their own race as any that inhabited the land of Canaan. As the men who related these extraordinary facts respecting the country they had been sent to examine were condemned to die of the plague *because* of the " evil report" which they brought up of the land, it is fair to infer, that this *evil* report was a *false* one, as death would be an inappropriate reward for fidelity of description ; and there is, therefore, reason to believe that there was no truth whatever in their assertion, that the people of the country were giants, in whose presence they themselves (the spies) appeared but as grasshoppers. (Numbers, xiii. 33.)

The size of the caves now inhabited here, and which are undoubtedly of very high antiquity, confirm the opinion that their original occupiers were of the same size as their present possessors. These are chiefly shepherds, whose flocks browse on the steep sides of the hills near them, and who, in the severe nights of winter, take shelter in the caves, with their attendants. Some of the inhabitants of the caves are, however, cultivators of the earth, and till and plant such detached plots and patches of the soil, among the least steep parts of the ascent, as may be most favourable for the fruits or grain. The grottoes themselves are all hewn out by the hand of man, and are not natural caverns ; but, from their great antiquity, and the manner in which they were originally executed, they have a very rude appearance. Nevertheless, the persons who occupy them fortunately deem them far superior to buildings of masonry, and consider themselves better off than those who live in

tents or houses, so that they envy not the dwellers in camps or cities. They are certainly more durable and less likely to need repair than either ; and, with the exception of a chimney, or some aperture to give an outlet to the smoke (a defect existing in all the buildings of these parts), they are very comfortable retreats, being drier and more completely sheltered from wind and rain than either house or tent, besides being warmer in winter and cooler in summer than any other kind of dwelling-place that could be adopted.

We found none of the milk and honey with which this land is said to have flowed ; and were, accordingly, regaled with less agreeable food, the dish from which we made our dinner being composed of boiled wheat, mixed up with sour milk and oil, a mess to which nothing but excessive hunger could reconcile an English appetite, and of which I made a show of eating, though it was impossible to do more.

We set out from Anab about noon, and descended into the valley below it, called Wādi Lizerack ; passing over the bed of a torrent, now dry. On the banks of this bed were sloping moles of masonry, and vestiges of ancient work, similar to those seen on the banks of the Zerkah, and described in the journey from Jerusalem to Jerash. Both are considered to be remains of ancient works existing in the earliest ages of the Jews ; but whether the brook that ran here was the Eshcol of the Scriptures, from whence the grapes were taken by the spies of Moses, and these buildings were meant to commemorate that event, or not, we could not learn ; nor could we, indeed, from the vagueness of the historical account, easily fix on any features by which to identify it.

The hill that rises above this, to the eastward, is so steep, that we were obliged to dismount and lead our horses up its side. The dress of mounted Arabs is so unfavourable to freedom of motion in the limbs, that walking a very short distance in it is fatiguing. I was extremely tired, therefore, on reaching the summit of this hill, but was amply repaid by the fine wooded scenery,

with large masses of rock, and spots of grass and turf, through which we passed.

In about an hour after leaving Anab we arrived at Fahaez, a ruined town, said to have been formerly peopled by Christians. In this place we observed the remains of at least a hundred dwellings, all built of stone. In their construction the Roman arch was very prevalent, which induced a conjecture that it might have been a settlement of Roman colonists, or of original Greek Christians of the Lower Empire, who lived separate and apart from the native Syrians, or the Arabs of the country. It must, however, have been merely a private and obscure station, as there were no traces of any public buildings remaining; and neither columns, sculpture, nor any other mark of architectural care, were to be seen among the ruins.

From Fahaez we proceeded in a more easterly direction than before, and again ascended a rising ground, which was covered with a fine red soil, and exhibited every where traces of former cultivation and great fertility. On the summit of this hill the wood scenery was beautiful; and the fresh and full foliage of evergreen trees, contrasted with the snowy beds out of which their trunks sprung, was at once new and striking. In the open grounds below we had seen several herds of gazelles ; and here, from among the woody thickets by which we were surrounded, rushed forth two large boars, nearly black, and seemingly ferocious. Their appearance was as wild as I ever remember to have seen any before, so that we were pleased at their dashing across our path without attempting a stand; particularly as our horses, untrained to the sport of hunting the mountain boar, were evidently much terrified at the sudden and unexpected sight of these animals.

In our way from this place onward we passed four ruined villages, the names of which were mentioned to me at the time, but soon forgotten ; and about two o'clock we reached a place called Deer-el-Nassāra, or the Convent of the Christians. This is a ruined town of greater extent than Fahaez, and apparently of greater

antiquity. I should infer this from the larger size of the stones of which the buildings were constructed, and the general appearance and deeper hue of age spread over every part; but even still more from the circumstance of its earlier and more complete destruction. No one edifice among the whole remains perfect; and in some the dilapidation is so complete, that soil has collected over and between the fallen heaps of stones, in which large trees have taken root, and nearly the whole of the site is now covered with wood. There were no fragments of columns among the fallen heaps, but the stones were smoothly hewn, the masonry of the best kind, and the work bearing all the usual appearance of being Roman in its construction.

From Deer-el-Nassāra we soon entered a thick forest of large trees, the greatest number of which were evergreens: one of these, the most numerous of the whole, was as tall as an English elm, of equal girth to full grown trees of that kind, with crooked branches and small leaves; it was called, by Abu Fārah, my guide, Sedjer-el-Finjān, or the Finjān tree. Among those which had cast their leaves, there was one whose branches were covered with thick brown moss; this he called Sedjer-el-Fush, or the Fush tree. Another kind, of a smaller sized trunk and branches, with a beautifully large and light-green glossy leaf, and the bark of a red colour, he called Gaegob. All of these were in great abundance, besides which, were a variety of smaller trees and shrubs, presenting every shade of colour and hue, from the palest yellow to the deepest green.

We proceeded through this forest in an easterly direction for about a mile; this being its breadth in the part in which we crossed it, though its length from north to south was evidently much greater. On clearing it, we came out on a fine plain covered with rich green turf, and passed by a ruined town on our right. The name of this place was Daboak; but as we did not halt to examine it, I had no opportunity of judging whether it was ancient or

modern: all that I could learn was, that it had long since been abandoned and in ruins.

The country that lay before us in our route, though now become bare of wood, presented a great extent of fertile soil lying entirely waste, though it was equal to any of the very best portions of Galilee and Samaria, and capable of producing sustenance for a large population.

In our way we passed another ruined town, called Oom-el-Semāk, where there were foundations of a circular wall of enclosure still visible; and around us in every direction were remains of more than fifty towns and villages, which were once maintained by the productive soil over which they were so thickly studded. As their names were mentioned to me by Abu Fārah, my companion, I recognized many of those contained in the list drawn up by me at Assalt; but when I suggested to my guide a halt for a few minutes to take their respective names and bearings, his surprise was extreme; and I could plainly see, by his impatient manner, that, if I pressed this point, I should lose his good-humour, and good-will too, for the rest of the day, so that I relinquished the attempt, strongly as I desired to bring away with me some clue to the positions of places, the names and existence of which are unknown in Europe.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when we came in sight of Khallet-Ammān, which then appeared about four or five miles to the eastward of us, standing on a round hill below the level of the plain, across which our route lay. This plain was covered with fine green turf, daisies, and a large scarlet flower, in great abundance; and the soil was extremely rich, with a slight intermixture of small silicious stones. On our left, soon after, appeared the mountains of the Druses, near Lebanon, with the hills that border the Hauran on the north. So elevated, however, was the level on which we now stood, that the plains of the Hauran seemed sunk in an abyss, while the mountains I have mentioned, including Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, whose summits were sheeted

over with unbroken snow, appeared rather below than above our present elevation, though they must have been somewhat higher, at least, as no snow rested on the high plain from which this view was taken. This accounted for the continuance of winter in these high regions, and the severity of the cold which accompanied the winds from the northern and eastern quarters. In the open air the thermometer was at 26°; but the dress of a Bedouin, in which I was clad, is so ill calculated to protect the wearer from cold, that I suffered from the weather more than I had anticipated.

Continuing eastward over the plain, and gradually descending, we passed, on our right, a circular building of a large size, called Khallet-Melfoof, leaving it at a distance of a mile at least. Although we were still two miles from Ammān, pieces of broken pottery began to appear, strewed over the ground, and the quantity increased as we went on, indicating an approach to the ruins of a great city, of which these fragments of domestic vessels and utensils are almost always the first vestiges seen; because, from their very use and nature, they were liable to be so much more widely scattered about, than larger masses of more ponderous materials. As we drew nearer to the immediate precincts of the city, the soil still retained the same appearance of a light red earth; but it was deeper and more abundant the nearer we approached the town, and bore more evidently the appearance of former cultivation, the smooth turf having now given place to a rougher surface, with the marks of having been loosened and furrowed by the plough.

Approaching Ammān from the westward, we entered on a broad road, bounded on each side by stone enclosures, and soon after came to the remains of a large building of excellent masonry, with sculptured blocks scattered near it on the ground. It was, probably, an outer gate of the city, or a triumphal entrance; for, like the outer gate or arch at Gerash, it had no appearance of having ever been connected with walls on either side, but stood isolated and alone. On the left of this, on a rocky patch of ground, I observed the cover of a sarcophagus, differing from those of

Gerash and Oom-Kais, being convex at the top, instead of angular, or pent-roofed, and the ornaments at the corners being repeated at the sides also. On passing down over the brow of this hill we saw several grottoes, which were, no doubt, ancient tombs, and this the place of interment without the city, there being near the grottoes one sarcophagus, of the usual size and form, complete.

We had now before us the large enclosed ruin called Khallet-Ammān, or the Castle of Ammān, which appeared, indeed, more like a fortress than a city, and occupied entirely the summit of a small steep hill. The exterior walls of this fortress had their foundation laid considerably below the level of the dwellings within the enclosure, and on the side within view; the western face, where the wall ascended like a sloping mole, formed a kind of case-work to the hill itself. The masonry of this was of the best kind, the stones being squarely hewn and nicely adjusted at the edges, with the centre left to form a rough projecting surface, like those in the castle of Assalt, and the tower of the Pisans at Jerusalem, after the manner of the rustic masonry of the Romans.

We went up over the steep ascent to this ruined mass of buildings, passing large heaps of fallen stones in the way, and at length reached the eastern gateway, by which we entered. Near to this, on our left, stood a building, the masonry of which was not only much inferior to what we had observed on the outside, but it was evidently constructed of materials gathered from the ruins of other and older buildings on the spot. On entering it at the south end, we came to an open square court with arched recesses on each side, the sides nearly facing the cardinal points. The recesses in the northern and southern walls were originally open passages, and had arched doorways facing each other; but the first of these we found wholly closed, and the last was partially filled up, leaving only a narrow passage just sufficient for the entrance of one man, and of the goats which their Arab keepers drive in here occasionally for shelter during the night.

The central square open court appeared to be not more than twenty feet across, but on each side of it was a range of covered buildings equally divided into three portions, the central one being a covered recess, and on each side of it a vaulted room. There is no appearance of the central square court having ever been roofed, as all around the top of the walls on each side is a bed of grassy turf, forming a walk on a level with the upper part of the building. The arches of the covered recesses, as well as of the vaulted rooms and passages of entrance, are all of the pointed form ; yet at the same time there are lines of small niches in the walls all around the inside of the building, which are entirely formed of the Roman arch, supported at each spring by a small Doric column. The ornaments of these small recesses, which are all very shallow, were of various kinds. In some of the largest of them I noticed bunches of grapes and vine-leaves well sculptured, and in others that indefinite kind of pattern called Arabesque. There were no traces of an inscription in any language, as far at least as my hasty search could discover, by which the age of this building might have been determined. The form of a Greek cross, which the divisions of the interior may be said to retain, induced me at first to think it might have been a Greek church ; but on the other hand, its being originally open at the top, and at the north and south ends, while closed at the east and west, with the style of its ornaments within, and the entire absence of all Christian emblems, either of painting or sculpture, rendered it very doubtful to what purpose it was originally applied. The masonry of the interior is of a much better kind than that of the exterior; but the whole is evidently of a more modern date than the fortress itself, as it is built from the fragments of some older buildings, which probably occupied its present site, or were at least within the walls of the fortification.

On the east of this building, and at the distance of a few paces only, was a large circular reservoir for water, well built, and originally surrounded by a moulding or cornice at the top. The descent into it was by a flight of stone steps : its depth was about

twenty feet, and its circumference fifty-two paces. This reservoir stands between the square building first described and the eastern wall of the fortress, which at this place presses close upon it.

To the north of this, and still within the enclosed space on the summit of the hill, is a wall, running across the fort in an east and west direction. In the southern face of this wall are concave niches of the Roman arched form, and on the north front of the same wall are continued recesses, of the same kind as those described in the open court first mentioned. In the concave part of these, however, are cut short spears, the triangular heads of which are shaped like the Greek Δ, and these are so deeply hollowed out that they appear to have served for lamps, resembling exactly the niches for lamps seen in the sepulchres of the kings at Jerusalem, and in the tombs at Oom-Kais.

Not far from this, to the south, is part of a building, the undestroyed portion of which contains Saracen or pointed arches, though the fragments of the destroyed portion, which are scattered round in every direction, are all of Roman work, as may be gathered from the style of the sculpture and ornaments seen on the blocks that lie on the ground.

At the eastern end of the wall already described as having Corinthian doorways in its southern face, and smaller recesses on its northern side, there are considerable remains of some large edifice, of which this wall, probably, once formed a part; and among these remains are seen Corinthian pediments, cornices, capitals, pilasters, and fan-topped niches like those in the temples and theatres at Gerash.

From this spot we returned to the reservoir for water, before described; and passing again through the square open court, we descended over the southern brow of the hill on which the fortress stood. Here, among other ill-defined remains, we found the ruins of a magnificent edifice, too much destroyed for any plan of it to be taken, but showing, by its broken fragments, evident marks of its former grandeur. The pedestals of the pillars that formed a

colonnade along its eastern front, were still standing in their original positions, and many fine Corinthian capitals were scattered near them. The shafts were of a greater diameter than the length of my musket, or at least five feet: they were composed of several pieces raised one above the other, having a square hole in the centre of each piece for the reception of a central iron rod, by which the whole were kept together. Some of these blocks seem to have been marked with Greek characters, but whether for the guidance of the workmen in uniting them, or for any other reason, it was not easy to determine, though the former is the most probable, from the marks becoming hidden as soon as the column was complete. On one of these blocks, which was half buried in the earth, the letters in the margin could be distinctly seen. The characters were deeply cut, and not at all worn by exposure to the atmosphere or any other cause. There might, perhaps, have been other characters on the side of the stone that was buried in the earth; but as it was already sunset I could not stay to examine it.

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As my guide stopped for a minute or two, farther on, to light his pipe, I copied from a fine Corinthian architrave of a doorway, apparently belonging to the ruined temple last described, but now partly buried in the earth, the following fragment of an inscription:—

IЄΘWNЄ XAI . . . . . . CAIΩ
L . . . N . . . .

the second line having only these two letters distinct.

We continued to descend over the brow of the hill for a short distance beyond this, and passed out of the southern gate of the fortress, when the valley beneath it suddenly opened on our view, and displayed at once a profusion of magnificent ruins. The most striking of all these objects were a splendid theatre, fronting our view, with a Corinthian colonnade, a temple, and other buildings, on each side a clear stream which flowed from the eastward, and ran westerly through the centre of the valley occupied by these interesting remains.

As we had before dismounted to descend on foot the steep southern brow of the hill, I now suffered my horse to find his own way down, as I remained stationary, to enjoy, in stillness and silence, the prospect which had burst so suddenly and so agreeably on my view. The night was now set in, and the young moon scarcely afforded sufficient light to guide us on our way. I proposed, therefore, to my guide, that we should lie down amidst these ruins and take our rest there for the night, in order that I might enjoy a more distinct and perfect view of the whole at sunrise on the following morning. Abu Fārah could not comprehend, however, the nature of the pleasure I proposed to myself by such a step, and accordingly made no hesitation in expressing his fears that the search for treasure (which he supposed to be my only object in examining these ruins) had already made me mad; and that he ought not to indulge it any longer. Absurd as this objection was, I was obliged to yield to it, or risk the loss of those cordial services which a future occasion might, perhaps, render still more important to possess than at present.

We accordingly crossed the stream of the valley and ascended the opposite hill, where we found, encamped in a hollow behind the top of the theatre, a tribe of Bedouins; and with these we made our halt for the night. Our horses were taken care of by one of the Arabs, our arms received for the same purpose by another, and the khordj or bag, in which whatever may be wanted on the journey is contained, was received by a third. We were then received into the tent of the principal Arab of the camp, a young kid was prepared for our supper, our horses fed, and coffee burnt and pounded for immediate use. We supped, indeed, sumptuously, as far as excellent appetites, plain wholesome food, and a hospitable welcome could constitute a sumptuous meal; and the evening was passed agreeably to all parties, in smoking and recounting the news of the day; when about midnight we lay down with the young goats and sheep around the embers of the evening fire.

Ammān, Thursday, March 1.—During the night, I was almost entirely prevented from sleeping by the bleating of the flocks, the neighing of mares, the barking of dogs, and the hourly interruption of some one rising to feed the fire, another to smoke a pipe, and a third to answer some question proposed, which often led to their rising and talking of matters as loudly as if no one was near them. I therefore watched the rising of the morning star with impatience, and when the day began to dawn I stole from the tent unperceived, and hastened down to the ruins in the valley, under the hope of being able to catch a momentary view of the remains there, and return again before my absence should have excited any enquiry.

Before I descended into the valley, however, I sketched out, from the brow of the hill, a rough ground-plan of the whole of the ruins in sight from hence, filling up the space within the fort on the opposite hill from the recollections of the preceding evening. It can be regarded only as a bird's eye topographical map of the relative situation of the principal objects, and has no claim to accuracy in the details, which is not indeed to be attained in the mere view of a moment. It served, however, to assist the order and arrangement necessary in giving an account of the buildings themselves, and to correct errors that might otherwise escape in regard to their bearings and distances from each other.

On a reference to this plan it appeared that the principal edifices among these ruins stood in the valley now called Waadi Ammān. This valley is extremely narrow, apparently not more than 200 yards across, being bounded on the north by the hill on which the fort stands, and on the south by the hill on which the theatre is built. The valley runs nearly east and west, and is traversed by a fine clear brook of excellent water, in which are, to this day, abundance of fish, some of them of a silvery appearance, and upwards of a foot in length. On each side of this winding stream are remains of noble edifices, of which I could only obtain a hasty view; but I set down the remarks that occurred to me at the

time, on following the separate edifices in regular order, beginning from the eastward and going west.

The first of these is a square building, the northern front of which, towards the stream, was ornamented with a Corinthian colonnade; while the southern part was a plain solid wall of rustic masonry. The eastern side I could not examine, but the western side had, I think, three doors and four concave niches, one between and one behind each doorway. The interior of this building presented the appearance of an amphitheatre, but whether it was originally open at the top, or covered in with a roof, it was difficult to determine, as the upper part of the building was entirely destroyed, excepting only a high piece of solid wall at the south-west angle. In the centre of this square building was a circular space of about fifty feet in diameter, now full of ruined blocks. At the southern end of this was an arched opening, as if for a passage or outlet for beasts. It could not have been intended as a passage for men; for, though of a convenient breadth, it was too low to admit of the passage of the human form erect. Around this circular space, commencing from the top of the arch, and leaving below it a portion of solid masonry about six feet high, ran circular rows of stone benches, with *cunii* or flights of smaller steps intersecting them, exactly as in the theatres. There are two distinct divisions of these benches still remaining on the south side, over the arched passage supposed to form an outlet for the beasts, each intersected by *cunii*, the upper one having only five steps left. On the east and west sides the circle can be traced completely; but on the north it is less distinct, from that part being more covered with the fragments of fallen masonry than any other. The blocks there heaped together, appear, however, to be those of the destroyed benches themselves; and it can be clearly seen, that the lower blocks rested on the arches of a covered piazza running round the whole of the building. I could not well understand how the entrance of the spectators was effected, unless it was by flights of steps leading up from the exterior of one of the fronts of the

square building, and now perhaps destroyed. From the bottom of the circle within, or the arena in which the beasts must have fought, up to the lowest range of benches, which was a height of about six feet, I could see no steps by which an ascent could be made from thence. It is, therefore, probable, that the spectators ascended on the outside of the building, and entered the amphitheatre from above, descending by the smaller flights of steps to such parts of the benches as might be accessible or agreeable. The arched piazza, or covered way, that ran around the arena, was probably appropriated to the beasts selected for the games or fights. This arrangement of the several parts of the building would account satisfactorily for the doors of entrance at the west front, the closed wall of the northern one where the colonnade stood, and for the high solid wall at the back on the south, where the dens for the wild beasts probably were, as the low-arched outlet into the arena leads from thence, and the height from it to the commencement of the seats for the spectators, about six feet, would be a sufficient security to the audience from the fury of the wild animals engaged below. The order of the architecture observed in this building is Corinthian; the execution of the work is of the best kind; and its whole appearance excited in me a very lively regret that I could not command time to make an accurate plan of it upon the spot: but, anxious as I was to effect this, other and higher considerations rendered it impossible.

Next to this in order, to the westward, and on the same side of the stream, but a few paces only to the south-west of it, is a grand theatre, superior in size and beauty to either of those at Gerash. It is built in the natural hollow presented by the side of the hill, against which it may be said to rest. It faces towards the north, and thus has the cool stream that winds through the valley running before it, being sheltered, also, by the same happy position, from the heat of the southern sun. The front of this fine theatre was originally open; the pavement of the stage still remained perfect; and before it, instead of a wall, ran a fine Corinthian

colonnade, supporting a double-beaded architrave and cornice. Eight of the westernmost pillars of this colonnade, including the double pillar which terminated the row, were still standing, and from this ran off a range of smaller columns, leading northward to the stream. The pillars of this colonnade in front of the theatre were about five feet in diameter, and stood five paces apart from centre to centre; the whole length of the front measuring one hundred and eighteen paces.

The theatre itself has three distinct divisions or classes of seats, as if intended for persons of different orders, each separated from the other by a wide space for the passage of the spectators from one part of the theatre to another. The first division of these benches, or those nearest the stage, contains thirteen rows of seats, intersected by five flights of smaller steps for ascending and descending, going up like rays from the centre of a circle. In the interval of separation between the first and second division of benches are doors and deep recesses, at regular distances from each other. The second division contains fifteen ranges of seats, intersected by seven flights of steps similar to those below; and in the interval of separation between this division of benches and the one above it are seven doors at equal distances. In the last, or upper division of all, are seventeen ranges of seats, intersected by five flights of *cunii;* and in the broad pathway that runs round the whole at the top is a deep square recess, entered into by a fine Corinthian doorway with an architrave and pediment, having concave niches on each side, as if for the reception of statues.

The Arabs call this building Serait-el-Sultān, or the King's Palace, and think the only use of the range of seats around was to serve as flights of steps for the ascent of persons of much greater stature than the present race to the recess above, for the sake of enjoying the cool shade of the summer, and the pleasure of the view, which, it must be confessed, is from hence at once beautiful and interesting. As the benches or seats are about two feet in breadth and depth, and the intervals between each great division

are at least six feet, the perpendicular height from the stage to the central recess at the top must be upwards of 120 feet, and the distance from the stage to the upper range of seats nearly 200. The circuit of this upper range was 200 paces, and the diameter of the semicircle below, or the distance from the stage to the first row of seats, was 52 paces, as measured on the spot. There are two arched stage doors, facing each other, at the ends of the semicircle, communicating with a vaulted passage from below the seats. Some of the benches are broken, and the colonnade in front is partly destroyed: yet on the whole it may be considered as an unusually perfect monument of Roman luxury,—for a very slight repair would make it available for its original purpose.

While literally *running* over this theatre, scrawling the few notes I could make of it, in secret, beneath my outer garment, and looking behind me at every step, in the apprehension of being perceived and interrupted, anxiety for my own safety did not prevent my being forcibly struck with the passion of the Romans for public amusements and for architectural grandeur. At this place, Ammān, as well as at Geraza and Gamala, three colonial settlements, within the compass of a day's journey from each other, (not to mention Scythopolis, Tiberias, Sebasta, the two Cesareas, and other cities, all within a short distance,) and each much inferior in importance to Baalbec and Palmyra, there were five magnificent theatres and one amphitheatre, besides temples, baths, aqueducts, naumachia, triumphal arches, &c.; while, throughout all India, an empire in itself, and far richer than any colony of Rome in the days of her greatest splendour, we have not a public monument, even in the capitals of the several presidencies, equal to the least of these: the theatres at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, being inferior even to many of the provincial houses in England.

Following the course of the valley westerly, the next object seen beyond the theatre is on the opposite side of the stream, consisting of the remains of a colonnade, and the front of some large edifice, with steps descending from it to the water. On the side of the

hill on which the fort is built, and just above this edifice, a number of arches are seen, probably belonging to private dwellings of different dates, for some were of the Roman and others apparently of the Saracen form; unless this last was occasioned by the falling together of the sides of the arches, a point I could not determine, from not being near enough to decide. To the westward of these, but still on the north of the stream, and at the foot of the hill, is the portion of a very large edifice which looked like a temple. I could not cross the stream to examine it, but saw several columns standing, many others fallen, and a part of the northern wall, with a doorway, pediments, cornice, and other ornaments, still perfect.

Continuing westerly, the valley widens to the north; and on the north, the hill on the side of which the theatre is built, presses close on the stream, which runs, in this place, beneath a lofty cliff of yellowish stone. A broad arch is here thrown over the brook, the concave or under part of which is smooth, but the upper part of it rough and broken; as if some building had originally been built on the arch, the brook itself being not more than 15 or 20 feet wide.

After crossing over this arch, I came to a large edifice, presenting a semicircular front towards the stream, built of rustic masonry, with large solid stones of an oblong form, closely joined without cement. In the exterior of the southern front, there are appearances which would seem to indicate that water-works of some description had been used here, probably for some purpose connected with the fortification of the hill. On the interior are columns that once stood around the concave part of the semicircle, some still standing and others fallen, with broken fragments of the building, extending for many yards in a northerly direction. The pediments of the recesses, the cornices, and other ornaments around this interior face of the southern wall, do not appear to have been finished; as many parts exhibit only the preparatory stages of the work, in which the larger parts required to be removed are first roughly hollowed out, and the remainder left for the finishing

chisel of the sculptor. The capitals of the columns were, however, finished, and some even seemed in a state of great decay ; one of the shafts still standing had also been cleft down the middle, apparently by lightning. The general form of this edifice was oblong, presenting a semicircular end towards the stream on the south, and the order of the architecture was Corinthian.

To the south-west of this is a larger and more perfect building, with Roman arches, and a square tower arising from it. I dared not go over to examine this, however, as I had already been absent more than an hour, and in the vicinity of the building itself I saw Arabs with their flocks, so that I could not have passed among them without observation. I therefore ascended the hill from hence to the S. E., and on reaching its top observed other buildings and columns on the side of the opposite hill to the N. W., with arches over the stream to the westward, at the distance of about half a mile. The stream is said to run from this westerly, inclining sometimes northerly in its course, winding frequently until it joins the Zerkah, when it falls with it into the Jordan, and is ultimately lost in the Dead Sea.

On returning to the tent from which I had stolen away to make this unperceived visit to the ruins of Ammān, I was surprised to find Abu Fārah and my horse departed : I enquired whither, and it was answered, in search of me. The fact was, that the nature of my occupation had rendered me insensible to the progress of time, and the sun was now three hours high, while no one knew where I had wandered. The sheikh, Abu Sulimān, coming into the tent, accosted me with a very angry look, and accused me of being a Muggrebin magician, come here to raise the treasures which belonged to him as lord of the place. He insisted on my producing my instruments and writings. I declared that I had none. He laid hold of me by the arm, and said he would search me. I resisted; though there was no one near on whom I could rely for assistance, and even my musket and dirk had been taken away by

Abu Fārah, along with my horse, in the hope that he might discover me, and render it unnecessary to return again to the camp. I was determined, however, though quite alone, to resist any violence offered to my person, and in the struggle I fortunately prevailed. I was then questioned as to where I had been? I replied, to wash myself in the stream. It was asked, why? I answered, because I had been defiled by unholy dreams. Where was my country? Stamboul. Was I Muslim? "Ul humd al Illah — La Illah ul Ullah" was my reply; but the rest of the sentence was cut off by quick demands of where I was going? what was the object of my journey? &c. &c. At length, finding all his questions readily answered, the sheikh tried softer means, and endeavoured to persuade me, that as lord of the palace of Solomon the son of David the prophet, he had a right to at least half the treasures found within the ruins; and then by entreaty strove to extort from me the confession of my having really raised such treasures, by the aid of incantations and charms.

While this controversy was carrying on betwixt us, two women entered the tent. These were the sheikh's wives, both of whom had gone in search of me, without gaining any trace of my steps; which the sheikh insisted could not have happened, had I not been a magician, and possessed the power of concealing myself from the sight of others.

In the midst of this unpleasant discussion, which I could only maintain by opposing denials to accusations, my old guide, Abu Fārah, returned to the tent, exclaiming, as he entered it, "Ya, Hadjee Abdallah," and upbraiding me with all the real anger of one grossly offended at my indiscretion. I said not a word, but remained silent till his rage had spent itself in imprecations, angry questions, and self-suggested replies, when I found it necessary to set up the same excuse as I had given the sheikh, for washing in the stream. This, however, did not satisfy him; for he continued to believe that I really went to the ruins for the purpose of raising

treasures, and accused me of ingratitude, as well as injustice, in withholding from him his due portion, as the guide of my way and the companion of my fate. This conviction was too deeply rooted to be easily removed. I therefore submitted to it as an evil which I had not the power to remedy, and consented to an immediate departure on our journey.



CHAP. V.

FROM AMMĀN TO AN ENCAMPMENT OF ARABS NEAR DELILĀT.

In leaving Ammān, we ascended the hill to the S. E. of it, and passed several excavated tombs in the way. The entrance to one of these had a richly ornamented doorway, but I dared not halt for a moment to enter it. Sarcophagi were also scattered about in different spots, so that there must have been a necropolis or burial place, both on the north and on the south of the city, one on each of the respective hills that bounded it in these quarters.

Our course from hence was nearly S. S. E., and we went for an hour and a half over a wide public road, limited on each side by large stones still remaining, and similar to the great road by which Ammān was approached from the west. The plain over which

this road extended, was covered with a fine green turf, and the soil was deep, light, and fertile. We turned off for a few minutes to the left of our path, to see the ruined village of Khahāf, on a small hill, and returning to our original track, continued by the public road before mentioned, all the way to Gherbt-el-Sookh, at least ten miles from Ammān.

At this place was a low and square building, measuring about twenty feet on each face, and the walls not more than ten feet high. The work was evidently Roman, and the masonry smooth and good. A plain cornice ran around the top, but there were no appearances of the building having ever been roofed; and there was only one entrance, by an arched doorway on the western face. The passage within this entrance appeared to descend; and without alighting from my horse, I could perceive that the space on the inside was covered with large blocks of stone. On the outside of the building, and near the western doorway, were two sarcophagi, which must have been taken from the enclosed space within. No doubt remained, therefore, that this was a mausoleum; perhaps of some distinguished family, or appropriated to the governors of the adjacent town.

This town stood on our right hand as we proceeded to the S.E., and was not more than a furlong from our path. It was not without much regret, therefore, that I passed it unexamined; but, besides the anger of my guide, who was not yet sufficiently appeased to hear of any deviation from the beaten track, there were Arabs sheltering their flocks amidst the ruins, which would have made a visit of mere curiosity dangerous, and perhaps fatal to our future progress. At this distance I could perceive, however, that the ruins were very extensive, that many Roman arches were still remaining perfect, and that several large columns were standing erect; so that some considerable edifice must have existed there, and the town itself must consequently have been an important station. It was connected with Ammān by a broad public

road, leading all the way across a fine plain of fertile land; and had many smaller settlements around it.

In about an hour from hence, still going to the S. S. E., we came to Yedoody, where we saw tombs excavated in the rock, and many sarcophagi near them. It would seem that a portion of the rock in which these sepulchres were hewn, must have been broken away; or else, which is not so probable, the tombs must have been originally open. At present they stand in the side of a low quarry, facing to the eastward, and present a series of arched recesses, about three feet high, six feet broad, and one foot and a half deep. Underneath each arch is a sarcophagus, cut out of the rock, which is exactly as long as the arch is broad (six feet), as broad as the recess is deep (one foot and a half), and as deep as the recess is high (three feet.) The grave is thus within the surface of the perpendicular wall, with the arched recess over it; and was perhaps originally covered so as to appear like a bench or seat in the wall itself. The large detached sarcophagi of stone, are at the distance of about 100 yards east of these sepulchres, on the edge of a small lake of water: but these could not have belonged to the same burying-place, unless, as before suggested, it was originally a cave with these recesses within it, and the outer part of the cave had been so broken away as to leave them now open. I saw no vestiges of a separation near, but the portion broken off might have been used for building, as this place presents all the appearance of a stone quarry, from which materials for that purpose had been more largely drawn. Such an explanation, if correct, would give a very high antiquity to these sepulchres of the dead; as no town has been built from the stones here since the time of the Romans, and that people would hardly appropriate the tombs of their own dead to such a purpose. The style of the recess, with its excavated grave beneath, resembles those seen in the sepulchres of the kings at Jerusalem. There were in all about five that I observed; but my view of the place was so hasty and imperfect, that there might be many others which escaped my notice. Close by these tombs

are the remains of a large town, the buildings in which are all constructed of large stones, and the style of architecture Roman.

We still continued in the direction of S. S. E., and pushed our way over a continued tract of fertile soil capable of the highest cultivation. In about an hour after leaving Yedoody, we came to a place called Mehanafish. On entering this, we passed a large square excavation, sunk down in the rock beneath the level of the soil. Through an opening, occasioned by the breaking in of part of the roof of the excavation itself, I observed that it led into a cave; but how far this extended I could not learn. I could see, however, through the same aperture, a large column supporting the superincumbent rock, exactly after the manner of the Hindoo caverned temple at Elephanta, near Bombay; the column here resembling those at that place, in its size, characters, and proportions; a coincidence that struck me forcibly on the spot. At Mehanafish are the remains of a still larger town than at Yedoody, with arches, columns, and sarcophagi, all of Roman work, though none of the buildings remain quite perfect.

We had now arrived at a very elevated part of the plain, which had continued fertile throughout the whole of the distance that we had yet come from Ammān to this place, and were still gradually rising as we proceeded on, when we came to an elevation from which a new view opened before us to the south-east, in the direction in which we were travelling. This view presented to us, on a little lower level, a still more extensive tract of continued plain, than that over which we had already passed. Throughout its whole extent were seen ruined towns in every direction, both before, behind, and on each side of us; generally seated on small eminences; all at a short distance from each other; and all, as far as we had yet seen, bearing evident marks of former opulence and consideration. There was not a tree in sight as far as the eye could reach; but my guide, who had been over every part of it, assured me that the whole of the plain was covered with the finest soil, and capable of being made the most productive corn land in the

world. It is true, that for a space of more than thirty miles there did not appear to me a single interruption of hill, rock, or wood, to impede immediate tillage; and it is certain, that the great plain of Esdraelon, so justly celebrated for its extent and fertility, is inferior in both to this plain of Belkah, for so the whole country is called, from the mountain of that name, the Pisgah of the Scriptures. Like Esdraelon, it appears also to have been once the seat of an active and numerous population; but, on the former, the monuments of the dead only remain, while here the habitations of the living are equally mingled with the tombs of the departed, both thickly strewn over every part of the soil from which they drew their sustenance.

From hence we began to descend slightly, though the many undulations were still too inconsiderable to deprive it of the continued character of a plain, and soon after arrived at Burrazein, where we halted to refresh our horses and ourselves at noon.

We found the ruins of Burrazein inhabited by several Arab families, who said they belonged to the tribe of Beni Hassan, which was encamped to the southward. These were, indeed, a detachment of them, sent here to avail themselves of the shelter which the ruins afforded to the young kids and lambs during the cold nights of this excessively severe season. They had come here on the first commencement of the heavy falls of snow, and intended to remain, with the tender portion of their flocks, until the severe weather should abate, and the early signs of spring appear; but as the commencement of the winter had been unusually tardy, the past year continuing warm and dry up to December, they apprehended that its continuance would be late, and that the rains and snows, which usually fell in the first month, January, might now be expected to fall in the third; though, in ordinary years, the severity of the winter generally begins to relax in March.

A party of Arab horsemen, to the number, as it appeared to us, of from fifty to sixty, were suddenly observed coming down the gentle slope of the plain to the eastward of us. A cry of alarm was

immediately raised, and it was re-echoed from one part of the ruins to another, that the Khyale Beni Sakker were coming. This is the name of a very powerful tribe ranging the eastern Desert, generally mounted on fine blood-horses, but rarely on foot; and as their own districts afford them but scanty fare, they come down in large bodies, and covering the plains of the Hauran, and the heights of Belkah, carry off the large cattle of the former, and the smaller flocks of the latter, as their spoil. The horses of this tribe are praised as beyond all price; and for mares of the same breed, the large sum of a thousand Spanish dollars has been refused in the country itself. Although the Beni Sakker are generally mounted, there are now and then small parties of the tribe that go down on foot into the valley of the Jordan, and steal off with such of the flocks and herds as they can seize; while the horsemen make their depredations in larger bodies, and in a more open manner, as legal and honourable warfare. I observed that these horsemen rode generally in a line, and, even in their ordinary march, approached with a broadly-extended front, like a troop of cavalry advancing to the charge. My guide remarked, in answer to some enquiries of mine on this subject, that the Arabs invariably rode side by side, with their cloaks wrapped closely round them, and their arms always ready for an attack; and that there was nothing of which they more frequently expressed their contempt than of the practice of those who were not of Bedouin blood, who rode one after another with their cloaks open, and their arms often not loaded, and scarcely ever primed, so as to be ready even to make a defence. The mounted Arabs are called *Khyāli;* those who move on foot are called *Zellemi;* and the peasants, or cultivators of the earth, are known by the term *Fellaheen.* The mixed race, between those who live in the uncultivated Desert, and those who inhabit the cultivated parts of the country, partaking also of the occupations of both, in tending flocks and tilling the soil, while they have neither houses or tents, but chiefly inhabit grottos, ruins, and caves, are called *Bedowee:* but it is those only who dwell in the Desert, and

live perpetually in tents, that are called, by way of distinction, *Arabs.* In all cases of enquiry I had uniformly heard it used to designate this class only; as thus, my guide would ask, "Whean el Arab?"—"Where are the Arabs?" The reply was, "Fee Arab und el Waadi Themed."—"The Arabs are encamped in the valley of Themed." Then followed the expression, "Be howul und el Arab." —"We will alight and halt with the Arabs:" in all cases meaning only a camp of Bedouin Arabs (as they are called by us), and never using the term *Arab*, except to those who live always in tents. In no instance, that I could discover, was this name ever applied to any other class of people; though, as a proof that the term is thus meant to distinguish the Bedouins as the *original* Arabs, in contradistinction to the various branches and mixed races into which they have ramified, the Arabic language is still called "Ulsaan Arabi," or the tongue of the Arabs; the whole country of Arabia, from the Desert of Palmyra to the south coast of Yemen, is called "Belled Arabi," or the country of the Arabs; and a man born in that country, of pure blood and unmixed descent, is always called "Arab ibn Arab," an Arab and the son of an Arab. Tents are only distinguished from houses by an epithet expressive of the materials of which each is composed; "Beeout Hadjar," or dwellings of stone, being the name given to all buildings, large or small; and "Beeout Shaar," or dwellings of hair, being the name given to all the tents of the Bedouins, which are almost universally made of a black or brown cloth of hair, made in the camp, from sheep's, goats', and camels' hair, in various proportions.

To avoid the risk of falling in with this large party of the Beni Sakker horsemen, we quitted Burrazene in haste, and gradually ascended a gently rising ground on our way to Menjah, at which place we arrived in about an hour after our last halt. This had been the site of some large town, of which the ruins still remained, and among which were seen arches, columns, large cisterns or reservoirs, and deep wells, with an abundance of broken pottery, scattered around in all directions. The still more extensive ruins of Hhezbān (the ancient Heshbon of the Scrip-

tures) were only a little to the westward of our route. To the east, at a distance of about five miles, we saw a large castle, apparently still perfect, the name of which was Geezah ; and, a little to the south of this castle, the ruins of another town, called Gustul, were plainly visible.

The view of the country to the north and east of our present position was very extensive ; and we could now see, for the first time, that the plain (for it still preserved that general character throughout) was bounded toward the east by a range of bare hills, running nearly north and south. Beyond these hills the country is said to be quite desert, and to be very thinly peopled by Arabs, excepting only at the few stations which are planted at convenient intervals on the "Derb-el-Hadj-el-Nebbe," or the road of the pilgrimage of the prophet, this road lying beyond, or to the eastward of the hills. This name of "Derb-el-Hadj" is exclusively applied to the road leading from Damascus to Mecca : all other public and well-frequented roads from any one place to another, are called "Derb-el-Sultani," or, literally, the king's highway.

From Menjah we continued our way, going in a S.S.E. direction, and gradually descending to a lower level. As we proceeded, I remarked that the soil became more mixed with clay and silicious stones, and grew less fertile as we advanced. In about an hour after quitting Menjah we came to Jelool. At this place we found the ruins of a larger town than any we had yet passed, with the exception only of Ammān. The position is a favourable and commanding one, occupying the brow of an elevated ridge of the land, and looking over an extensive space to the southward of it, of a lower level than the great plain by which we had approached this spot from the northward. The ruins of Jelool, at present, form two divisions, an eastern and a western portion ; between which is a bare space that does not appear to have been ever built upon. In passing over this bare space, and through the respective masses of ruins, neither of which I could afford time to examine, I thought I observed in one of the dwellings a solid stone door, similar to

those used in the tombs at Oom Kais, and which, I learnt from my guide, were frequently met with in almost all the ruined cities of the Hauran. Amid these ruins there were several columns and heaps of large hewn stones, belonging to the edifices of the town, with a number of cisterns, grottos, tombs, and sarcophagi, all now entirely deserted, and exhibiting a melancholy example of the wreck of former opulence and power.

As we proceeded onward, I remarked, that the surface of the soil was covered with small patches of a yellowish white substance, like powder of brimstone, or sulphur; a fact remarked also in the valley of the Jordan, near the head of the Dead Sea, and almost in a line with this to the westward, at the distance of about thirty miles. The taste and smell of this powder were highly sulphureous; and my guide observed, that the same substance was seen in abundance all around the shores of the Dead Sea. It is beyond a doubt that these regions, from the Lake of Tiberias southward, to the termination of the Lake Asphaltes, have, at some very remote period, been subject to volcanic convulsions; and it is probable that the hot springs of Tiberias, the bitumen of the Sea of Lot, and the sulphuric powder on the plains near it, all owe their existence to one common origin. The swallowing up of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, whether rightly attributed to Divine vengeance or not, may well be an historical fact, and accomplished by means of some great volcanic operation, of which the whole course of the Lake of Tiberias, the River Jordan, and the Dead Sea, bears so many indications. It would be an investigation well worthy the attention of some mineralogical traveller; and it is to be regretted extremely, that the lamented Dr. Seetzen, who made a complete tour of the borders of this sea, and was considered to be eminently qualified for such a task, should not have lived to give to the world the result of his observations on this interesting excursion.

Proceeding onward, without even alighting to examine the ruins of Jelool, we started a strange animal from his retreat; and a

cry of pursuit being set up by Abu Fārah, we loosened our reins, and spurred our horses for the chace. It ran with such speed, however, that it gained upon us considerably at first, but we soon came up with it, and, coming near, each discharged his musket, but without success. At the sound of this, the animal turned sharp round, and ran towards my horse, uttering, with open jaws, a sound like the hissing of a goose, excepting only that it was rougher and much louder. The horse was frightened at this attack, and became almost unmanageable: but on loading and discharging a second piece with ball the animal fell. It was called in Arabic, according to the information of my guide, "*El Simta;*" and was said, by him, to live chiefly by preying on the bodies of the dead, while it was naturally so ferocious, that it always turned on the living when attacked, and seldom even took flight at first as it had done with us. The whole length of this animal did not exceed five feet, including a short head and neck, and a bushy tail of about a foot long; its legs were short, its belly fat, and its whole height from the ground not more than eighteen inches; its nose was rounded, its head small, and its mouth wide; the colour of all the lower part of its body was black, but over the back and tail it had a broad grey patch, which, at a little distance, resembled a dirty white cloth, tied over the animal to shelter it from wet or cold; its hair was long and coarse, its back slightly arched, like that of the hyæna, and its general resemblance nearer to the badger than to any other animal to which I could compare it.

About an hour and a half after our quitting Jelool we came to another ruined town called Oom-el-Keseer. It was nearly equal in size to the one we had last quitted, and of the same style and character, the architecture in each being evidently Roman. Between these towns the soil had continued fertile and highly capable of cultivation, though the quality of it differs, from having a larger proportion of clay. Beyond Oom-el-Keseer it appeared to grow progressively inferior, though still capable of cultivation. The

face of the country became also more unequal, and the level descended.

In half an hour after passing through Oom-el-Keseer we crossed over a torrent in a ravine called Wādi-el-Keseer, over which there appeared to have once been a bridge, the ruins of which I thought I could perceive about a mile to the eastward of the spot at which we crossed the stream. The water was shallow, and consequently everywhere fordable, even on foot. The course of the stream is generally west, with occasional windings to the southward, until it joins the stream of the Wādi-el-Themed to the south-west, when both run together into the Dead Sea.

Ascending from hence to a higher level by a gradual rise, we came in half an hour to another ruined town, called Oom-el-Weleed. It stands on the top of one of those ridges of land so common in these parts, not deserving the name of hills, though breaking the general smoothness of the surface; rising like a very high swell of the sea arrested in its progress, and running for miles in the same direction: the course of the present being east and west, with a small vale on each side to the north and south. The remains of buildings here at Oom-el-Weleed appeared to me to be more extensive than even those at Jelool. The blocks of stone, of which the buildings were constructed, were also much larger. Roman arches were still remaining perfect at many of the entrances to private dwellings; but throughout the whole, neither columns nor fragments of sculptured work any where met my view.

To the south-west of this, at a short distance, Abu Fārah pointed out to me four ruined villages, called collectively Delilāt, the plural of Deleily, which is the name given individually to each. There was a large encampment of Arabs, probably the Beni Sakker, near to these villages, which was one powerful reason for our not visiting them; but besides this, the lateness of the day rendered it imprudent, as it was already near sunset. We accordingly descended into the valley on the south, where we found half a dozen tents belonging to a friendly party of the Bedowee, or half

shepherds and half cultivators, pitched in a hollow between two closing eminences, with an opening to the eastward, where we determined on halting for the night.*

Riding up to the back of these tents, and passing through them, we were received in the most friendly manner by the oldest man of the party, our horses were taken from us by one of the young lads, who took as much care of them as if they had belonged to their own parents, and we found a hearty welcome in the tent of the sheikh, in which all the rest were soon assembled to greet us. While the flocks were driving in, after sunset, I noticed among them some fine fat sheep, resembling the African breed that I had seen at Mokha, where they are brought across from Zeyla, near the entrance of the Red Sea. They had the same short, fat, broad tail, with a little excrescence at its extremity about an inch long, like a short pig's tail, growing out of the larger one above it. They differed from the African sheep in this particular, that while the Zeyla breed were covered with hair, these of Belkah had a thick coat of wool. Both, however, had the head and neck invariably of a different colour from the body itself, the latter being quite white, while the former were either black or brown. One of the lambs of this breed was killed for our supper; and though it could not have been improved for an European palate by the mess of sour milk and corn with which it was stewed, yet it furnished an acceptable meal, of which we all heartily partook.

The conversation of the evening turned on the motives of our journey, as well as the events of the road, and the place of our destination; to which I listened attentively, though I was disposed, for strong reasons, to take as little part as possible in the discussions to which they gave rise. As there were many evils to be apprehended from a detection of my being a European, and as there would be a great risk of this in a long interview with Arabs, had I assumed to be one of their countrymen, my cautious guide, Abu Fā-

* See the Vignette at the head of this Chapter.

rah, represented me as a Turk going from Accha or Acre to Karak, to see a relation there, but wearing the Bedouin dress, as better adapted to long journeys than the Turkish, and equally proper with the other for all true Mohammedans. From my previous excursions in Egypt, and during my subsequent experience in Syria, I had surmounted the chief difficulties in the way of travelling as a native of these parts, in having acquired the language sufficiently well for all ordinary purposes; and a practical ease and correctness in conforming to the manners, the attitudes, and the way of feeding common to all, which last is certainly the most inveterate of all obstacles to an Englishman; but my beard was yet short, and the parts of my body usually covered with clothes, but now exposed to the sun, were whiter than those of the people among whom I journeyed; my eyes had not that fiery blackness of the genuine Arab; and, indeed, the whole cast of my countenance and complexion was more like that of a Moor from Barbary, or a Turk from Asia Minor, (of which there are many that could not be distinguished from Europeans except by their dress only,) than a son of the Desert. Accordingly, whenever we halted among Arabs, there never failed to be some questions put, arising from these differences of appearance. Those who had seen me at Assalt, and who remembered Mr. Burckhardt's person, conceived, from that common resemblance which persons of nearly the same stature, with the difference of the hair, eyes, and complexion, which distinguish the European from the Asiatic race, bear to each other, that we must have been brothers; and here the Arabs of the party received without scruple the assertion of Abu Fārah, as to my being a Turk, since they had seen many Turks of the same colour, features, and general appearance as myself; while all approved the judicious measure of travelling in a Bedouin dress on a journey of this nature.

I was asked whether I had seen Jerash? I replied, "Yes." "And Ammān?" continued my host. I answered, that they were both in our road. "Ah!" said the sheikh, "these were both

princely cities once; but as the times are always growing worse, so these have come to nothing at last; as indeed was prophesied concerning them of old." I asked him when and where their destruction was foretold? He replied, "These, O Abdallah, (that being the name by which my guide always addressed me,) were both the works of Solomon, the son of David the Prophet, who lived at El-Khoddes, the Holy (the Arab name of Jerusalem). One day, (he continued,) when Solomon, the son of David, paid a visit to the prince of Ammān, the king of Jerash was also present: and as they ascended together the steps of the great palace (meaning the benches of the theatre at Ammān), to the summer seat of the sovereign of that city, Solomon, the son of David, exclaimed, 'O! Princes! our empires are on the decline; our cities must soon decay, and our realms be deserted and depopulated.' They expressed a hope that, under the blessing of God, that period was still far distant; when the King replied, 'Be not deceived, the sign of destruction already approaches, for, behold! even oil hath risen to the price of three paras a skin!'" I had listened with all becoming attention to this pompous tale, and had great difficulty in commanding my countenance at the close of it; but remembering that there are many men even among the most learned of our own country, who really believe mankind to be degenerating with each succeeding age, though they might adduce graver reasons to support their opinions, I did not attempt to combat a position which might be so easily illustrated on the spot, by a mere comparison of the splendid cities of which they spoke, with the miserable habitations of those who now possess the same country.

After this conversation, some of the party ventured on corresponding calculations. "If oil were then at such a low price (about two-pence for a hundred pounds weight), how little labour," said one, "must have been sufficient to obtain a good living; and how fat men might get even upon slender gains." Stories were told by others of the Spanish dollar (Aboo Tope), of the pillared pat-

tern*, passing in the days of Moses, and among the Jews in Egypt in the time of Pharaoh (a slight anachronism it must be admitted), for half a piastre of Turkey; and various causes were assigned for its having gradually risen from that time onward to its present exorbitant value (as they considered it) of six piastres and a half; at which rate, they calculated, that it would rise to be twenty piastres at least before the world came to an end.

We continued up until a late hour; and I was much amused, as indeed I have always been in parties of this kind, by the earnestness of conviction with which the most extravagant stories were related, and the easy credulity with which they were received. I had also occasion to regret the impossibility of remembering and noting much that passed respecting the positions and names of places, which are far more difficult to retain in the memory than a connected story; and though more desirable to possess, from their utility to geography, become, if numerous, so confounded together, as to be soon forgotten altogether.

* Aboo Tope, literally the Father of the Cannon, — the pillars of the dollar being considered by the Arabs to represent two great guns.



CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ENCAMPMENT TO OOM-EL-RUSSAS, AND RETURN TO ASSALT.

Friday, March 2. — We left the camp at daylight, while the ground was covered with a thick hoar frost, and although we put ourselves at once into brisk exercise I suffered much from the cold. As we advanced to the southward the soil became more mixed with clay, and the face of the country more unequal and broken by greater elevations and depressions than it had hitherto been; silicious stones became also more abundant, though there was still a green turf covering the surface of the earth.

In about an hour after we set out, we passed a ruined town called El Hherry, of the general size and character of those already described; and in two hours more, after going over steep but low hills, gradually becoming more and more stony and barren, we came

to the valley called Wādi-el-Themed. This is one of the principal places of resort for the Arabs of Belkah, as the stream which comes from the eastward and runs through this valley westerly is never dry throughout the year. It has worn its bed here through a chalky rock, and continues through a similar channel, by the report of the Arabs, till it empties its stream into the Dead Sea. Along its banks are many wells of a moderate depth, with hewn cisterns and drinking troughs for cattle, which in the present day, as they did in the patriarchal ages, form the principal strength as well as the wealth of a tribe, the possession of these securing the necessary supplies, without which no Arab camp, with their numerous flocks and herds, could long exist. On many of the wells and cisterns I observed the following characters, ☥ [illegible], which are said to be the work of Arabs, but whether for mere pastime, or with a view to mark the property of particular tribes, or of individuals belonging to such tribes, I could not learn. The first of these characters is one very commonly seen among the hieroglyphic signs of Egypt, and generally thought to mean the key of the waters of the Nile, being generally held in the right hand by Isis; the second and last are similar to some of the old and unknown characters found in the caves of India, both at Salsette and in the southern part of the Peninsula. It would be worth an enquiry to ascertain whether any of the sculptures on the Jebel Mokattub, or Written Mountain, near Mounts Horeb and Sinai, supposed at one time to have been the work of the Israelites during their forty years of wandering in the Desert, and to be in the lost Hebrew character, resemble in any manner the marks scattered about on the wells and cisterns of these parts; as they might then be considered the work of the same people and the same age. The wells here must have been nearly coeval with the earliest occupation of this tract of country by the several tribes among which it was divided, and may have formed the portion of several successive races, as well as the bone of contention between opposing tribes, from the days of Abraham and Lot up to the present period; and the characters on them, which belong to no

known language, may be nearly as ancient as the wells themselves ; since there is nothing in their appearance that would indicate a more recent date.

We ascended the hill to the southward of this stream, and passing for half an hour over a chalky and barren soil, we obtained a distant view of Oom-el-Russās, about eight or ten miles off, to the southward of us. The only conspicuous object which presented itself to our view at this distance was a high tower, looking like a monumental column standing alone. We continued our way towards it in nearly a straight line, over a gently rising ground, with an improving soil, and reached it about noon.

On entering the site of this ruined town we came first to some smoothly hewn cisterns in the rock, with marks of a large quarry from which abundance of stone had been taken away for building. Beyond these, and on a higher level, we found a portion of a square building, resembling the remains of a small fort, the walls of which were pierced with long and narrow loop-holes for arrows or musketry. A few paces south of this stood the tower which had shown itself so conspicuously at a distance.* This tower was not more than ten feet square at its base, and from thirty to forty feet high ; the masonry in it not being remarkable either for its strength or elegance. On the shaft of this square pillar, for so it might well be called, was a sort of square capital, cut off from the body of the tower by a shelving moulding, raised at the corners like the covers of the Roman sarcophagi scattered so abundantly over the country. At each corner of this square capital was a plain Doric column, small size, supporting a florid cornice, sculptured with an arabesque pattern, and curved outwards at the corners in the most fanciful manner. On the north, the east, and the west sides of this tower, and about midway between its base and summit, a Greek cross was sculptured in relief, and contained within a circle ; but on the south side this emblem was not to be

* See the Vignette at the head of this Chapter.

found. In various parts of it were many marks like those already described on the wells and cisterns of El Themed; and as this tower is unquestionably of a date much posterior to the days of the Israelites sojourning in these parts, and of Greek or Roman work, in the decline of these empires, the marks are most probably those of the Arabs. The enquiry suggested would still be useful, however, inasmuch as if the characters on the Written Mountain were found generally resembling these, it might be concluded that they also were the work of Arabs, and not of the Jews during their wandering in the Desert of Sin.

To the eastward of this tower, a few paces only, are remains of ruined buildings, and to the southward are seen foundations, with broken pottery, and other vestiges of former population, extending for more than half a mile to the first division of enclosed dwellings belonging to the town. This is about 200 yards square; the walls are low, but are constructed of large stones, and the interior of this space is filled with ruined buildings, the arched doorways of which are the only parts remaining perfect. These arches are all of the Roman shape; and I observed amongst the ruins, in several places, appearances of stone beams having been laid on the walls, so as to reach from side to side and support entirely the roof of the dwelling.

Close to this first division of enclosed dwellings, and on the south of it, is the second division, the wall of enclosure remaining quite perfect all around. Its shape is nearly an oblong, and the space occupied by it not more than half a mile. Like the former, the interior of this is filled with ruined buildings, all, however, of a small size, and unadorned by architectural ornament of any kind, though constructed of very large stones. In many instances, where all the rest of the building is quite destroyed, the Roman arch of the door of entrance continues quite perfect; and here the stone beams that extended from wall to wall, and sometimes wholly formed the roof of the dwelling, are distinctly seen. The streets, though at right angles with each other, were extremely narrow, and the whole appearance of the buildings was small and unimportant,

though the masonry was unusually solid for such works, and calculated for great duration.

We found some Arabs of the same tribe as those we had seen in the Wādi-el-Themed encamped near this spot, the sheikh of which party was here amid these ruins alone, for the purpose of looking out, and warning his companions of the approach of strangers; the tents being generally pitched in hollow valleys or at the foot of hills for shelter, while the eminences above form posts from which the whole of the surrounding country may be surveyed. As our party was small, consisting only of Abu Fārah and myself, we were kindly welcomed, and alighted here. We had not been seated long, and had scarcely got into the train of the enquiries I desired to make, (and these, whatever their nature, and particularly when betraying anxiety, must be introduced in a most circumlocutory manner, and quite incidentally, to avoid suspicion and all its train of consequences,) when a small party from Karak arrived from the southward, and alighted here for the same purpose as ourselves, to learn the state of the road, as far as it could, be gathered from the sheikh who was on the look out at this spot. Our conversation was very general and desultory, as neither party were willing to tell the other frankly what was their immediate object or pursuit. Amidst much that was irrelevant, however, I learnt to my extreme regret and disappointment, not only that the road from hence to Karak was so unsafe as to afford little chance of escape from plunder, (for as our informants had braved this successfully, I might hope to do so too,) but that it was perfectly impossible to proceed from that town across the eastern Desert to Bagdad, as I had been led to hope. From all that I could learn, the intercourse between these places, if it had ever existed, which seemed at least doubtful, had been suspended for many years; but even should the nature of the country admit of such a journey, in which there could be no more difficulty than in the way between Damascus and Bussora across the Great Desert, as often practised, the whole of the upper part of Arabia, from Medina

and Derryiah up to the eastern borders of the Haurān, and even to Palmyra, was covered with the Wahabee, to which sect nearly the whole of the Arabs in the heart of the Desert had become converts, and were increasing and spreading themselves in every direction, so as to interrupt, if not altogether suspend, the intercourse between friendly tribes and towns, without the escort of a larger force than Karak could furnish or my limited means admit of my paying for. A single individual, or a party of four or five on dromedaries, each carrying his own supplies, might perhaps have effected the journey with ease, as the distance from Karak to Bagdad cannot be much farther than from Damascus or Aleppo, from which cities messengers go on dromedaries in eight or ten days; but it would be nearly impossible to perform such a journey alone without a previous knowledge of the several passes, if the country be hilly, or watering places, if a plain; such as is possessed by all the Arabs employed in carrying dispatches; and therefore for me, however much disposed to risk the dangers of the way, it would be indispensable to have one person at least as a guide, or I should be nearly certain of losing myself in the trackless Desert that intervened between this and the place of my destination. To all my enquiries on this head, I received the most unequivocal assurances that no single individual in Karak would, in the present state of things more particularly, accompany me as escort or guide on such a journey; though they might at any other time venture a small caravan, if the object promised them an adequate reward. Thus circumstanced, proceeding farther would be encountering a needless risk without even a hope of benefit resulting from the attempt; and painful and vexatious as such a retracing of my steps would prove, I was compelled to submit, consoling myself with the assurance that I had done my best to accomplish the end in view, and that the disappointment arose from causes beyond my power to controul.

In the course of the conversation held with our new companions, I learnt that Karak, which is considered to be the ancient

Pella, is about twelve hours south of Oom-el-Russās, and that the eastern shore of the Dead Sea was, both from thence and from our present position, about eight hours or thirty-two miles to the west.

Karak Shaubak is another place, about two days' journey to the southward of Karak, and inferior to the former in size and importance.

Wādi Moosa, or the Valley of Moses, is a resort of Bedouin Arabs, similar to Wādi-el-Themed, and is about a day's journey to the southward of Karak Shaubak.

Between Wādi Moosa and Mount Sinai there is no water, so that the route from Karak to Mount Sinai is a circuitous one, and made by passing first from Karak to Gaza, on the sea-shore of the Mediterranean, and from thence, going round the southern edge of the Dead Sea, to Tor, on the shores of the Red Sea, from whence the ascent to Horeb and Sinai is short and easy.

At Gaza, there are extensive ruins, with towers, walls, and cannon hewn out of granite, projecting from them.

At Ascalon are innumerable red granite pillars and long streets, the pillars mostly fallen. Lady Hester Stanhope is said to have dug up at Ascalon a fine statue without a head, probably of Greek or Roman workmanship ; but it was broken up by the Turks and Arabs, to whom graven images are as objectionable as they were to the Jews of old.

At El Arish there is a monolith inverted from its original position, and now used as a watering trough ; it is of granite, and had a pyramidal top. It is said to be covered with hieroglyphics within and without, the crocodile being a very prominent object among the figures. It is represented as quite perfect, and from its small size might easily be removed from its present place by any traveller desirous of taking it to Europe. The origin of this is clearly Egyptian, and from the traces of the manner in which a door was formerly hung to it, there can be no doubt but that it was used as a cage or temple for the sacred animal the crocodile. Its description corresponds almost exactly with that of a similar mo-

nolith which I had myself seen at Gau Kebeer or Antæopolis, in Upper Egypt, excepting only that this last was of marble, and the one at El Arish is said to be of granite, which makes it Egyptian in material as well as in purpose and design.

At Pelusium are ruins of great extent, but not remarkable for any object of grandeur or beauty. Among these are some temples, but they are plain and without sculpture, either in hieroglyphics or other kind of ornament. Pelusium is approached by marshy ground, extending for several miles ; and amidst the ruins themselves are seen some of the earliest and rudest kind of iron cannon, made from a number of iron bars heated, and beaten and forged together with iron hoops.

In the route to Egypt, not far from Pelusium, is a valley of salt, extending nearly a day's journey in length, the quality of the salt being equal in fineness and purity to any known.

These facts, many of which I had heard before, were confirmed to me by the testimony of some of the Karak party, whom we met here, several of them having, in the course of their peregrinations on business, visited the places mentioned.

Oom-el-Russās, the place of our halt, was considered by all present to have derived its name (which, in Arabic, is literally " the Mother of Lead,") from the circumstance of there having been dug up here, at some former period, leaden cases containing treasure. This, however, is so prevalent a notion, and is applied so indiscriminately to all places in which ruins of former days exist, that it deserves little attention. At one time, I thought it probable that the vicinity of this town might have furnished lead ore, and that some traces of this might be found to account for the name, but I could learn no facts which tended to confirm this conjecture.

The party from Karak were going down to Jericho from hence, and ultimately to Jerusalem. They determined to halt here, however, for the day, and pressed us to remain with them, to which my old companion, Abu Fārah, was strongly inclined, and, as usual,

complained bitterly of my foolish and, to him, unaccountable haste and impatience in pressing our departure from a spot where we had shelter and food, and where we might, therefore, repose ourselves in safety. As we could not proceed, however, it was useless to waste the remainder of the day here; and I accordingly insisted on our resuming our route of return.

It was about an hour after noon when we quitted Oom-el-Russās; and in our way back we went over an old Roman road, nearly perfect all the way from this place to Wādi-el-Themed, and from thence again northward to the ruins of Zeineiba, a place not inferior in size to Oom-el-Russās. In our way we saw an abundance of hares and wild pigeons, with numbers of large birds like the grouse of Scotland. We left the ruined heap of El-Heurry on a hill to the west of us, and at sunset reached a small encampment of Arabs near Oom-el-Weleed, about a mile distant from the camp at which we had slept on the preceding night. We halted here to repose, and on alighting were received with as much cordial hospitality as ever.

Saturday, March 3. — We left Oom-el-Weleed before the day broke, and on ascending the hill to the north of it, we could see, as the sun rose, the position of Oom-el-Russās, to the southward, its tower rendering it conspicuous at the distance of from fifteen to twenty miles. In two hours after setting out we passed Oom-el-Keseine; the face of the country over which we rode being now unequal, and the soil much mixed with clay and covered with a short heath. In about two hours more, going in the direction generally of N. N. W., we came to Jelool, in riding over which I remarked an abundance of broken pottery of a fine red kind, differing, in this respect, from that in more ordinary use.

Proceeding onward in the same direction, we approached the ruins of Hhuzbhān or Heshbon, which are about two hours distant from Jelool. As we drew near to these, and at least a mile before entering the ruins themselves, we came on a ground strewed

over with broken pottery of the ribbed kind, and of an excellent quality; most probably a manufacture of the ancient town from the clay of the neighbouring plains. The soil here, in the immediate vicinity of the site, was a fine red earth, on which young corn was now growing; but even over the tilled portions of the surface the broken pottery was seen, though not strewed so thickly as on other parts of the soil that had long lain undisturbed by the plough.

This town or city of Heshbon is seated on so commanding a position that the view from it extends at least thirty miles in every direction; and to the southward, where the prospect is most extensive, the eye ranges, probably, a distance of sixty miles in a straight line. The space occupied by the buildings of this town is about a mile in circuit, and this is now covered with heaps of ruins. At the west end of this space the portion of a very singular building still remains. It appears, in many parts, to be extremely old; and yet there must have been still older works here, as this very building is formed out of the fragments of some earlier one that must have been in ruins before this was begun, as among the stones used in its construction is seen a sculptured block, apparently a piece of the cornice of some old edifice then in ruins; and yet, in contrast to this proof of high antiquity in the materials, a modern addition has been made to the building by the insertion of a a Saracen or pointed arch into the work. There were several columns originally belonging to this edifice; but they have all fallen on the ground. The diameter of these was about three feet; but the mode in which the pieces of the shafts were united offered a peculiarity that I had never before observed in any other pillars. These pieces, instead of being united by means of iron or lead in the centre, after the usual manner, were locked together by the upper part overlapping the lower, as the cover of a snuff-box without hinges overlaps the bottom part; there being a correspondent elevation in the upper centre of the lower piece to fill up

the space hollowed out in the lower part of the upper piece, the one fitted nicely over the other; and the joints were so fine as to warrant the belief that, when new, they were almost imperceptible. The capitals of these pillars were also of a very unusual kind, and such as I had never seen elsewhere. They were nearly square in shape, with a large leaf at each corner, the central stem of the leaf running up exactly on the sharp angle of the square, and the broad edges of the leaf folded back so as to meet in the centre of each face. There were many sculptured blocks of stone scattered about, near this edifice; and the masonry of the remains bespoke them to be of a higher order than most of those seen in the neighbouring towns through which we had passed.

On the summit of the hill on which Heshbon stood, and nearly in its centre, are seen the remains of an edifice, the pavement of which is still perfect, as well as four pedestals of columns occupying their original positions in the plan: these last are square below, with the usual circular mouldings above, and appear to mark the site of a portico to the building which fronted to the south.

The view from this commanding position is fine and extensive. On the north are seen many grottoes in the side of a hill near the town, perhaps the ancient tombs of the original inhabitants of this old settlement. On the west is a deep hollow; and beyond it, in the same direction, but much deeper still, is the valley of the Jordan, distant, apparently, from six to ten miles only, in a straight line. The city of Jerusalem is just perceptible from this elevated point, bearing due west; and Bethlehem, more distinctly visible, bears W. ½ S. by compass, distant, perhaps, from twenty-five to thirty miles in a straight line, though the inequality of the roads between would make it four good days' journeys of twenty-five to thirty miles each. The western shore of the Dead Sea is also seen, bearing south-west, about fifteen miles off; and to the east and south the view is almost boundless. The tower of Oom-el-Russās is visible from hence, bearing S. S. E., distant from thirty to forty

miles; and the castle of Assalt is also seen, bearing north-west, about fifteen miles in a straight line, and from five to six hours of brisk walking pace on horseback.

On the low ground to the south of the town, and about half a mile from the foot of the hill on which it stands, is a large reservoir for water, constructed of good masonry, and not unlike the cisterns of Solomon, near Jerusalem, to which this is also nearly equal in size. If Hhuzbhān be the Heshbon of the Scriptures, of which there can be little doubt, as it agrees so well, both in name and local position, these reservoirs may probably be the very fish-pools of Solomon, to which that monarch compares the eyes of his love, in the Canticles, ch. vii. v. 4.

Descending from the summit of this hill to the north-east, we saw a sculptured cornice among a heap of ruins, from which I copied the following fragment of an inscription: —

ΓΕΚΕΧΕΟΕΙΑΙ.

It was about an hour after noon when we quitted Hhuzbhān, from whence we gradually descended to a lower level, and went in a north-west direction. In an hour after setting out we rode through a narrow pass in the rocks, called Bab-Hhuzbhān, or the Gate of Heshbon, which led to a deep valley called Wādi-Hhuzbhān; the town being of sufficient importance to give its name to these two spots in its vicinity. In the descent beyond the pass we saw the remains of what appeared to me to have been a fort or an elevated mound; and reaching the foot of the hill over a steep declivity, we came to a fine stream of water, which has its source to the eastward of this, and runs westerly into the Dead Sea. On the banks of the stream were several pieces of sloping walls, as at Zerkah, and portions of aqueducts encrusted with petrifactions, as at Tyre; with the remains of a small stone bridge, and broken pottery extending along its edges for upwards of a mile; so that there appeared good reason to regard this as the site of some ancient town.

As we ascended on the opposite bank of this stream, we had on our right a ruined village, called Khallet-el-Sumia, and on our left an apparently new building, called Shufammer, resembling exactly the central enclosed building of Shufammer seen in the road from Acre to Nazareth; this on the east of the Jordan being, however, uninhabited.

After ascending for about two hours, and enjoying, through the whole of our way, the most romantic scenery that mountain, wood, water, rock, and glen could furnish, we came to the summit of the hill up which we had directed our course, and from thence again descended into a valley called Wādi Esseer. Over the rocky cliffs to the north of us, and close to our path, was a waterfall, the only one I had ever seen in these parts. Its stream was small, and the whole descent, which was repeatedly broken, about thirty feet. It fell into the stream now before us, and ultimately discharged itself into the Dead Sea. As the view that opened upon us here presented several new positions, we halted for a moment, while I alighted to take the following bearings by compass, and the distances, in a straight line, as well as the eye could estimate them : —

Head of the Dead Sea	W. by S.	9 miles.
Rama (under a hill) -	W. S. W.	5 miles.
Cufferein - - -	West,	7 miles.
Rihhah or Jericho -	W. by N.	8 miles.
Burdj-e-Hadjela -	W. by N.	4 miles.
Nemereen - -	W. N. W.	7 miles.

Continuing to descend from hence, we reached the foot of the hill, over an extremely abrupt declivity, after an hour's ride, and then halted to wash and refresh. From hence we again went up, over a steep hill; and after passing through some of the finest woods that could be seen, we came to a deep glen, in which some

ancient caves were pointed out to me as we rode along. The entrances to these caves were by large square apertures, unquestionably hewn out with great care; and the interior of each was said to contain stone sarcophagi and inscriptions. I had the strongest desire to visit these, if only for a hasty glance; but as this fertile glen is a scene of constant contention among the shepherds who feed their flocks here, and each encroach on the other's supposed prior right, nothing that I could say would induce my guide, Abu Fārah, to consent to my turning a foot out of our path, and accordingly, to my great regret and vexation, I was compelled to relinquish my desires, and submit to forego their gratification.

From the summit of the hill we again saw the castle and town of Assalt, as well as the head of the Dead Sea; and descending for about an hour over corn land, now cultivated, we came to the modern tomb of Mar Georgis, or St. George, the tutelar saint of the neighbouring town of Fahaez :—the structure has nothing remarkable in it, being like the ordinary tombs of Mohammedan saints, so plentifully seen over every part of the East.

In a quarter of an hour after this we came to Mahuss, a large ruined village, and in half an hour more, passing over cultivated grounds, we reached Fahaez ; the valley of the Jordan, and the head of the Dead Sea, being always in sight on our left as we rode. From hence we descended by the steep hill over which we came on our way out, crossed the Wādi Lizerack, where we observed grottoes in the rock, and remains of walls of stone; and, lastly, ascended again to Anab, where we alighted to take some food.

Our route of return from hence to Assalt was the same as that by which we had first come from that town to Anab ; and, proceeding briskly on, we reached it about sunset. On approaching it from the eastward, the huge castle looking doubly large through the haze of the smoke ascending from the town, the small dwellings barely seen by the glimmer of the lights burning in them, and the aid of a faint moonlight, the hum of population, the barking of

dogs, and the general effect of the surrounding scenery, all combined, was powerfully impressive.

We were well received by our friends at Assalt; and, as the adventures of our excursion formed an object of general interest, we were kept up by visitors till a late hour in recounting them.



CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER DETENTION AT ASSALT, AND A THIRD VISIT TO JERASH.

Assalt, Sunday, March 4.—It was necessary to remain at least a day at Assalt, for the purpose of giving my horse some repose, as well as to think of what steps it would be most advisable to pursue under existing circumstances, and how I could best further the ultimate object of my journey.

It being a day of freedom from business, (though to me, at least, far from a day of rest,) as soon as the morning service of the church was over, which was at an early hour, the house in which I lodged was filled with visitors; some professedly to know the reason of our return; others probably out of a desire to see us, and ascertain that we were well; and some, certainly, because they had nothing else to do, and thought it the least tedious method of passing away a tiresome day of idleness and gossiping.

The adventures of our way were recounted twenty times in succession to every fresh visitor by my guide, Abu Fārah-el-Semaan-ibn-Semaan-ibn-Daood (for so he called himself); and although he interlarded his narrative with the most solemn exclamations, such as, "Salat el Nebbé! Ya towal Oomruck!" &c. "Pray to the Prophet! May your life be lengthened!" and similar expressions, yet he was a perfect Falstaff in progressive exaggeration, and every time that he repeated the same incident, it became magnified in importance by the additional embellishments which it was certain of receiving as it passed through his hands.

It may be remarked here, that nothing is more fallacious, or less worthy of being implicitly received, than the information of the people of the country, either with regard to the inhabited places near them, their distance and direction of bearing from each other, or as to the site of ancient ruins in the neighbourhood, with their extent, position, or present state. In illustration of this uncertainty on topics like these, we had a long dispute among our morning visitors on the question whether Karak, and Karak Shaubak, were one and the same place, or whether they were distinct and separate from each other. One would have imagined, that in a town so near to these as Assalt, and inhabited, too, by a people frequently making journies in the country around them, as well as being occasionally visited by persons from Karak, such ignorance as this could not well happen; yet some among our party contended warmly, that to the south of Karak there were neither towns nor villages of any kind, the people all living in tents; while others maintained as stoutly, that two days' journey to the south of Karak was a place called Karak Shaubak; and a day further on, in the same direction, was a spot called Wādi Moosa, in which were several other smaller villages.

Of the remains of ancient cities in this district of Belkah, many of the inhabitants of Assalt did not even know the existence; others confounded names and descriptions in such a manner as to render both unintelligible, from the details given as descriptive of

one place proving much more applicable to some other. Many of the party went so far as to say, that Deer el Nassāra, at which there is not a vestige of architectural grandeur or beauty, was a far more interesting spot, and more worthy of a stranger's visit, than either Ammān or Jerash, two of the finest groups of ruins on the east of the Jordan. Some of our visitors asserted, that at Irak-el-Emir, which we had passed without entering, were stone doors, sarcophagi, subterranean chambers, galleries of undetermined extent, and inscriptions in unknown characters graven on the doors and walls, a description that would lead one to expect Egyptian tombs like those of the kings at Thebes. Others contended that there were neither stone doors nor large chambers, but sarcophagi only, and these sunk deep into the earth; and others again insisted that there was neither writing over the doors nor sculpture of any kind; though all admitted the existence of the stone boxes, or sarcophagi, which were large and numerous.

The unaccountable part of these discrepancies and total want of agreement is, that each of the speakers swore he had seen the place spoken of at least twenty times, and knew every part of it as well as his own dwelling, yet all were equally positive in maintaining the accuracy of their statements, and no one person would submit to acknowledge himself as even probably in error.

The fine remains at Jerash and Ammān, which my guide had often seen, were scarcely at all esteemed by him; while, in describing the shapeless masses at Jelool, Hhuzbhān, and Oom-el-Russās, which he had only seen at a distance before, and had never entered or examined until during our late excursion, in which we took them in our way, he exclaimed, "Never were cities in the world like these three; — there is no counting the number of the houses, and every house is as big as the castle of Assalt! the pillars are larger round than the circle of the whole company; the writings are so numerous that no one could copy them; and the tower of Oom-el-Russās is as high as a mountain!"

After every allowance that I was disposed to make for oriental

exaggeration, this style was so extravagantly hyperbolic, and appeared so ridiculous to me, who had but so recently viewed the objects described, that I could not refrain from laughter. I have recorded these facts, however, because they not only illustrate the character of the people here, and of human nature generally, among all people in a similar state of civilization, but they will also serve to show how little dependance can be placed by travellers on the relations and descriptions of the native inhabitants of these countries, and how much more frequently they are liable to be tempted to visit an uninteresting spot, than to pass by any considerable one. Mr. Burckhardt, who had been unable to visit Oom-el-Russās, but had collected such information as he could obtain from the Arabs respecting it, had been assured that there were green columns at that place; which induced a supposition that these might be columns of verd antique, and that the ruins existing there might correspond in magnificence to the costliness of such a material; but the remains seen at Oom-el-Russās, are so far from the description given of them in the instance mentioned, that there was not a single column, nor even the fragment of one, visible to us in our late visit to that spot.

In the evening we repaired to the house of Aioobe, where a new pack of German picquet cards were introduced for the amusement of the company; and the noise and confusion to which this Sunday evening's diversion gave rise, was almost distracting. In the course of our stay there an incident occurred which was quite new to me, and curious enough to deserve mention. The salutations usual in many ancient and modern nations, offered to persons after sneezing, are well known *; but salutations after an act by which nature relieves a person oppressed with flatulencies, are certainly uncommon. On this occasion, the infant child of Aioobe being in its mother's arms, and alarming the company by a sound unusually loud and distinct for an infant of its tender age,

* Hobhouse's Travels, page 512.

the father exclaimed, with great gravity and evident satisfaction, " B'ism-Illah, el Rakhman, el Rakheem, ya towal oomruck, ya Ibraheem." " In the name of God, the mighty, and the merciful, may your life be lengthened, O Abraham !" and not a smile was excited throughout the company by this extraordinary introduction of salutation and prayer on so unusual an occasion. Niebuhr has a very extraordinary story respecting an Arab who encouraged a competition for excellence in this respect in a bath at Senna ; and others are told by him, to show the extreme abhorrence which Arabs in general have for even the inadvertent escape of what had here excited the solemn exclamations adverted to. Niebuhr also mentions, that the former part of this exclamation is used by all pious Arabs before the consummation of connubial rites ; so that the name of God is invoked on the most opposite occasions, and associated, in the most unseemly manner, with the gravest as well as the most frivolous events.

The conversation of the evening took a political turn, and the general belief and opinion was, that all the sovereigns of Europe would soon unite to re-possess the sanctuaries of the Holy Land. They even ventured to mark out the divisions that would certainly take place when the apportionment of the territories to the respective sovereigns should be determined on. In this division, Russia, they conceived, would have possession of Constantinople ; Austria would receive Asia Minor ; England the whole of Syria ; and the French, Egypt. In reasoning on the probable consequences to which such an occupation of the Turkish territories might lead, nothing could surpass the absurdity of their speculations, arising from their utter ignorance of geography, as well as of the resources and character of the several nations thus enriched by their donations. In this I took but little part, and avoided contradiction as tending to protract a conversation already tedious from its length and inutility ; and by thus remaining passive, an interval occurred which enabled me to change the topic to one of

more immediate personal interest to myself, as well as one on which their opinions might really be of some value.

In considering the steps most advantageous for me to pursue, under the circumstances of the moment, it was the unanimous opinion of those present, that as I could not effect a journey across the Desert to Bagdad or Bussora without a change of affairs among the Wahabee Arabs, which there was no ground at present to hope or expect, I should best effect my object by going from hence straight to Damascus through the Hauran; and on my arrival at that city, I might more easily determine on the best mode of further prosecuting my journey to Aleppo, and from thence, by the ordinary caravan route, to India. In every point of view in which this subject was debated, it appeared to me not only the most eligible, but really the only mode left for me to pursue; I accordingly consented to this arrangement, and our kind entertainer, Aioobe, undertook to write letters of recommendation to several of his friends and correspondents on the road, to facilitate my progress as much as it might be in their power to do so. My Nazarene guide, Maalim Georgis, and my Assalt guide, Abu Fārah, each solicited also to accompany me thus far on my way. They declared that, in offering their services, they were influenced by no motives of gain, but wished, out of pure regard, to be my companions as far as Damascus at least: and though I could hardly give full credit to this profession of unusual freedom from selfishness, yet I readily yielded to their wishes, as guides of some description or other were indispensable, and more trustworthy ones than these I could hardly hope to find. The arrangement was therefore concluded; and though I doubted their entire disinterestedness, and knew moreover that they were too poor to be able, even if willing, to serve me without reward, yet I was reluctant to show any distrust of their zeal or attachment, and therefore suffered all mention of such reward to be suspended for the present, till a fitting time and opportunity should render it more acceptable to all parties.

My clothes having been washed for me during the afternoon, I remained up till past midnight, after my companions were asleep, to dry them in the smoke of the embers that still remained from the blazing fire, around which we had all passed the evening.

Assalt, Monday, March 5.—The morning broke with a heavy gale of wind from the S. W., accompanied by torrents of rain, so that it was impossible to set out on our journey. Independently of the vexation caused by this unexpected delay, the manner in which I was compelled to pass my time was both tedious and unprofitable. All those whose occupations were carried on within the house were as idle as ever, and those whose business was in the open air were driven to their several dwellings for shelter. By this means our house was crowded with visitors during the whole of the day; and however thankful I might have felt towards particular individuals of the place for their advice and hospitality, I could not but feel impatient to quit a scene where nothing new or useful remained to learn; while indolence, ignorance, and bigotry were perpetually presenting the most revolting pictures to my view.

Assalt, Tuesday, March 6.—The rain of the preceding day had ceased with the S.W. wind during the night; but after a short interval of moderate weather, this was succeeded by as strong a gale from the northward, bringing with it snow and sleet, which rendered it equally impracticable to proceed on our intended route; I had therefore the prospect of another tedious day before me, and was already weary with the anticipation of the tiresome task of passing it.

Besides the usual circle by which our abode was certain of being visited during the day, and who were also certain of entering on the threadbare topic of the Christian sovereigns dividing the Turkish empire and giving the Greeks the pre-eminence, there

came a party of Mohammedans to see me, as the stranger of whom they had heard much to excite their curiosity. The head of the party was a green-turbanned descendant of the Prophet, originally from Egypt; but having, after the pilgrimage to Mecca, taken a wife of this part of the country, he had settled here as a trader. Another of the party was an Arab doctor from Damascus, who had been at Cyprus, at Alexandria, and at Tunis. Being themselves great travellers, they had come, as they expressed it to me, to see one who had the courage to leave his mother's home, and come so far away from it as this to see the world. Each of these having performed the journey to Mecca as pilgrims, were called Hadjee, and as this title is sometimes conceded to Christians who have visited their holy city, Jerusalem, they flattered me by this compliment, affixing the address of Hadjee to the name of Abdallah, by which I was usually known. The Christians, here, were not pleased with one of their own faith bearing a name so purely Mohammedan as they considered this to be; though in other parts there are even Arab Christians not unfrequently bearing this least objectionable of all appellations, " the Slave of God," and which, one would think, all sects and religions might be equally proud to adopt.

If I had before been disgusted with the religious hatred and contempt existing between Mohammedans and Christians generally, (though it is less offensive in its appearance at this place than I had before seen it elsewhere,) I saw enough in the morning's history to revive that feeling with redoubled force. I was asked innumerable questions by each party, and requested to relate what I had most admired among all the various wonders I had seen through life; but when I recounted an incident which tended to portray in strong colours the great advantages of universal philanthropy and toleration, or spoke of some deed which taught or illustrated the value of religious charity and mutual forbearance among persons of opposite opinions in matters of faith, no one assented; on the contrary, the Mussulman proudly exclaimed,

" La Illah ul Ullah, wa Muhammed el Russool Ullah," and the Christian as haughtily crossed himself, counted his beads, and muttered his profession of faith, each seeming most heartily to despise the other. When I was asked, why I travelled, the Egyptian trader said, before I made any reply, that it must no doubt be to increase my stock of knowledge; the Arab doctor from Damascus said, that being wise enough already, it was more probable that my object was to collect information in the country of the Turks to transmit to my sovereign, to be serviceable in some meditated conquests; while the Christian contended, that it must be also with a view to enquire into the state of Christianity in these parts, with a view to the ultimate purification of the faith of the Church.

The Christian visitors at length dropped off one by one, and I was left alone with the Mohammedans, who, though more proud, from a consciousness of superiority, were neither so ignorant nor so bigotted as their Christian neighbours, and were therefore much more agreeable companions. Not long after this, they again came in one by one as they had left, and general conversation was resumed, in which political subjects were most prominent. The Egyptian affected to despise Napoleon for having abjured his faith and made a public profession of Mohammedanism at Cairo, which he thought was as unwise as it was contemptible, since it could have deceived no man of sound judgment or orthodox Mussulman. The Christians admitted that this was at least a doubtful virtue; but they thought him entitled to the highest praise for his attempt to rescue the Holy Land from infidel dominion. Both parties agreed only in one thing, that of extolling the English; yet the Mohammedans considered them unjustifiable in their attempts to restore the old King of France, whom they understood to be an ideot; and the latter thought they had done wickedly in dethroning the Emperor to make room for the Bourbons, since the eyes of all the Christian world had in their estimation been directed to Buonaparte, as the only hope left for the redemption of Jerusalem.

The weather began to abate in severity towards the evening, and promised a fair morrow. After our party broke up, therefore, I made arrangements for our rising early, in the hope that the next sun would see us on our way.

Wednesday, March 7.—We arose early, as the weather was now fine, but from the delay always inseparable from the first starting on a new journey, it was eight o'clock before we had mounted our horses to set out. I was accompanied on this occasion by Mallim Georgis, my former guide from Nazareth, and Abu Fārah, my late escort towards Karak; and as we moved from the door of our dwelling we received the good wishes and parting benedictions of all the people of the town, both Christians and Mohammedans.

On leaving Assalt, we went up to the northward, through a beautifully wooded country, passing in our way an armed troop of thirteen Arabs on foot, just going out on a plundering excursion, and in half an hour we gained the summit of the hill that we had been ascending. From this point we had a fine view of the Valley of Jordan, which is called by the Arabs of this part, Ghore, and Wādi Stezibān, and the river is still called El Shereeah.

Descending from this eminence, but still going in a northerly direction, we passed the reputed tomb of Osha-el-Nebbê, or Joshua the Prophet, leaving it a little on our left. Seven ruined villages, a hewn cistern or reservoir for water, and other marks of former populousness were seen by us also in the early part of this route. In half an hour from the commencement of our journey we came to Zey, a ruined town, in which were some few pillars, many private buildings originally constructed of large stones, but now completely demolished and grown over with trees, with a very perfect sarcophagus, ornamented with sculpture and of the usual size. Near to this spot are an abundance of pines growing in a clayey soil; and I was assured that this was a favourite haunt of wild boars, which I could easily credit, as there were a number of places

then visible in which they had but very recently muzzled up the fresh earth in search of roots as food.

In the course of our descent, the position of a small building called the tomb of Ooda-el-Nebbê was pointed out to me on the top of a hill which hangs over the valley of Jerash, and bore from us N.E. by E. by compass, distant probably about fifteen miles in a straight line.

An hour's ride from Zey brought us to Ullān, a Christian town, very recently deserted; as it was the town in which Aioobe the merchant of Assalt was born and brought up to manhood:—it is now, however, entirely in ruins. Near it are some old caves of burial, as well as hewn quarries, which probably furnished the stone used in the dwellings, all of which are built of that material. On the west of this, and at the apparent distance of two miles, we saw Kufr Ulm, another town also recently deserted and fallen into ruins. The whole of this tract is called Belkah, until it reaches the river or brook of Zerkah, when the district ends, and to the north of it commences the district of Jebel Adjeloon. Ullān appears to have been an ancient site, from the abundance of fine broken pottery scattered around it, of a quality far superior to any in modern use in these countries, and one of the most frequent and unerring indications of an early and populous settlement. The spot is now used as a place of burial for the Arabs of the surrounding country, who live in tents, and who are half cultivators and half Bedouins.

Below this site of Ullān, we passed over a light red soil and a reddish sand stone, with green turf and an abundance of scarlet flowers, similar to those we had seen in such plenty in our way over the plains near Ammān and towards Oom-el-Russās. These I now learnt were called by the Arabs, Berrakoot; they are considered to yield an excellent remedy for asthma and coughs; to effect which the flowers are boiled in a small quantity of water, and the decoction sweetened with sugar, and drank by the patient, to whom it is said to afford speedy and effectual relief.

In half an hour after passing through Ullān, we came to a sister town called Sihhān. This is larger than the former one; and besides being distinguished, like the other, by an abundance of broken pottery scattered around its site, we noticed some grottos in the neighbourhood, with fragments of the rustic masonry of the Romans, and the pedestal of a column, which indicated the former existence of some architectural works of a public nature. This spot is also now used as a place of burial by the tented Arabs of the surrounding country, and on the graves are observed numerous propitiatory offerings and tokens in memory of the tenants of the graves.

Our road still continued in a direction of north-east, and descended to a lower level as we proceeded, when, after a ride of about three-quarters of an hour over a light red soil, we passed suddenly down into a deep valley or glen, between Ullakoom and Sumia, two ruined villages on the hills on each side of us, about a mile apart from each other. From hence the position of Boormah was pointed out to me, in a northern direction, on the side of Jebel Adjeloon. I believe this to be a different pronunciation of the same name, which on my former way from Jerusalem to Jerash was called Boorzah, as they were beyond doubt one and the same place.

In an hour and a half from this, still descending, we went down over a steep slope to the passage of the Zerkah. It had been for some time gathering, and now began to rain heavily, with thunder and lightning, so that we had the prospect of a most uncomfortable ride before us; it was now, however, too late to seek shelter or retreat, of which I was rather glad, for had the rain fallen within the first hour of our leaving Assalt, my companions would no doubt have retraced their steps, and I should have been detained another day or two, if not more. The stream of the Zerkah was in this place deep and rapid, and it was not without difficulty that we swam our horses across, although the breadth was inconsiderable. We saw here several encampments of Arabs

in their black hair tents, and noticed some caves and grottos excavated by the earlier inhabitants of these parts in the caves above. On the hill to the east of Zerkah were also pointed out to me more than fifty ruined villages, the names of which were repeated to me, but being unable to write them on the spot they were soon forgotten.

We ascended from hence northerly over steep hills and a clayey soil, in which wild olives and numerous other trees were growing; and in about an hour after passing the Zerkah, we came to a ruined village called Alamoom, about an hour's distance to the east of Boorma or Boorza. The rain here ceased, and after the brilliance and freshness that it had thrown over all the vegetable creation, the view on its clearing up was at once sublime and beautiful. The features of the country were such as I have already described there in my former visit to Jerash; but on this occasion they derived a new charm from the state of the atmosphere, and looked like the most lively part of creation in a new dress.

Directing our course more easterly, we came in half an hour to the ruined town of Hamsa, where we observed many modern graves, and a large building with a pointed arch. We passed on the side of these ruins, without going through them, leaving them a little on the right of our path, and had then on our left the ruined towns of Jejazy on the side of a hill, and Ghiddery above it. Jebel Asswete was pointed out to the eastward, that being the name given to a district like those of Belkah and Adjeloon. In this district of Jebel Asswete were said to be 366 ruined towns and villages, now entirely deserted, and not even occasionally visited by Bedouin Arabs in the course of their wanderings. This form of expression is, I believe, often used merely to signify a great number; but even supposing the towns to have been only as numerous in the district of Asswete as we have evidence of their having been in Belkah and Adjeloon, there is scarcely any portion of the country that could have been more peopled than these three provinces in the time of their greatest prosperity.

Jejazy on the hill is small and of a modern date, though now in ruins: the only things noticed there, besides the remains of the dwellings, were a number of mill-stones used in the grinding of corn. Ghiddery, which stands above it, is, however, larger and of older date, its site being now almost grown over with trees. We saw here several beautiful crested hoopoes, and a number of large partridges, as well as numerous flocks of the pigeons before seen and described in a former journey to Jerash, on passing through the village of Soof. These pigeons are nearly double the size of the common pigeon of Europe, and are nearly all distinguished by a fine rich blue plumage. They are held in such esteem as food, that at Soof, where I had first seen them, they blind one of them as a decoy-bird by thrusting a needle into its eyes, and drawing a thread from one eye to the other, after which they are put into trap-cages to allure and entice others into the snare. It was said also, that they were birds of passage, being known to go to Abyssinia in the end of the spring, to stay there during the rainy season of that country, and return again to these mountains to enjoy the winter rains here.

Ascending the hill over a clayey soil, we soon reached the summit, and found that the firs which clothed these elevated spots grew larger and larger as we approached the pinnacle, and then again dwindled in size as we descended. It was within an hour after our passing the summit and going over the north-eastern side of the hill that we came to Dibbeen, a modern town, the buildings of which were distinguished by their Saracen or pointed arches. We found it entirely deserted, its inhabitants having taken refuge from the extortions of Syrian governors and the incursions of plundering Arabs, in Assalt and other strong and independent towns of the Hauran. There were originally not more than 100 separate habitations in this place, and these were small and of inferior construction, but there are now few remaining perfect even of that small number.

From this spot the reputed tomb of Ooda-el-Nebbê was again seen, over the Valley of Jerash, bearing nearly east of us, and a small party of Arabs were encamped below. We still continued to descend over the slope of the hill to the northward, our way being through pines and other trees, and we passed on our left the ruined villages of Nahaly, Reymoon, and Witkitty. I was here called out of my path by one of my companions to see what he called the Hadjar Nufook, a stone that was said to cover an opening in the rock close by us, from which a large quantity of gold had been taken out some time ago by Muggrebin magicians from the west. This was a tale so common, and applied to such various and distant spots, that I had become too much accustomed to hear it to pay the least attention to such a narrative.

In an hour afterwards, we came to a valley in which ran a small stream said to discharge itself into the Zerkah. This valley and stream collectively is called Wādi Nahaly. It must once have been deemed of some importance, as there are still seen here the ruins of two aqueducts, called Towaheen; they are evidently both ancient works: one of them has a single arched passage beneath it, about 30 feet high, and is now covered with leaves and creeping plants on both sides; the other has its surface encrusted with large masses of petrifactions exactly like the cisterns at Ras-el-Ain, the aqueduct of Tyre, and the northern baths of Tiberias. There had been a modern settlement also near the spot, which is now, however, quite deserted, and only a few of the dwellings remain.

From hence we ascended in an easterly direction over a stony ground, and noticed a number of olive trees, not growing wildly and spontaneously, as we had seen them before, but planted here, and said to have belonged to the dwellings below. On the left we passed the ruined village of Deer, and the villages of Merj, and Megibbely to the north of it; and in an hour from the aqueduct of Towaheen, which most probably conveyed water to Jerash, we reached that city, this being the third time of my visiting it, having

travelled from Assalt for about eight hours, or not more than thirty-two miles, in a north-east direction.

As it was now sunset, my companions were as much disposed as myself to halt; and we fixed on the ruins of Jerash for the place of our repose. In entering the city from the west, by the outer gate, we observed several sarcophagi, and I inferred from thence that in this quarter there was also a necropolis, though in my former visit we had met with a large assemblage of tombs in another and opposite quarter, and more remote from the city walls. On the south-west of the outer entrance to the city, and on the south-east side, we observed several tombs excavated in the rock, to the number of twenty at least, resembling in general appearance those seen at Oom Kais: some of which, like the tombs at that place also, had apparently been used, and that very recently, as places of shelter and habitation; near one of them was the fragment of a stone door, but neither of them were closed.

We passed up through the centre of the city, and made our halt at the large square building conjectured to be a bath, which stands on the east of the northernmost theatre, and west of the stream in the valley. The part covered with a circular dome gave us and our horses shelter, although three of its sides were open; we had firewood, provisions, and water with us, so that we were well off; making a hearty supper, and smoking our pipes in an arched recess, which we called the Horse-shoe Arch from its shape, at the south-west angle of the interior.

After supper I enjoyed a fine moonlight walk alone through these magnificent ruins, and only regretted the want of a companion to share with me the feelings which so impressive a scene inspired. In the two former visits, we were so hurried that there was scarcely time to note any thing, and still less to examine, to reflect, and to compare. Circumstances having, however, most unexpectedly brought me to this interesting spot for a third time, I was determined to make the most of so favourable an opportunity for bringing away a fuller and more accurate account of its remains

than it had been possible to do on the former occasions already alluded to; as very few persons were likely, for some time to come at least, to possess so good an opportunity, even in a projected visit to this place, as would be afforded me by merely halting a night at it, in a direct journey from Assalt to Damascus, as a spot just one day's distance from our place of starting, and in the common route between these two places.

I did not return to the spot fixed on for our repose, until near midnight, having gone over and examined alone, nearly every part of the principal edifices by moonlight, and seen much that had escaped me before; and when I returned, I found that my guides, who were still awake, had given me up as lost, or robbed, or murdered: though, as might well be expected, I had met with no living being in my ramble, not even the guardian bird to whose care the people of Soof assured us on a former visit that the preservation of the buried treasures was confided.

As there was a large fire still blazing in the Horse-shoe Arch in which we had taken up our quarters for the night, I scrawled my name, with the date, on the inner wall near where we sat; and the inference drawn by my credulous and suspicious companions, from this simple act, was, that I had actually found the place in which the hidden treasures of Jerash were concealed, and that this discovery was made during my moonlight ramble alone, which fully accounted to them for my absence, as well as for my going out without them; and that this writing on the wall was but the commencement of the incantations which I was about to perform, for the purpose of raising the buried gems and gold, and enriching myself for ever!

Jerash, Thursday, March 8.— After midnight we divided ourselves into three watches, as our situation was thought to be one exposed to danger; and, as we decided the order of our succession by drawing lots, it fell to my chance to keep the third, or morning guard, Mallim Georgis the second or middle watch, and

Abu Fārah the first, or from twelve till two o'clock. During these first two hours, the old sentry, then at his post, kept me awake by his songs; for, having a blazing fire before him, a coffee pot near, and a full purse of tobacco for his pipe, he cheered the solitude of the moment, and gave vent at the same time to the satisfaction of his heart, by chanting the legendary songs of his youth. When Georgis was aroused from his slumbers, for *he* slept most soundly notwithstanding every obstacle, the old Abu Fārah lay down to take his repose. It must have been about three o'clock, for it was full three hours before the day broke, when we were suddenly awakened by our temporary guardian, who crossed himself twenty times in the midst of his recital, and told us, with shortened breath, a tale of robbers, and horses, and muskets, and lances, which he uttered in so interrupted a manner, that Fārah and myself, thus suddenly roused from our sleep, could scarcely understand what was meant. We were only aware that some imminent danger, or, at least, the apprehension of it, must have been the cause of our being disturbed; and we, therefore, seized our muskets to prepare for defence. While thus on our guard, we learnt from our affrighted companion that, during the middle watch of the night, one of our horses had been stolen; and that this had occasioned him to awake us. We at first accused him of sleeping on his post, which he stoutly denied, with many appeals to the Virgin and St. George for the truth of his story; and, as if to convince us beyond all doubt of his not having even slumbered on his guard, he confessed that he had been a silent spectator of the whole transaction from beginning to end. He said, that soon after his taking the look out, he saw a party of five men approaching the ruined building in which we had taken shelter, two of them leading their horses, and the other three without horses, but all on foot. The horsemen, he said, walked up and down, to and fro, like Franks who are always restless and in motion, while the three men on foot approached the place of our halt, each having a musket in his hand. One of these, he added, then came close to the building,

and removing the bushes with which we had blocked up the entrance to one of the arches, took out from thence with great caution and silence the horse that stood nearest to the aperture. During all this time the prudent Georgis pretended to be asleep: but thinking it might have some effect upon the robbers, whom he was afraid to encounter openly, to show symptoms of being disturbed, he turned round upon his side, as if half awakened by the noise; and the robbers themselves being quite as desirous of avoiding a contest, provided they could secure any thing without the risk of personal danger, walked silently off with their prize; nor was it until the party were quite out of sight and hearing that we were apprized of our loss!

I saw in this instance, a very striking picture of the Arab character. The robbers themselves, though nearly twice our number, and we too asleep, were afraid to attack us openly; while our companion, who then held the post of looking out, witnessed all in silence, being equally afraid of rousing his smaller party for defence. The plunderers were satisfied to gain a small booty without injury, while the plundered was ready to make a sacrifice of part of his property, for the sake of securing the same desirable blessing, a whole skin. Had the one pushed his attempts further, a skirmish at least might have ensued; and if the other had given a timely alarm, our little force might have been exerted to repel the attack; so that, in either case, death or wounds might probably have followed an encounter. As it luckily happened, the horse that was stolen belonged to Mallim Georgis himself, and was worth between 3 and 400 piastres; but instead of blaming his own weakness for suffering it to be taken away, without an effort even of resistance, he expressed great contrition for his sins, and believed this loss to be a judgment from heaven for some neglect of religious duty of which he had been guilty, some breaking of a fast, or some indulgence of his evil passions.

We did not sleep, of course, during the remainder of the morning, but continued debating the affair, and putting ourselves

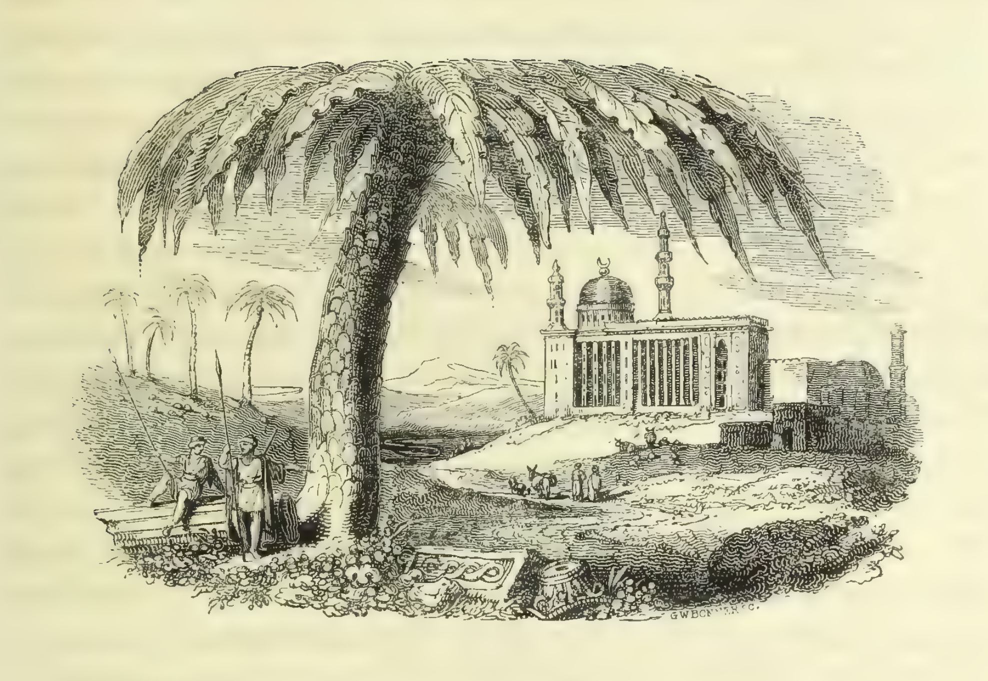
in a better state of preparation, for the possible return of these successful plunderers, whom we determined to meet at their next visit, if they should venture to make another, with arms in our hands. The ruined building in which we slept being open on three sides, we conceived it highly probable that the light of the fire had attracted the robbers from afar; and although it was now but of little use to remove the cause, after its effect had been produced, the fire was put out, which left us to suffer considerably from the piercing cold of the morning, with a hoar frost whitening the whole of the surrounding country.

As we could not well pursue our journey so expeditiously, with one of our party on foot, as if we were all mounted, it was agreed that we should go down to one of the villages in the valley of Adjeloon, where Georgis had some friends and relations residing, under the hope of procuring from some of these, the loan of a mare for his use during the remainder of our way, or an advance of money for the purchase of one, if none could be otherwise obtained. I would willingly have dispensed with the services of these men altogether, had it been possible; but every day we met with small parties of two, four, and half a dozen, who would have been ready to insult and even plunder an unprotected stranger, but who gave us always friendly salutes when they saw my guides, as these were personally known to some persons or other in almost every town and village of the country, and were therefore able at once to enter on a friendly conversation with half the people we met. The advantage of having such guides as these, was therefore considerable, as in their company I could pass in safety, where arms alone, unless in great force, would never have secured my way: and while they were with me, I was as certain of a kind and hospitable reception among Mohammedans as among Christians, each of these being apparently glad to profit by the Mallim's learning, and to consult him as a sort of oracle on the signs of the times, as well as to learn from Abu Fārah the state of the roads, the encampments of Arabs, the removal of fairs or markets, and all the local news of

the district which no one was more competent to give: the first of these men being the most celebrated Seer, and the last, perhaps, the most complete and experienced Itinerant in the whole country.

While our morning coffee was preparing, I ventured out with my compass and note-book, to take sets of bearings for the correction of the plan of the city, which I could now enjoy an opportunity of doing, without any interruption and with but little delay. Starting at daylight I had hoped to have done all I wishd by eight or nine o'clock, but one object led to another, so that it was nearly noon before I completed the peregrination of the principal quarters of the city. By incessant and unwearied assiduity during this period, I was enabled to sketch the ground plans of four new edifices, take seven separate sets of bearings from different buildings by compass, and copy some Greek inscriptions from an altar, a column, and the frieze of a temple, making besides upwards of ten closely written pages of notes, on the several portions that struck me as worthy of remarking on as I went along. *

* The whole of this, which formed a far greater body of materials respecting Jerash, than Mr. Bankes and myself had been able to collect during our first hasty and interrupted visits, I thought it advisable to incorporate in the account given of the ruins of that city, in the Travels in Palestine, already before the public, in order to make it as complete as possible, and to gratify, as well as I could, without delay, the curiosity of all who desired to know whatever could be communicated respecting these recently discovered and highly interesting remains. Instead, therefore, of repeating in this place, the portion of information collected on this third visit to Jerash, I must refer the reader to the more comprehensive general account of its ruins, contained in the Travels in Palestine already referred to; where it occupies about sixty pages, accompanied by a ground plan of the city, and many of its separate edifices, drawn entirely from the notes, bearings, and measurements taken by myself on this last occasion.



CHAP. VIII.

FROM JERASH TO THE VALLEY AND CASTLE OF ADJELOON.

It was about noon when we left Jerash, quitting it now by the western wall. Proceeding westerly for about an hour, and going over rocky ground, we came to the village of Kittey, which is a modern station, entirely occupied by Mohammedans. It has good water, an excellent soil, and an abundance of olive trees near it, with about fifty separate dwelling houses.

Proceeding more northerly, but over the same kind of rocky ground, we came, in another hour, to Eremoon. At this place we found a well-built Mohammedan tomb, with a reservoir for water and a large spreading tree near it, on which, as well as at the door of the tomb itself, were suspended tokens of devotion in various shapes. Near it, was also a deserted mosque, with pillars on the

inside, and a tolerably good exterior, with a small inscribed tablet half way up the wall, on the northern face of the building. There were many trees in the surrounding soil, and a population that appeared to be in as comfortable circumstances as peasants and labourers ever are in these ill-governed and improvident countries, where it is literally the custom to take no heed for the morrow, but to let the day provide for itself.

We ascended a steep hill on leaving this spot, and in half an hour after quitting it, passed by a place called Ahheatherah, which, from the large size of the stones of which its buildings were constructed, and the great abundance of fragments of fine pottery scattered around it, indicated an ancient site, whose very ruin must have been at some remote period, as it was quite grown over with trees.

Being now near the summit of Jebel Adjeloon, we could see, from this elevation, the deep valley of the Zerkah, with its stream winding from the S. E. to the N. W. The head of this stream is said to rise near Ammān, and to form the brook that runs through the ruins of that city. From our present position we could also observe, that on the summit of Jebel Asswete, there was an elevated plain like that of Belkah, which we had passed over on our way from Assalt to Oom-el-Russās. Beyond this again, to the eastward, is the lower plain of the Haurān, which is said to be even more thickly covered with ruined cities and towns than either of the districts already traversed in this once abundantly peopled, and now comparatively desolate, region.

On turning our way round the top of this elevated point of Jebel Adjeloon, we shaped our course more northerly; the soil being still clay, with sand and limestone intermixed, and the whole covered with firs and other trees. From what I observed here, it would seem, that in these high regions, and remote from the sea-coast, the wind blew most frequently, and with greater strength, from the northward than from any other quarter, as the largest trees were all much bent to the southward, and in a manner so uniform

that could have only been effected by long prevailing winds ; yet it is remarkable, that all along the Syrian shore, southerly winds prevail throughout the largest portion of the year. On the left of our present route was a western branch of the same chain of hills, stretching out from that on which we rode, and thickly covered with wood ; and in the valley below, a few ruins of some old place, which my guides named Huzzar.

Proceeding now in nearly a N. W. direction, we came, in half an hour, upon the site of old ruins, which bore the name of Oom-el-Jelood, the remains of which were now grown over with trees. In its neighbourhood were fine corn-fields, in which the young corn had begun to appear ; and near to the site of the town there still remained a fine fountain of water, and the portion of an ancient paved road. We continued to ascend over a hill covered with the same kind of trees as those abounding near Assalt, which were there called Finjan, but were here pronounced Sinjan trees ; they were covered on the bark by a rich and beautiful moss.

From the summit of the hill we could see Mounts Tabor and Hermon, with the hill in the hollow of which Nazareth is seated, bearing N.W. over the Valley of the Jordan. Here, too, we first obtained a sight of the castle and valley of Adjeloon. From hence we descended to the westward, and came, in half an hour, to the village of Anjerah. There was a Roman arched well, which stood near the entrance of this village, and fine corn-fields and olive-grounds close to the houses, which pleasingly relieved the picture. We alighted here to take coffee and enquire the news of the road ; but learnt nothing worthy of notice. The village itself was a flourishing one, and the people apparently industrious and happy : the population was estimated at about 500 Moslems, and twenty Christian families. The castle of Adjeloon, in its general appearance, resembled that of Assalt ; and below it, at the foot of the hill on whose summit it stood, was pointed out to us the village of Arrhubbudth, now deserted and in ruins, while in the valley near this, stood the villages of Adjeloon and Ain Jerrah.

We descended, after leaving Anjerah, and passed through a rich and beautiful wood scenery, with grottos in the cliffs, large masses of fallen rock, moss-covered stones and old trees, that presented the most picturesque assemblage of objects; and, after going in a westerly direction for half an hour, we came to Cufr Injey, a village approached through corn-fields and olive grounds. The scenery of our ride over the mountain of Adjeloon, and more particularly down its western side, when we first obtained a sight of the castle on the opposite hill, and the whole aspect of the fine valley below, was equal in beauty to any portion of this richly varied country that I had yet beheld.

We halted at Cufr Injey, and alighted at the house of a Nazarene, named Maalim Yakoube, who had settled here as a schoolmaster, doctor, and worker in metals, and who was thought to be the most clever man to be found in all the country, for many miles round. We met with a very kind reception from this worthy person, and between himself and my companions, as well as between them and various visitors of the village, who had collected around us almost before we alighted, there were exchanged all those cordial salutations, kissings, and greetings, for which the Arabs are so remarkable. Maalim Yakoube, who was a young man of rather a handsome person, was unusually well dressed, with two fine cloth pelisses, of bright red and blue colours, and wore a rich shawl turban, while his wife and infant child were literally laden with gold and silver ornaments, so that his triple profession must have been a profitable one. The dwelling of this family was like all the abodes that I had yet seen, for persons in moderate condition; namely, a raised portion for the members of the family, and a lower part for the household stock and cattle. The workshop in which the silver and gold of the peasants were worked up into rudely fashioned ornaments for their women and children, as well as the school in which the latter were flogged into a knowledge of reading and writing, stood near the house, so that the establishment was all under the eye of the master and

conveniently seated also for his domestic comfort. There were only two Christians in the place besides our host, and as these were not present among the groupe that surrounded us on our arrival, they were sent for, when the kissing and greeting of our first meeting was again repeated.

After we had satisfied the curiosity of our Mohammedan visitors, they gradually dispersed; and being now left alone, or with Christian companions only, the conversation became more free and unconstrained than while they were present. The subjects touched on were chiefly religious and political, and the beaten ground of the partition of the Turkish empire among the sovereigns of Christendom, was trodden again with renewed zeal, the Maalim Yakoube taking a warm and lively interest in the prospects of future emolument and advancement which such a scene opened to his aspiring hopes. Our supper consisted of a dish of rice, peas, and onions, all stewed together in oil; and ungrateful as such a mess must naturally be to an English palate, my appetite was rendered so keen by hunger, that I literally and truly enjoyed it, and made a hearty meal. By way of dessert, some walnuts and dried figs were afterwards served to us, besides a very curious article, probably resembling the dried wine of the ancients, which they are said to have preserved in cakes. Those of which we now partook might also be called wine-cakes: they were of the shape of a cucumber, and were made out of the fermented juice of the grape formed into a jelly, and in this state wound round a central thread of the kernel of walnuts; the pieces of the nuts thus forming a support for the outer coat of jelly, which became harder as it dried, and would keep, it was said, fresh and good for many months, forming a welcome treat at all times, and being particularly well adapted for sick or delicate persons, who might require some grateful provisions capable of being carried in a small compass, and without risk of injury on a journey.

During the conversation of the evening, I learnt that the population of this village was about 400, all of whom were Mo-

hammedans, except our small party; and though governed by a Mohammedan sheikh, the consideration and comfort enjoyed by the very few Christians residing here, evinced a degree of toleration that was far from usual, and would hardly anywhere be found except in places like this and Assalt, remote from the immediate influence of the authorities of larger towns. All the villages in this district of Adjeloon were, however, tributary to the Pasha of Damascus, though lightly taxed, and Assalt was the first town, going to the southward, that was entirely independent of his dominion. Even the Bedouins, who come in to encamp on this fertile country, and of which there were now many who had pitched their tents on the hills, the vallies, and the streams, pay a yearly tribute, from their flocks and herds, to the same authority. Some few, indeed, dispute its payment, as I remember to have seen on the banks of the Jordan, when soldiers from Tiberias had been sent to collect the tribute due; but this is seldom attempted except by large and powerful tribes, or branches of them, who can enforce their refusal by effectual resistance.

The castle of Adjeloon, in size, situation, and construction, resembles that at Assalt, and was said here to be like that at Karak also. They appear to be all old Roman works, with Saracen additions and repairs at subsequent periods. It has a fine commanding situation, with a deep well for water within, and a broad ditch for defence without. It is, however, but poorly garrisoned, as there were, at this moment, only ten soldiers in it from Damascus, these leading so idle a life, that, as far as protection or utility was concerned, it was thought they might as well have been absent as present; and there are neither cannon, ammunition, or provisions, kept within the walls.

I learnt also during our evening's conference, that about nine hours' journey to the N. W. of this, was a place, called by some, Tub kut Fehhel, and by others Jerim Moaz or Mooze, where there were ruins of an ancient city, with a few fragments of broken pillars and five or six tombs, like those of Oom Kais, with stone doors

still standing, and sarcophagi within them. These ruins are about two hours to the eastward of Beisan, the ancient Scythopolis, but on the east side of the Jordan; after crossing which, in a straight line from Beisan, the way up is by ascending the eastern hills, when the tombs are met with about half an hour after beginning to ascend. I was assured that no European had ever yet been there, and that the place was well worth a traveller's visit; but I had other objects to pursue, and was compelled to content myself with seeing only such places as actually lay in my way, or through which the route I was now pursuing necessarily led.

Cufr Injey, at which we made our halt for the night, lies nearly west from Jerash, about five hours' journey, or twenty miles; and from the nearest part of the Jordan it is about the same distance east. It is about fifteen hours' journey from Nazareth, which bears N.N.W. from hence, and is considered a good day's journey for a horseman, being perhaps from forty to forty-five miles by the road, and from thirty to thirty-five in a straight line. Oom Kais lies north of this about twelve hours' journey, and El Hhussan, the first point of entrance into the Hauran, is in a N.E. direction, distant about eight hours or thirty-two miles.

Cufr Injey, Friday, March 9.— The object of our visit to this place being to procure a horse for one of my guides, Mallim Georgis, in lieu of the one stolen from him at Jerash, some time was spent in the morning and much difficulty experienced in the search after one, in which we were even at last unsuccessful; but the kindness of our entertainer, Yakoube, soon relieved us from our disappointment, by his granting to Georgis the use of his own mare, and the loan of a small sum of money for the way, to replace what he had lost, and serve his purpose as far as Damascus. I engaged to remunerate him for this, on our arrival at that city; but the act itself was nevertheless one of great kindness, and evinced a confidence which would not be reposed in a perfect stranger in more civilised countries.

We breakfasted with the family on a variety of excellent dishes, among which were included walnuts, figs, and a dried jelly of wine, about the consistence of a cake of portable soup, which we found both agreeable and exhilarating. After breakfast, the several members of the family repaired to their respective duties. The elder brother of Yakoube, a young lad of about fifteen years of age, went out into the school, where he heard the boys read and repeat their lessons, and at the same time occupied himself in the manufacture of some metal bracelets, at a bench fitted with an anvil, vice, and all the conveniences of a regular workshop. The second brother, a lad of about twelve years old, drove out the cattle to graze, and attended at the same time to the feeding of the mare and the poultry. The wife repaired to the kneading trough, to make the usual portion of daily bread for the consumption of the family; and the husband sat down to copy a manuscript book of Arabic prayers used in the service of the Greek church of Syria; while two infant children perpetually quarrelled with each other, and ran alternately to the father and the mother for encouragement and protection.

During our morning stay here, I learnt that there was a constant communication between the towns seated on the east and the west of the Jordan, from Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Nablous, to Assalt, Adjeloon, and the villages in their respective districts. These journies were said also to be in general safe and easy, when performed in company with the inhabitants of the country, in parties from ten to twenty in number. From some of the towns named, the communication is both regular and frequent, and from others the parties are larger and the journies performed at more distant periods: a caravan generally came from Nablous once a month, when all who had business in these parts profited by the protection it afforded; and this, like all the others in this part of the country, was composed chiefly of horses, mules, and asses; the mountainous and rugged nature of the road rendering it disadvantageous to employ camels, which are used chiefly in the plains.

The whole of the country that we had yet traversed on the east of the Jordan, from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea, and from Oom Kais to Heshbon, is fertile in the extreme; and the woody scenery of the mountain districts of Belkah and Adjeloon scarcely to be surpassed in beauty. The soil is so generally fertile as to be capable of producing almost any thing that is required; and while the vallies abound with corn-fields and olive-grounds, the upland slopes of the hills are planted with vines, and the summits of the mountains are clothed with the trees of the coldest regions. The climate is really delightful: a clear, deep blue sky, a pure air, a warm summer in the vallies and plains, a snowy winter on the mountain-tops, with all the finest shades of gradation between these two extremes, furnish every variety of temperature and atmosphere that can be desired by man. The strongest proof that could be given of its salubrity, is the remarkable fact that not one maimed, deformed, or sickly-looking person anywhere met our sight, during the whole period of my being in this part of the country, though we saw new faces, and came in contact with great numbers of persons every day. Indeed this portion of the country included in the districts of Belkah and Adjeloon, on the east of the Jordan, is as superior to the Promised Land on the west of that stream, as the most romantic and beautiful parts of Devonshire are to the bleak hills and barren heaths of the adjoining county of Cornwall.

We were about to depart from Cufr Injey, when as singular an accident as that which brought us here occurred to detain us. A Greek priest, belonging to Nazareth, had walked up this morning from a village called Rajib, seated on the site of an ancient town about two hours to the S.W. among the hills, to claim the use of Yakoube's mare for the day, our worthy host having before assured him that the animal would be at his service whenever he wished it. It was in vain that we pleaded the urgency of our want of the animal in question, as the length of our journey would not admit of any one of our party proceeding on foot. The

same plea was set up on the part of the priest, who had a number of visits to make at the different villages in the district, and who professed to be equally unable to perform them by walking. The question was at last put to the vote, by my desire, but I stood quite alone, in a solitary minority; for all the rest of the company, myself excepted, thought that a day's detention could be of no material consequence to us, as the mare would certainly return to-night, and be ready for our journey to-morrow : whereas, if I persisted in my claim on the animal, and proceeded to set out at once, the priest, as they considered, would be interrupted in the performance of his more important duties, and the guilt of this they conceived would lie on their heads, if they were, in any manner, accessaries to his detention. I was therefore obliged to yield, however reluctantly, and consent to await the priest's return, before we could continue on our way.

At noon we were visited by the wife of the Sheikh-el-Belled, a Moslem woman, who came into the house with her face unveiled, dressed in rich robes, with a fur cloak, a profusion of silver ornaments, and a costly pipe which she smoked as she walked. She had come to consult our host Yakoube, whose fame as a physician had spread through the neighbouring country, and who she therefore addressed by the title of Hakeem, entreating his professional advice on a complaint, which air and exercise would have been sufficient, without the aid of medicine, to remove. Her visit, though short, was extremely ceremonious : she was accompanied by a female slave, and all rose at her entrance and departure, well knowing that any mark of disrespect to her would be likely to be amply returned by the power of her husband.

After the departure of this lady, dinner was brought, but instead of eating together as before, we now formed four distinct parties. A grilled fowl was served up to me on a separate stool ; then followed my guides and their two Christian visitors, over a large bowl of boiled wheat and oil : after these had finished, the master of the house, his brothers, and their children, partook of

the same dish ; and last of all came the young wife of Yakoube, quite alone, who retired into a corner of the room with the dishes out of which we had all eaten, and literally gathered up the fragments that nothing might be lost, feeding, as it were, on the crumbs that had fallen from her husband's table.

The degraded state of the women in this country cannot be viewed without feelings of pity, mixed with indignation, by the native of a freer and a happier land, where females are assigned their proper rank in society, and by their education, manners, and amiable qualities of the mind and heart, add so many charms to man's existence. In England, the better part of the passion of love is intellectual: in this country it is wholly formed of animal desire, which alone renders women necessary, or even acceptable, either to Mohammedans or Christians, for in this respect there is no difference whatever between the followers of these religions. They are therefore purchased by both, as any other animal would be, to promote their domestic convenience. The prices of wives, who are literally bought for money, vary from 500 to 1000 piastres, among the better order of the inhabitants living in villages, and scattered through the country, but descends as low as 100 and even 50 among the labouring classes. The wife of the merchant Aioobe, at Assalt, had cost him 800 piastres, and the wife of the Hakeem Yakoube, at this place, had cost him 550, which had been paid to the parents of each. These facts were easily learnt, as no feeling of delicacy forbids such disclosures ; on the contrary, so far from scrupling to name the amount of the money paid for their wives, they frequently mention it without solicitation, and very frequently exaggerate the price for the purpose of enhancing their estimated worth in the mind of a stranger. It should be added, however, that on this subject it is only the Christians that are so communicative, their Mohammedan neighbours being in general averse to any mention of the female part of their families, and resenting as an insult enquiries even after their health. No servants are kept, except by families of great wealth and consideration, so that even in the middling

classes of life, nearly all the domestic labour is performed by the wife, who, it must be confessed, is, after all, only a higher order of slave, being doomed to confinement, degradation, and perpetual labour, from the day of her marriage to the day of her death.

In the afternoon I proposed a walk down into the valley, under the pretence of desiring to bathe in the stream which flows through it. It was my wish to have gone alone, but our kind entertainer Yakoube offering to accompany me, I could not with propriety decline, and we accordingly set out together. The stream that runs along this valley comes from the eastward through the Wādi Adjeloon, and ultimately discharges itself into the river Jordan to the west. The nearest part of the brook itself is about a quarter of an hour's walk only from the village of Cufr Injey, and about an hour's walk from the castle of Adjeloon, which stands on the summit of the opposite hill. To the south, the land is sufficiently sloped to admit of corn-fields and olive-grounds, but to the north it is more steep and woody, presenting, in many places, steep perpendicular cliffs, in which are natural hollows and artificial excavations, formerly perhaps the abodes of the living and the sepulchres of the dead. The distance from hence, to the spot where the stream first enters on the plain of the Jordan, or El Ghore, as it is called here, is estimated at four hours, or about sixteen miles, in a W. S. W. direction, and from thence to the river itself is reckoned at three quarters of an hour more, the valley being narrow and winding about that part of it.

In a close retreat of this beautiful valley, just beneath some large caves in a high cliff, called Irak el Wehhesh, we surprised some Moslem females from the village washing their own garments, and at the same time bathing themselves in the stream, while their clothes were drying in the sun. As they could not have conceived themselves liable to interruption, (for what man of the country would ever think of walking to such a spot for pleasure ?) so they apparently gave loose to their fancies, and four of the party were seen by us in the state of Eve before the fall, with exquisitely fine

forms, and long hair hanging luxuriantly to the water, with some of the tresses floating on the stream, playing all the antics and tricks of sport on each other that might be witnessed in a bathing party of boys just released from the confinement of school. The alarm that was occasioned among them by our unexpected approach, was as great as our own surprise at such a scene; but having no wish to disturb their enjoyment, we retired instantly to leave them in quiet possession of their delightful retreat.

On our return to the village, I was enabled to view it more perfectly than on the preceding evening, as we first entered it; and perceived many proofs of its being on the site of some more ancient settlement. The first of these was the presence of scattered fragments of pottery, of a deep red colour and finely ribbed surface, such as is no where used in the country at the present day; and which, in almost all cases that I remember, has proved one of the surest indications of other remains near, to establish the certainty of its being the wreck of earlier ages, and a more refined and civilised population. Next to this were several excavated caves facing the north, hewn out of the bed of rock on which the village stands, with recesses for the reception of dead bodies within them: other smaller excavations, just adapted to the size of the human body, standing separately; and others again of a still smaller kind, nearly square in form, and probably meant for the interment of young children, though the inhabitants of the village, in common with all the natives of the country, constantly regard all excavations, whether large or small, as the ancient receptacles of treasure. We saw also the portion of a well-built wall on the edge of the cliff above us, the workmanship of which was in the Roman rustic style and manner, the stones large, well hewn, and generally oblong and square; smooth at the edges of union, with a rough projection in the centre of the exterior surface, and the joints still close and compact, though no cement had ever been used in the masonry. To the north-east of this, and a little lower down the hill, I was shown a fine sarcophagus of stone, not long since discovered by

some labourers who were digging on that spot for earth. It was now within an excavation of the rock, and both its contents and its cover had been removed before the labourers found it, so that it did not occupy its original place, and must have been buried in the rubbish that enveloped it since the period of its being originally violated. The clear space of the inside of this sarcophagus was nine spans long and three broad: the stone out of which it was hewn was about three inches in thickness, grooved along the upper edges to receive the cover, and the ends and sides neatly sculptured with two oblong compartments divided by a pillar, and in the centre of each compartment a large full-blown flower, with mouldings enclosing it as a border, and smaller flowers studding the angles of the square. The central flowers in each panel were in a very high relief, of nearly three inches from the surface of the sides which they ornamented, thus differing from all the sarcophagi I had yet seen: but if the execution of the sculpture was ever remarkable for its skill or elegance, it was now too much injured by time and decay to be perceived. The work was, however, undoubtedly Roman, and, connected with the other features of the place already described, established beyond dispute the fact of this being the site of some early settlement, of much greater importance than the village now standing on its ruins. Not far distant from this was the shaft of a small pillar; higher up, the pedestal of a larger one; and hewn stones of a considerable size scattered about in great numbers, which, if confirmation were needed, would strengthen the opinion already expressed.

In the village itself, and not far from the dwelling of our host, I was taken into the house of a Mohammedan family to be shown what was justly considered to be the greatest curiosity in the place. The lower part of the room into which we were introduced was appropriated to the cattle of the family. It was about fifteen feet square, and was surrounded by a bench of solid rock, about two feet broad, and two feet high. In the upper surface of this bench or raised seat were hewn, close to each other, separate troughs or cis-

terns of about eighteen inches square, and nearly two feet deep. At one corner of this singular apartment was a trough or cistern, with an outlet for conveying the water through the building; and beyond the walls of it, in the same direction, were seen the remains of a small subterranean chamber, hewn out of the rock, and ornamented with stucco on its walls. The most curious part of all was the pavement of the first room, which was a sort of Mosaic work, formed of very small stones united together on a bed of cement below them; the persons who showed us this apartment asserted that the stones were of various colours, naming white, green, red, yellow, and blue; but if this were really the case, the surface was now too dirty to enable us to perceive the variety of colours described. It appeared to me, at first sight, to be a thin layer of natural stone liable to break in squares, as I had before seen a layer of that kind only a few inches below the surface of the earth, near the spot where the Roman sarcophagus had lately been dug out of the rubbish; but on a closer examination of the whole I thought it to be really an artificial work, as the joints were in many instances too ill-shapen to be natural. The separate pieces were, in general, less than an inch square: and, though dark at the upper surface as if stained, were white at the bottom. The stone itself was a coarse marble, and the cement on which the whole reposed was a fine lime. I had no doubt, indeed, after a close examination, that the work was entirely artificial, and as such it might be considered, perhaps, as ancient a specimen of that kind of pavement as any in existence. Were it not for this display of labour and expence, I should have thought the apartment originally meant for a stable, with the square pits hewn in the raised bench running round it for grain, and the large trough in the corner for watering the cattle; but, with a Mosaic pavement in the centre, and the square excavations serving as rude cisterns for water all around, it appeared more probable that it had been a very ancient bath. On the outside of this building, to the eastward, and above the stuccoed subterranean chamber, we were shown another pave-

ment, of a similar kind, the stones being only larger in size, or nearly two inches square; like the former one, this was a coarse white marble imbedded in lime, and resembling, at first sight, a layer of stone naturally fractured into squares, as in the vein of this kind near the sarcophagus already described. It is not improbable but that the hint of this rude Mosaic might have first been taken from nature; consisting originally of a simple imitation of such broken layers, and the idea subsequently improved by all the successive varieties of colour and form through which it must have passed before the art attained its present high state of perfection.

It was sunset before we returned to the house; and though I was vexed at my unexpected detention, yet I saw in this instance, as in many others, how many interesting objects might be seen by more fortunate travellers than myself, who should come to traverse this unexplored country, with leisure and means to examine, and opportunity and ability to record what they might see and hear at almost every step of their way.

In the course of the afternoon, during our ramble over the village, two parties had been dispatched to make provision for our supper; one of young boys to catch some fish in the stream of Adjeloon, another of elder lads, with a man at their head, to rouse a wild boar from his lair in the mountains, and hunt him to the death. Both of these foraging parties were successful, and returned before sunset with their game, so that our supper was both abundant and excellent; the fish were small, but of very delicate flavour, and the boar's flesh equal to any that I had ever eaten. The manner of dressing the latter was by placing about twenty pieces of half an inch square on a long skewer, and turning it over the fire as on a spit, so that a few minutes were sufficient to roast it, and even in this rude way of preparing it, nothing could be more palatable. The only regret that was uttered, but this was deep and general, was, that in so Christian an assembly, and with such excellent viands, there should be neither wine nor spirits to complete the feast.

Our host, in his capacity of silversmith and working jeweller, being also a great buyer of strange and foreign coins, both ancient and modern, exhibited to me several very common ones of the Lower Empire, which he had bought at an extravagant price, under an idea that they were really rare and valuable, and would, at a proper opportunity, afford him a handsome profit. His ideas of chronology were so confused, that he thought the early Christians far more ancient than the Greeks or Romans, and considered Alexander of Macedon, and the twelve Cæsars, quite modern personages compared with the Christian emperors of Constantinople. In all his purchases of what he considered ancient coins he, therefore, made the cross the chief standard of antiquity, and paid a much higher price for pieces on which that emblem was found, than for any others. Among his present collection there were several Christian coins, such as Venetian, Spanish, and Portuguese, now current in their respective countries, though he considered them to be of great antiquity; but I did not observe one that was worth more that its weight in the metal of which it was formed. He mentioned, however, having lately possessed a fine white semi-transparent stone (which I took to be an agate from his description), brought to him by a peasant from the ruins of Jerash, having a male figure on one side, and a long Greek inscription on the other. This would, perhaps, have proved an interesting fragment, if it could have been traced; but he knew not to whom it had been sold, all his information being confined to the more interesting fact, as far as he was concerned, of his having purchased it for one Spanish dollar, and sold it soon after for five. He had, at present, in his possession, a coarse agate stone about an inch long, by half an inch broad, of an oval shape, flat on one side and convex on the other, which he said was also found at Jerash; he had set it for the owner into a ring of silver, the outer or convex part containing, in large and rudely cut characters, the inscription here given:—

ΠΟΥΠ
ΥΟΙΛ

In the conversation of the evening, I learnt that the village of Cufr Injey was considered to be one long day's journey of fifteen hours from Assalt; the same distance from Nazareth; twelve hours from Nablous; and twenty-four hours from Jerusalem, with all of which places there is only occasional communication, and to neither of which it would be considered safe to journey from hence without companions, and these well armed.

Saturday, March 10.— The mare of Yakoube having returned during the night as promised, she was saddled for my guide, Georgis, at daylight this morning; and taking leave of our kind entertainers, we left the village of Cufr Injey at about seven o'clock. In our way out, we saw more remains of ancient buildings, and proceeded down to the valley, in order to cross the stream along which we took our ramble on the afternoon of the preceding day. At the stream itself we observed the remains of an aqueduct and sloping moles of masonry, as I had before remarked when crossing the ford over the Zerkah in a former journey from Jerusalem to Jerash, both of these, probably, marking the boundaries of ancient divisions apportioned to neighbouring tribes.

In about three-quarters of an hour from hence, we came to the caves of Irak-el-Wehheir, the largest of which faced to the westward, and seemed to have a deep descent. It was about 100 feet long, and 30 high, but appeared to be a natural cavern, although it had been used for a place of dwelling or retirement, as there were niches for lamps in the cliffs near it.

In ascending to the castle of Adjeloon, we saw some cisterns, many hewn stones, and part of a paved road leading up to the fortress. The castle has a general resemblance to that of Assalt, being, like it, seated on the summit of a high hill. It is nearly square in form, and about 400 paces in circuit, with a central buttress on each face. It is built on a mass of lime-stone, and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch hewn out of the solid rock, and originally faced with masonry in those parts where the broken surface of the

rock required it, on both sides of the ditch and at the foot of the fortress itself, where it slopes off near its foundations. The architecture of this castle appeared to me to be Roman, the stones being large in size, well squared, and the smooth edges united without cement, with the rough projection of the rustic masonry in the centre of the surface of each separate block. There are also loopholes for arrows in several parts of the walls, and shell-niches of the form of the Roman arch, resembling those seen in the ruins of Jerash. Within this building, however, the round, the flat, and the pointed arch, are all seen in the same apartment, and though the appearances of Roman work are found in every part, yet the pointed arches of the interior are of the most solid kind, and look as if they were coeval with the building. The loop-holes for arrows resemble the modern embrasures for cannon in every thing but the contracted space of the outer part, and they are so numerous as to prove that the building was erected with a view to hot and desperate defence. The castle may be almost said to be in ruins, though many parts of it are still habitable, for it would require great labour and great expense to restore it to a state of complete repair. It was with some difficulty that we mounted to the top of the walls, but when we succeeded, we were well rewarded by the fine view obtained from thence of all the surrounding country.

The mixture of Roman and Saracen work which appeared in different parts of the same building, rendered it difficult to decide to which it originally belonged; the opinion I formed on the spot, however, was, that it was originally a Roman edifice, but subsequently enlarged and repaired in different parts by Saracen hands, into which it must have afterwards fallen. This opinion was much strengthened by the discovery of an Arabic inscription, which was evidently not coeval with the building, but placed there after its erection, for which purpose the rough projecting parts of the surface were smoothed down, and a sort of tablet formed underneath two

fan-topped or shell-niches of Roman work on the eastern face of the castle. The only part of the inscription that I could make out was the name of Salah-ed-din-el-Mullela-ibn-Yusef, but no date could be traced. The castle faces nearly towards the four cardinal points, and must have been originally considered one of the strongest positions in the country, though in the hands of its present possessors it is of very little strength or utility. The following is a list of the bearings and estimated distances of places seen from the top of the castle; the former taken by a compass on the spot, and the latter from the authority of the guides and soldiers who were present:—

Place	Bearing	Distance
Village of Anjerah	S.E. ½ S.	1 hour.
Village of Cufr Injey	S.W. ½ W.	1¼ hour.
Opening to the Valley of the Jordan	W.S.W.	4 hours.
Town of Nablous	West . .	14 hours.
Town of Beisan	N.W. ½ N.	9 hours.
North extreme of Mount Carmel	N.W.	
Mount Hermon	N.W. ½ N.	18 hours.
Mount Tabor	N.N.W. ½ W.	16 hours.
Town and Lake of Tiberias . .	N. by W.	12 hours.
Gebel-el-Telj, or Snowy Mountain	N. by E.	40 hours.
Osha-el-Nebbe, over Assalt . .	S. ½ W. .	12 hours.
Bahr-el-Loot, or Dead Sea . .	S.S.W. ½ W.	10 hours.
Village of Adjeloon	E. by N. .	1 hour.
Village of Ain Jerrah	E. ½ N. . .	1½ hour.
Beida Hubbar—in ruins . . .	N.E. . .	4 hours.

All around the eastern side of the hill are the ruins of a town called Errubbedth, with a square reservoir for water hewn out of the hill, and stuccoed on the inside with a flight of steps descending into it; and from this town, though now in ruins, the castle of Adjeloon is frequently called Khallet-Errubbedth.

Before we departed from hence we remained to smoke a nargeel and take a cup of coffee with the soldiers, of whom there were, at present, only two stationed at the castle, some of their comrades, as they told us, having been called to Damascus. While taking this refreshment, I observed on a stone now standing like a dividing post between two small doors, a long inscription in Arabic, which neither of our party was sufficiently versed in the language of the olden time to read, though in the characters still used by themselves in all their writings.



CHAP. IX.

FROM THE CASTLE OF ADJELOON TO GHERBEE IN THE HAURĀN.

On leaving the castle, we descended the hill on which it stands, and passed over the ruins of Errubbedth, which we found nearly covered with trees. In our way to the village of Adjeloon, we passed a large mass of rock, in which we observed an arched recess, and several niches and portions of the surface hewn out, but for what purpose was not very apparent. In half an hour after leaving the castle we entered the village of Adjeloon, the situation of which in the valley is extremely agreeable. It had, however, been once much more populous than at present, there being now but few inhabitants, and the greater number of the buildings in the place in ruins. Among others there was an old mosque, with a central court and pillars, lighted by circular windows from a

dome above, and containing several Arabic inscriptions, none of which, however, we had time to copy. In the court were a number of broken pillars that lay half buried in the earth ; on one of which was a long Greek inscription of about twenty lines, now nearly obliterated; and Arabic inscriptions in great number. There was the same strange mixture of architecture as of languages, the Roman and Saracen being both united, as at the castle, triangular pediments marking the one, and pointed arches the other. Attached to this mosque, which might once have been a Christian place of worship also, was a slender but lofty tower of a square form, and about fifteen or twenty feet in breadth on each side. The tower could be ascended on the inside by a winding staircase of sixty-one steps, formed of coarse marble, above which was a small gallery, and above that again two octagonal stages, the whole being crowned by a small dome, with apertures for lighting the stairs from the bottom to the top. On the east of this tower, and on a little lower level, I observed a large well, now used for washing clothes, with the ruins of a large building once erected over it, and apparently of Roman architecture, with Saracen additions and repairs.

From the village of Adjeloon we ascended a steep hill to the E.N.E. over vine grounds, and in a quarter of an hour came to a place called Deer Mar Elias, or the convent of St. Elias, where there were the remains of some former building, probably a Greek monastery, as the name would import. No portion of the building was standing, but a number of hewn stones were scattered about in all directions, and broken pottery, of the red and ribbed kind before described, strewed all the way between the mosque of Adjeloon and this spot.

We remarked at this place that the stones of the original building had been carefully collected by some hand, and heaped up in a circular pile of seven or eight feet high, and about twenty feet in diameter, and on the top of this a smaller circle of about

four feet high. On a loose stone which lay broken among others, the following Greek letters were observed :—

Η ΕΥΔΗΧ
ΕΡCΝΓΡ

the characters being deeply cut, about three inches in length, and standing at some distance from each other. One of my guides remembered to have seen another stone with Greek characters on it near this spot, but it was not now to be found. There are several large natural caverns in the neighbourhood of this place, and many smaller excavated tombs in the rocks, with small benches near them as if for seats, so that this spot was also likely to have been the site of some larger settlement.

We halted at the house of a Christian Arab at Adjeloon ; and as our host, Yakoobe, had come with us from Cufr Injey thus far, the priest of the village called together all the Christians who were in the neighbourhood to meet us. It appeared that at Cufr Injey there were only four Christians among all its inhabitants, at Anjerah ten, at Ain-Jerrah fifteen, and at this place, Adjeloon, twenty. They have a small room here which is appropriated to worship, and on Sundays and feast days they have the occasional visits of the other villagers to add to their congregation. There are about 400 inhabitants in each of the three former villages, and 200 in this; which, however, must have been once the largest place of the whole, judging from the extent of the ruined dwellings around it, and particularly on its northern side.

We left Adjeloon about ten o'clock, and after ascending a narrow valley to the northward, inclining easterly, entered into a fine forest of Sinjān trees, where, after an hour's journeying, we passed over a spot covered with the vestiges of former buildings, walls, and streets, though now entirely overgrown with shrubs and trees. This spot is called by the people of the country, Belled-el-Yosh, or the country or place of Joshua, probably referring to that leader's bidding the sun to stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, (Joshua x. 12.) ; this valley of " Adjeloon," as it

is now pronounced, through which we had come, and on the skirts of which the ruins spoken of are placed, being undoubtedly the same with the valley of Ajalon named in the Scriptures.

Continuing in a northerly direction from the spot, we entered on a red soil with silicious stones, and rock of perforated lime; and in half an hour passed on our right, at the distance of half a mile, the ruined towns of Hhubbeen and Sakkara. The village of Soof, at which we halted in a former journey from Jerusalem to Jerash, was also on our right; and from the high level of the tract over which we now rode, we had a fine view of the plain of the Hauran, bounded by a range of snow-capped hills on the east, by the snowy mountains of the Druse on the north, and by the great Gebel-el-Telj, or Mountain of Snow on the west; in which direction, or on our left, inclining to the south-west, the Sea of Tiberias and the valley of the Jordan extended far to the south. On the road over which we now rode, there was a considerable quantity of unmelted snow, so that the air was sharp and biting; but this track being considered dangerous, we were all on the alert, and rode the greater part of the way with our muskets cocked and ready in our hands.

In another half hour we passed the ruined village of Sampta, about a quarter of a mile on our right, and from thence began to descend over stony ground. Our course still continued to be northerly, inclining to the east a point or two occasionally, and going on in this direction we passed, in half an hour more, a large heap of stones in the road, which was said to mark the grave of a celebrated Bedouin chief, named Abd-el-Azeez, the Slave of the Mighty, on which every Arab of his tribe that passed, and many others following their example, threw a stone to do him honour, and keep the place of his entombment in remembrance.

In half an hour from this, passing still through a thickly wooded tract, we came to a large tomb, excavated out of the solid rock, and lying on the right-hand side of our path. In front of the tomb itself, and forming the approach to its entrance, was a quadrangular court or platform, cut down from the rock, descended

into by three steps, and about fifteen feet square, with a deep cistern for containing water within the same space. From this, the first entrance into the tomb was by a Roman arched aperture, about five feet in height; after this, and further in, was a small square doorway, about two feet and a half wide, which had evidently been fastened with a stone door, as in the tombs at Jerusalem and Oom Kais; the marks of the pivot, hinges, and the cavity for receiving the bolt or lock in the side of the doorway, being still visible. The inner chamber of this tomb had three arched recesses for the reception of the dead. In that on the right hand were seen two sarcophagi lying side by side; in that on the left was only one sarcophagus; and in that at the end of the chamber was another, each larger than the present human form; all of them being fixtures, and, like every part of the tomb itself, hewn out of the solid rock. The inner chamber appeared to be about ten feet square, and was probably the same in height originally; but the bottom being now covered with accumulated rubbish, it was too low to admit of standing quite upright on the inside. The general aspect of the whole of this remarkable place strongly resembled that of many of the smaller caves of Kenneri, in the island of Salsette, near Bombay; so much so indeed, that but from the great distance of the respective countries, one would be prompted to consider them as the work of one and the same race of people.

From hence our course went north-east, and, in half an hour after quitting the tomb, we left the woody sides of Adjeloon, and came out on a stony tract, forming the northern point of the range of hills over which we had passed, and marking its termination on the plain, at which place the stony tract alluded to, is called Benahh Beida. On the left of our road we saw the village of Summud, about a mile distant and seated on a hill. This village is inhabited, but many others near it are deserted, and among these were four pointed out to us on our right, under the names of Naimry, Shuttemah, Otteadthy, and Hadeijey. The hill on which Oom Kais is seated, was in view to the west, and the white town

of Rumza seen stretching north and south, in the very centre of the brown plain of the Hauran to the east. This extensive district was now entirely open to our view; and we could perceive that though lower than the district of Belkah, it was still on a high level, measuring from the surface of the lake of Tiberias; as the tops of the lofty hills which form the eastern boundary of that lake, were but on a level with the surface of this plain, so that the lake itself must have been much lower. The eastern range of hills that now bounded our view, and are said to be inhabited by the eastern Druses, were of unbroken outline, and not much elevated from the plain, although their summits were covered with snow. To the north-east the land gradually rose, and became lost in an even horizon of high plain. To the north, another range of snow-clad mountains, called also the mountains of the Druse, bounded the view in that direction. On the north-west, the still higher range of the Jebel-el-Telj, sheeted over with snow, extended from north-east to south-west; and in this last direction the northern points of Jebel Asswete and Jebel Adjeloon, showed patches of snow amidst their thick forests of evergreen wood.

Our way now turned easterly, for the purpose of entering on the plain, and descending gradually for about two hours through a stony, woodless, and uninteresting tract of land, we arrived about sunset at the village of El Hhussen, which is the first point of entrance from the mountains into this great plain, and is seated close under the eastern foot of the hills. We alighted here at the house of a Christian Arab, to take shelter for the night; and as I was mentioned to the host as an Englishman on my way to Damascus, the conversation turned on the number of persons that had passed this way within his recollection. Dr. Seetzen and Mr. Burckhardt were familiarly known to him as Hakeem Moosa and Sheikh Ibrahim; and mention was made of an English gentleman who had been at Bosra about a year since, whose name they said was Mr. Wynn, and whom they considered to be a near relation of Lady Hester Stanhope.

The village of El Hhussen contains about 200 inhabitants, among which are 14 or 15 Christians, the greater number of whom came to visit us during the evening. There are appearances, however, of its having been at one time much larger than at present; and as we passed through it at our entrance, I remarked one plain sarcophagus of stone, several large cisterns, and some large sculptured blocks, belonging to former buildings. The town is divided into two portions, the sheikh's house being in the northernmost of these, seated on a hill, and surrounded by many smaller dwellings.

Sunday, March 11. — We quitted El Hhussen at sunrise, and going in a north-east direction for about half an hour, over a soil covered with grass turf, we came to the village of Sareeagh, inferior in size to the former, and in a more ruined state, standing on a slight elevation. Among the ruins of this place I remarked the angle of a large building still perfect, with one column standing erect before it, its base being now surrounded with rubbish. The stones used in the construction of this building were of a larger size, but though the masonry was strong, it wanted that regularity which I had hitherto seen in the ancient edifices of the country. In the western front of the building spoken of, there were two of the largest stones scarfed or fitted to each other in a manner that I had never before remarked, and which induced me to think that the architecture was neither Roman nor Saracen, but probably of an earlier date than either.

In about two hours after leaving Sareeagh, we descended into a valley or ravine, bordered on each side with cliffs and hills of soft white stone, with a torrent running along through the middle of it. The valley is called Wādi Shellāly, and divides the Haurān from the tract over which we had entered it.

In an hour afterwards we passed through Howārah, a ruined village, the dwellings of which are built from large blocks of black porous stone, of basaltic or volcanic origin, like that at Oom Kais. There were also several large wells here, most of which were

stuccoed: and over one of them I observed a large stone, like the cover of a sarcophagus, with a central square hole in it. The village stood on the site of some larger place which was now destroyed, and its ruins scattered widely round.

In an hour and half after crossing the stream in the Wādi Shellāly we passed close to the town of Rimzah, leaving it on our right; and in half an hour afterwards we passed by Torrah, leaving it on our left, with the bed of a stream going westward between them. The last-named towns are both inhabited by Mohammedans, the former having about 800 and the latter about 300 dwellings; they both lie in the Derb-el-Hadj, or the high road of the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca.

In half an hour after passing Torrah, we came to a stream called Wādi Zeidy, which comes from near Bosra, and discharges itself into the Jordan, to the southward of Tiberias. It was about seventy or eighty feet wide, but very shallow; over it was a bridge of three Roman arches, built chiefly of the black porous stone before described, and paved with the same in the road over the top. It appeared to me, however, to be a modern Turkish or Arabic work, formed perhaps from the ruins of some more ancient and better built bridge occupying nearly the same position, as many of the stones are large and well hewn, though other parts of the materials are very inferior. On the west front of this bridge were three tablets of white stone, of about two feet square; the central one of these is plain; and in each of the others is rudely sculptured the figure of an animal apparently intended for a lion, though more nearly resembling a cat, with a human head under one of its fore paws; the head is without a beard, but has mustachios on the upper lip, and the animal itself is certainly without "a likeness to any thing in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth," at least as far as they have yet been explored; so that it might be the work either of Jews or Mohammedans, without their breaking any commandment by its execution.

Beyond this, on our left, we saw the town of Suffed, which is now in ruins. From this spot to the Lake of Tiberias, the district is called Joolan, and, like the districts of Belkah, Adjeloon, and Asswete, this was also said to contain 366 ruined cities, by which it is only meant to express indefinitely some great number, as it is usual among the country people in England to talk of mansions with as many windows in them as there are days in the year.

At an hour's distance from thence is a smaller stream, the bed of which was, however, now dry, with a bridge similar to the last described, and with three arches also, leading over it. The stones of which this bridge is constructed are good, and the paved road on the top excellent; but the masonry in the lower part is very inferior; the black porous stone and a cement of lime are used in each.

In half an hour from this last bridge, we came to the castle of Mezereebe, a large square building about 100 feet on each of its sides, with square towers at the angles and in the centre of each face, the walls being about forty feet in height. This is evidently, from its appearance, an old Mohammedan work, and was once, no doubt, strongly occupied; though it is now inhabited only by a few Arab cultivators with their respective families. *

About 200 yards to the west of the castle of Mezereebe, is a lake called Ras-el-Bezhy. It is the source from whence issues the

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* In Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, recently published, is the following passage respecting Mezereebe, which is worth transcribing: — " Ludovico Barthema, ' spurred by the desire to see the diversity of worldly " kingdoms,' undertook (about the end of the 15th century) and effected a long pere- " grination over almost all India. * * * * * After staying some time at Damascus, " Barthema ' being desirous of seeing various things, and not knowing how,' con- " trived to insinuate himself into the favour of a Mameluke, who was going as chief " of a caravan to Mecca. On their way they touched at Mezaribe, (capital of the " Houari Arabs,) governed by a prince called Zambei, who set at defiance the govern- " ments both of Cairo and Damascus, and made constant incursions into the fertile " territories of Syria. These Arabs (he says) do not run, but fly like hawks: they " ride on horses without a saddle, wearing merely a shirt; they are little men, of a " dark leonine colour, with feminine voices and long black hair."—Vol. ii. p. 26. 28.

ancient stream of the Hieromax, or, as it is now called by the Arabs, Shereeaht Mandoor, from the latter being the name, as I was assured, of a celebrated chief who once governed the whole of the tract through which that stream runs, from its source at Mezereebe, to its outlet into the Jordan, near the southern extremity of the Sea of Tiberias. The lake is about a mile in circumference; it has a small grass-covered islet in the centre, and an abundance of fish in its waters, equal in size and not inferior in beauty to the gold and silver fishes which are kept suspended in glass globes in England. The water is sweet and transparent, and the lake never dries. All around its margin are seen large round masses of the black porous stone before described, which are in equal abundance also at the outlet of the stream that issues from it, near the hot springs of the Hāmi. These black masses are all separate and unconnected with each other, each being rounded like the large stones on a sea beach; and masses of the same size and form were seen by us scattered over every part of the plain that we had yet traversed since our entering the Hauran. The stream that issues from the lake flows in nearly a westerly direction, with few windings, till it empties itself, at the spot already indicated, into the Jordan, which is considered to be about fifteen hours' journey from hence, in a W.S.W. direction.

We remained no longer at Mezereebe than to water our horses, and proceeded onward without delay. In half an hour after resuming our route, we passed a ruined town called Summahh, which had been entirely constructed of the black porous stone; among the scattered fragments of former buildings here, I saw a fine Corinthian capital, cut out of the same material, but less porous than the general quality; and near this was a small altar of a yellow stone, in shape exactly the same as one seen at Jerash, which is described in a former journey from Jerusalem to that city, already published. This yellow altar had also an inscription on it of three or four lines in Greek; but as we met trains of camels, and a number of passengers traversing the road, we could

not dare to excite curiosity by halting to copy it. The town of Summahh must have been originally of a respectable size; but it is now completely in ruins, and besides the fragments already described, other sculptured blocks were seen, indicating the remains of former edifices.

The direction of our route from El Hhussan to Mezereebe had been about north-east, and the whole distance just six hours, as we had left the former place at sunrise and reached the latter at noon. From Mezereebe, however, we proceeded easterly, and after an hour and half's riding, came to a large ruined town, called Tuffus. The most remarkable object that I observed here was a lofty quadrangular tower, sloping upwards, and becoming gradually narrower from the base to the summit, with a kind of dome on the top, and a large aperture in the centre.

This building might have been some ancient temple of idolatry, for it resembled a Hindoo pagoda more than any other kind of structure that I remember; or it might have been an ancient tomb: the whole aspect of it seemed to denote antiquity, but we learnt nothing on the spot that could explain its nature, nor did we halt to examine its interior. The town had been once much larger than at present, as its ruins were widely scattered; and in most of the buildings that were standing the lower parts near the foundations were of solid workmanship and good materials, but the upper parts were evidently modern repairs of the original edifice, the whole being constructed out of the black porous stones so common to this part of the country; and many of the dwellings being without inhabitants, the only persons now residing in all the town being about a dozen Mohammedan families.

We continued our route still easterly, the level of the plain descending gently, and in an hour and half after passing Tuffus, we came to a much larger town called Dahhil, but like the former also in ruins. On entering this town I observed a small stone door, hung and closed, as at the tombs of Oom Kais, standing in the lower part of a building evidently of ancient work, and once partly

demolished, the upper part of the structure being completed by more modern hands. At a little distance from this in our way through the town, I remarked another portion of a ruined building, the stones of which were of a large size, and smoothly hewn, but instead of depending on the close union of the parts for strength, as in the ancient masonry of the Greeks, Romans, and even Saracens, or using the cement so common in modern works to unite the materials in one mass, the stones here were let into each other, as if the work had been of wood rather than stone.

There were also circular apertures as windows, half being cut out from the upper and half from the under stone, and both these hooked together by pieces of the stone above locking into sockets made to receive them in the stone below; there were also other windows of a square form, supported on the ends of stone beams, giving altogether a new character to this style of architecture, of which I could remember nothing that it resembled. Near to this spot was a still more remarkable building than any yet described: the base of it formed a square of about twenty-five feet, and from thence it rose in a pyramidal form, by regular stages or steps of small but well hewn stones, each layer retiring within the one next below it, as in the great pyramids of Egypt. At the height of about twenty feet this pyramidal form ceased, and was terminated by a platform, on which again was raised a smaller square tower, rising from thirty to forty feet above the pyramid, making the whole height about fifty or sixty feet from the ground. In the western face of this building, but not exactly in the centre of it, was a common-sized doorway, flat at the top, and ornamented by a sculptured frieze. At the south-west angle of the tower, above the pyramid, was also a square pilaster, with a capital resembling the Ionic of the Greeks; but the ornament between the volutes appeared to represent a branch, with leaves extending on each side, as if to represent a wreath bound round its head; the sculpture was, however, too much worn to trace this distinctly.

The passage of entrance being open, we could see that the interior of this pyramidal edifice was square; and I learnt from my guides that it was now used as a mosque by the few Mohammedans residing here. I had so strong a desire to enter this that I would willingly have encountered any risk to effect it if alone; but, with my present companions, I could not even stay to examine the exterior sufficiently, although every thing I saw around me tended to awaken my curiosity. The buildings in this place seemed to indicate a style of architecture neither Greek, Roman, nor Saracen, and, therefore, probably aboriginal and of very high antiquity. The pyramidal tower resembled in some of its features the works of Egypt; in others it was not unlike the pagodas of Hindoostan; and in others it might be considered as of the same age with the supposed tombs of Zacharias and Absalom, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem; and, therefore, of Chaldean or Jewish origin. I halted to drink for the purpose of prolonging our stay for a moment, and on every side on which I cast my view, blocks of ancient masonry and fragments of ruined buildings caught my eye.

From the large masses of the black porous stone found among the ruins here, the people of the country make circular millstones, and carry them from hence to the large towns on the west of the Jordan for sale. We saw here two camels employed in the transport of these stones, each of them now loaded and on their way. The weight is so great that it requires a strong animal to carry even one of them; those that we saw were laid flat on the animal's back, on the very centre of the hump, thus resting on the high part of the camel's saddle, and secured by cords passing under its belly. The diameter being nearly six feet, the stone completely shaded the body of the camel from the sun, though it must have been a painful burthen to carry, the stone being about six inches thick in the centre and diminishing to about four at the edges. The price of these millstones at the places where they are made, which must be for the labour only, as the material costs nothing,

we learnt to be from 100 to 500 piastres per pair, according to their size and quality.

Our course from Mezereebe to Dahhil had been east, and the distance three hours; from hence, however, we proceeded in a south-east direction, making this circuit in order to keep on the highway, as there is in general no making sure progress but by following the beaten track, every other part being liable to obstructions that are sometimes impassable, and oblige those who make a digression from the high road to return to it again. In about an hour after quitting Dahhil, the level still gently descending, we came to the remains of a fine Roman aqueduct, going across a hollow in the plain. It is called Canāter Pharaoun, by the Arabs, who generally attribute all great works of which they know not the origin, either to Pharaoh, to Solomon, or to Genii. From my guides, who were well acquainted with its course, I learnt that this aqueduct began at a place called Idilly, one hour to the north-west of Ismiskeen, a town about two hours' journey to the north of this; and after traversing the Hauran thus far, it turned off to the town of Rimzah, which we had passed, and from thence went westward to the ruined city seated on the hill of Oom Kais, which it anciently supplied with water, as the Hieromax, which flows at the foot of that mountain, ran too low to be available for domestic purposes. This was only another proof, added to the many I had already witnessed, of the vast labour and expense bestowed by the Romans on the towns of their distant colonies, to promote the comfort and even luxury of their citizens; an example that would be worthy the imitation of our own country, and as yet, certainly, unattempted; for neither in the East nor in the West Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, nor any other of the many colonial possessions of Great Britain, are there any works, even at their respective capitals (fortresses alone excepted), which can be compared, for magnificence or utility, with the numerous public works scattered over the region of the Decapolis, and attached to colonial towns of the Romans, of so little importance even in their

estimation, that not even their names have descended to us in the annals of their empire.

At the spot where we first came in contact with the remains of this aqueduct, there were two separate and detached portions of it still standing; each of these contained seven arches perfect, and about the same number destroyed; the arches being about fifteen feet in the span, and twenty feet in height from the ground. The masonry was of the rustic kind in constant use among the Romans for all works of strength; the blocks of stone large, and admirably united without cement, and each stone marked with a separate character, as if for the guidance of the workmen in placing them, the marks having among others the following forms:—

[mason's marks]

From hence, in half an hour after passing the aqueduct, we saw the town of Ikketeeby on our left, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. Rising from among its dwellings was seen a square tower with the appearance of a pyramidal base, like the one before described at Dahhil, but we were not sufficiently near to it to speak with certainty on this subject. A few minutes after this, we entered a place named Gherba, which is also called the town of Job, from a tradition that the prophet Job was born and resided here, and that this was the scene of his history as detailed in the sacred volume.

On our way from Mezereebe to this place, we had passed in sight of several towns, to the southward of our route, among which were El-Draah, or Idderahh,* a large town with a high square tower, appearing at the distance of four or five miles off like the tower at Oom-el-Russās, or that in the valley of Adjeloon. Idder-

* This is thought to be the city of Edrei, so frequently mentioned in the Jewish writings as one of the most important places in the territory of Bashan, the king of which, in the time of Moses, lived at Ashtaroth, which by some is considered to be the same with Bosra.

ahh is, however, now entirely deserted, and the inhabitants have taken refuge at Gherbee. This migration of persons from one town to another is said to be frequent throughout the whole of the Haurān, in consequence of the incursions of the Arabs belonging to the tribes of Beni Hassan, Beni Ibn Saood, Beni Saiide, and others, who come down from the eastern mountains in large bodies, and scour the plains below from one end to the other. We were assured that, only a week since, a party of 300 Arabs had come down from the hills, and taken off from Rimzah, one of the largest towns here, and in the sacred way of the Derb-el-Hadj, or road of the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca, upwards of 100 head of cattle, in horses, oxen, and sheep; and this was said to be no unfrequent occurrence: in so unprotected a state are the lives and property of individuals residing in these parts, and so insecure also is the whole of the country for travellers, whether journeying on business or for pleasure.

On entering the town of Gherbee, I noticed small enclosures, like meadows, for the flocks, with a sort of watch-house built in the centre of each for the shepherds, who remain in them night and day, relieving each other by watches, for the purpose of guarding their herds from secret depredation, as well as to give the alarm in case of open attack.

In passing by a heap of ruins, among which were some sculptured blocks, I remarked one with an inscription on it, almost obliterated. The characters were certainly neither Arabic, Greek, nor the Hebrew now in use, but rather resembled some of the old inscriptions in unknown characters found in India, and particularly like some of those on the caves of Kenneri, in Salsette, near Bombay. As I remembered the great interest excited by the written characters at Mount Mokatteb, near the Desert of Sinai, from which the learned in Europe hoped to obtain some light as to the lost character of the original Hebrew, for which the Chaldaic is now used, I was particularly desirous of alighting to copy this inscription, four or five lines of which, at least, were tolerably dis-

tinct, and with some patience might have been accurately transcribed; but my guides resisted this most strenuously, as we were now in a town of 400 Mohammedans, with only four Christians in the whole place, at the house of one of which we were to alight; and this being known, we should be sure by such a step to attract a crowd around us, and be ill treated as infidels and sorcerers. I was obliged, therefore, to yield to their refusal, and descending into a lower part of the town, with ruined dwellings on each side of our road, we alighted at the house of my old guide Abu Fārah's friend.

Our horses were taken care of, and we were conducted into a large room of about forty feet long by fifteen broad, and twelve feet high, with a raised space at one end about fifteen feet square, as if for the accommodation of beds, and the lower part of the room set apart for animals, as there were troughs for food and water on each side. The whole of the masonry of this edifice was extremely solid, the stones being in general five and six feet in length, squarely hewn, and closely united, and the posterns and architraves of the doorways were each of one solid stone hewn into a square form. It was evident, too, that the door itself had once been of stone, as the marks of the pivots for hinges, and the aperture for receiving the bolt, exactly as in those at the tombs of Oom Kais, still remained; the original door had been removed, however, and its place was now supplied by a wooden one. The whole of the roof or ceiling was constructed of stone, the largest of the beams being of one solid piece, stretching across from wall to wall, and of corresponding thickness, as in the colossal temples of Egypt, and the intervals filled up by shorter stones like rafters and planking, making the whole one solid mass of stone. It appears to have been the same cause that led to this mode of building both in Egypt and the Haurān, namely, the total absence of good building timber in both these countries; for in all our route of to-day we had not seen in any point of direction a single tree, nor even a bush of any size upon the ground. In its

general character, the Plain of the Haurān resembles those of Belkah to the south-east of Assalt, and Esdraelon in Galilee, in having gentle elevations, the same level being nowhere of long continuation, though still not so much above or below each other as to destroy its general character of an irregular and undulating plain, in which there is nothing that deserves to be called a hill on its whole surface. The eminences that here and there break its continuity are mostly small veins of rock projecting above the surface, and these appear to have been selected in all cases for the sites of towns, for the sake of securing a commanding position, a freer air, a dryer soil, and convenient access to the materials of building, which, indeed, were thus close at hand. Of towns on eminences like these we saw at least thirty, in different points of bearing, on our way from El-Hhussen to El-Gherbee, and particularly to the eastward of the latter.

When our fire was lighted, the want of wood was supplied by using the dried dung of animals, which, with a small portion of charcoal, was the only kind of fuel procurable here. At sunset the camels of our host entered the room in which we were seated, and ranged themselves along, to the number of eight on each side, at the stone troughs before described. The height of the door of entrance, which was about seven feet, had struck me at first as something unusual, since, in most of the towns to the westward, the height of the door is rather below than above the human stature, and passengers are generally obliged to stoop before they can enter it. Here, however, the motive for increasing the height became evident, as in its present state it just admitted the entrance of the camels, and was no doubt originally constructed for that purpose, so as to admit them under shelter at night, and secure them from the incursions of the neighbouring Arabs. This flat country must always have been a country of camels, from the earliest ages: and these rooms for their reception might have been of very high antiquity, for the nature of the materials of which they were built (there being no wood whatever, and nothing else

of a perishable nature used in their construction) made them in a manner indestructible.

During our journey through the hills, we had seen only horses, mules, and asses, used as beasts of burden; but since we had entered the Plain of the Haurān, we had met only camels, and these to the number of several hundreds in the course of one day. If this were really the land of Uz, and the town in which we now halted the place of Job's residence, as tradition maintained, there could be no portion of all Syria or Palestine, that I had yet seen, more suited to the production and maintenance of the 7000 sheep, 3000 camels, 500 yoke of oxen, and 500 she asses, which are enumerated as forming the substance of this greatest of all the men of the East. (Job, i. 3.) At the present day, there is no man, probably, with such herds and flocks for his portion; but these are still, as they were in the earliest times, the great wealth of the men of substance in the country; and it is as common now as it appears to have been when the history of Job was written, to describe a man of consideration in these plains by the number of his flocks and herds rather than by any other less tangible indication of wealth.

At the period of our stay here we learnt that the late drought with which the plains had been afflicted, had nearly caused a famine in particular parts of the country, and this was one in which it was severely felt. Corn, for instance, in this plain, which in seasons of abundance formed the granary for the whole of Syria, and was, consequently, cheaper than elsewhere, was now selling at three piastres, or more than half a crown sterling per gallon, a price that was almost without precedent or example. From the entire absence of rain, all the pasture for cattle had also dried up, and the usual supplies of milk and butter were, therefore, equally deficient. Under this pressure of want and distress, innumerable families had migrated into the eastern hills among the Druses, and into the mountains near the Jordan, in both of which districts rain and snow had occasionally fallen; while in the great Plain of the

Haurān, which separates these ranges of hills, there had been a continued drought for four months past, without the means of watering by irrigation; and, consequently, the soil, though naturally fruitful, was by this calamity rendered, for the present at least, quite unproductive.

In the parties we had met on the road, and among all the inhabitants of the towns, I had noticed an appearance of freshness and health, with much greater cleanliness than is common to Arabs in general. In the towns at which we now halted the same thing was observable: the women and children were quite ruddy in their complexions, the men were well dressed and clean; and as the ancient town had been originally paved with large blocks of black stone, with a raised causeway on each side for foot passengers, both the streets and the interior of the houses were remarkably free from dirt. It was distressing, however, to hear from all classes the universal cry of want, and to witness, as we did, extensive tracts of corn land, where wheat had been already sown, and the blade appearing above the surface, prematurely withered away while yet green, from want of moisture. The conversation of the evening was wholly engrossed by this painful and distressing topic, and in gloomy apprehensions of the miseries which must result from a continuation of the present weather; though some indulged a hope that a seasonable supply of grain might be brought by caravans from Egypt, as of old, or that the latter rains would admit of a second crop, before a famine should be confirmed.



CHAP. X.

FROM GHERBEE TO BOSRA.

Monday, March 12. — After partaking of an early breakfast of bread and oil, the only food which the rigid rules of the Greek Lent would admit, and which were as rigidly observed by the four Christians here as if there had been a much larger community, we departed from Gherbee about an hour after sunrise. Our course from hence lay nearly east, and proceeding in that direction for about an hour the road turned to the north for a quarter of a mile to the town of Elmey. At this place were many vestiges of ancient buildings, among which I noticed some stones sculptured with a cable moulding, and two curious pillars with square shafts and rude capitals; their outlines perfect, but no ornament of any kind apparent, either on their summit or at their base: they were

of a small size, not more than a foot in diameter, and both had fallen on the ground. From the walls of one of the buildings I remarked also a flight of stone steps projecting from its front, without any other support than that derived from the insertion of their inner ends in the wall, as in the flight of steps seen in the south end of the Temple of Isis, at Tentyra, in Egypt. The windows, instead of being circular, as we had seen them at Dahhil, were in diagonal squares, cut partly out of the upper and partly out of the lower stone, in nearly the same manner as the circular ones before described.

Having drank at this place, we pursued our way, continuing again along the high road to the eastward, and in less than an hour after quitting Elmey we arrived at the town of Suwarrow. We had been informed by some peasants, with whom we had exchanged salutations just as we entered this place, that there were forty horsemen of the tribe of Beni Hassan, from the eastern hills, stationed in the road only an hour beyond the town, and that they intercepted all travellers who passed that way. It was thought prudent, therefore, to halt at Suwarrow, and learn the real state of the case before we proceeded further, when we accordingly turned in, and, enquiring for the house of the sheikh, alighted there about ten o'clock.

All the inhabitants of this place were Mohammedans, and bore the character of being bigoted and intolerant in an unusual degree: great caution was, therefore, necessary to be observed in our intercourse with them, to avoid insult, and, perhaps, aggression. Abu Fārah, the eldest of my guides, was so well known throughout every part of the country, that it was vain for him to attempt disguise, for he was almost certain of meeting some old acquaintance in every assembly. But it was not so with Mallim Georgis, who had less extensive connections in these parts: accordingly, Abu Fārah maintained his own character as a Greek Christian, but represented Georgis as an Arab Moslem, from the west, under the name of Abu Shumr, and myself as a Turk, from Roum, under the

name of Abdallah. We were received in our new characters with great hospitality; and, after coffee, an ample meal of bread, camel's milk, and honey was served to us. On directing our enquiry into the truth of the news we had heard respecting the horsemen who intercepted the road beyond us, we found it confirmed, and all parties advised us to halt here a day, in the assurance of perfect safety under the roof of the sheikh, during which interval we might be able to learn the movements of these plunderers, from such as might chance to escape them, and drop in or pass through this on their way from the eastward. My situation was, now, a very painful one. I understood sufficiently of Arabic to join in the general conversation without exciting suspicions of my being a stranger, using only the precaution of never speaking but when absolutely necessary; but I scarcely understood ten words of Turkish, and I trembled at the entrance of every new visitor, from the apprehension of my being addressed in that language, and being unable to reply. Fortunately for my wishes at the present moment, I had during the last two days suffered severely from a violent head-ache, which being known to my companions, they advised me to lie down for an hour and repose myself. I was but too happy to follow this advice, and as it was given publicly, the motive was generally understood, so that no apology was necessary for such a step. I therefore rolled myself up in my cloak; and though I did not sleep a moment, from the anxious state of my mind, I was glad to prolong this state of security from detection, and encroached on the limits of the hour at least fourfold.

Arising towards the close of the afternoon, I walked around the court of the dwelling in which we had reposed, and saw also from the outer walls some other portions of the town. Though there were said to be about 400 inhabitants, the town was almost entirely in ruins; and it was clear, from such parts of the edifices as still remained perfect, that the whole of the buildings now seen were of great antiquity, though many of their repairs were modern. In front of the house in which we remained was a large quadran-

gular court, on the outside of which were several raised semicircular benches of masonry, capable of containing a party of twenty individuals, and constructed apparently for the accommodation of persons desirous of enjoying there the freshness of the morning and evening air. Within this court was a large building nearly 100 feet long, the west end of which was used as the room of entertainment for strangers. It was not more than twenty feet square. The roof of this edifice was formed of beams of stone, but the pieces not being long enough to reach quite across the building from wall to wall, there was a central arcade for the ends of the short beams to unite upon for support. The arches of this were extremely rude, being neither round nor pointed, and so irregularly formed that no two stones in the sweep of the arch were of the same length, their ends thus overlaping each other in a most unfinished manner. Though the beams were of stone, the smaller parts, representing the rafters and planking, were supplied by wood, which formed a singular mixture, and gave the whole a new appearance; the first was probably the more ancient portion of the work, and the latter a modern labour. The entrance to this building had once been closed by a double or folding door of stone, but the place of this was now supplied by a single door of wood, which is lighter and more convenient for use, but far less secure. It was hung, however, exactly like the massy stone doors in the sepulchres of Oom Kais, as, indeed, were all the doors of every description that I had yet seen in the Haurān; that is, without hinges of any kind; but in lieu of them a pivot at the top and one at the bottom, formed from elongations of the material of the door itself, and traversing in sockets to which they are nicely fitted both above and below. The door was flat at the top, and the frame composed of three large pieces of stone; and over it was a small square window, which we regarded as an improvement worthy the adoption of the Arab villagers in their dwellings, in which, from the want of such apertures, when the door is shut, there is no place whatever for the admission of air or light, or for the outlet of the

smoke, by which persons unaccustomed to its effects are sometimes nearly suffocated.

At the east end of this building rose a high tower, now partly ruined; but the angle of it, which remained most perfect, had an inclined slope, like the pyramidal moles which stand before the principal temples of Egypt. Between this and the eastern end, or in the centre of the south front, was a door that led into an interior court, which I was prevented entering from its containing the females of the sheikh's family. This outer door had a flat and deep architrave, in the centre of which was the circle formed by a serpent with its tail in its mouth, supposed to be an emblem of eternity, and frequently seen among the sculptured hieroglyphics of Egyptian temples. On one side of this was visible the fragment of a figure, which, had I seen it in any other place, I should have pronounced to be an Egyptian priest, so much of it as was visible exactly resembling the lower part of those personages as they are represented in the multiplied sculptures along the banks of the Nile: and the corners of this block of stone were marked by circles like wheels of fire, probably intended to represent planets in motion. Within this door of entrance, and at a short distance only beyond it, was seen a Roman arched passage of masonry, leading to the inner court, which was paved; the outer court, over which stood the sculptured architrave already described, was closed by a double door, or, as it is more generally called, a pair of folding doors, formed each of one large and solid stone. I had an opportunity of seeing both these doors opened and shut, by which I perceived that they were hung in exactly the same manner as the stone doors in the sepulchres of Oom Kais, and that like them also, these were secured by a bar of stone on the inside. The whole of this edifice appeared to me, both from its style of building, its divisions, and its ornaments, to have been originally a Pagan temple, whether of the ancient Chaldeans, or of more recent times, it was not so easy to determine, from the mixture of seemingly incongruous parts: but it might have been converted to various uses, and have undergone corresponding additions and repairs

since its original construction, which was decidedly of an age very remote from the present. I would gladly have bestowed an hour on the examination of its interior, but this was rendered impossible, from its being the apartment of the sheikh's female establishment, into which even their male relatives are not permitted to enter.

During the latter part of the day, which was spent in a circle round the fire, with a party of at least twenty persons, though these were constantly changing, by some rising up and going away, giving place to others who had newly come, I saw before me a complete picture of Arab life, and heard many curious particulars, which, as usual, I had occasion to regret my want of opportunity to record. It appeared that the forty horsemen in the neighbourhood, though they intercepted strangers and travellers coming from this town of Suwarrow, derived all their supplies from this place and another to the eastward of them, on condition that the towns themselves should be safe from their depredations, and that no strangers even should be molested as long as they were sheltered beneath their roofs. Their privileges were to extend thus far, and no farther; for they could not protect a man even a mile beyond their dwellings; so that the unwary traveller passing by either of these neutral or privileged posts, was almost sure of being stripped of all his property, though his life would be in no danger as long as he made no resistance.

The towns of the Haurān are so frequently visited by parties of plunderers of this description, that the present state of things was viewed here with comparative indifference, and was indeed expected by all to have existed to a much more extensive degree; for at the present moment the affairs of Damascus were in such confusion, that no one yet knew who was to succeed the late Pasha in his government, and accordingly, disorder and danger increased with every succeeding day. It is in periods of misrule like these, that one town becomes suddenly deserted and another repeopled at short intervals of time; so that from the edifices in each being of the most durable kind, they remain uninjured, and thus serve for the

habitations of race after race, descending through many generations. For the same reason, the houses may be said to be without permanent owners, the first occupier holding his right indisputable, until he is forced by some sudden emergency to quit it; when the next occupier enters and retains it on the same condition, no rent or taxes being paid in either case, any more than would be if a man lived in his own tents, or in a natural cavern which he might find suited to his purpose, and adopt for his abode. As there are in general more houses in these everlasting and indestructible towns, than there are persons at any one time requiring to occupy them, an ample choice is afforded to all parties, but particularly to the earliest comers: and as no one has a permanent interest in the security of any one particular dwelling, very little attention is paid to improving them. The buildings are in themselves so strong, being wholly composed of stone, including roofs and even doors, that they never need repairs. In times of great danger, when a visit from Arabs of the Desert is apprehended, the inhabitants either retire to some other town, or barricade themselves in their houses by heaping up loose stones to oppose the approach of horsemen to the most defenceless parts of their dwellings, while they can assail them with the same material as missiles from the terraces above. It is only by walls of loose stones heaped up without cement, that the enclosures for the cattle are formed, unless, as is sometimes the case, they are driven into the dwelling itself at night, where they remain perfectly secure from depredation.

All the towns of the Haurān are considered as subject to the government of Damascus, but it is a mere nominal subjection; for when the military make their annual tour for the collection of the miri, or land revenue, it is as frequently evaded as it is paid, by the parties from whom it is due retiring for a short period with their families and flocks into the eastern hills, and leaving the bare land and empty dwellings only for the tax-gatherers, which, however, being both immoveable, the farmers find exactly in the same state on their return. The people are in general tall, stout, and

muscular men, with full and dark beards, resembling in stature and person the finest race of the Fellahs of Lower Egypt, particularly those of Sharkieh, on the eastern branch of the Nile, who are superior to those on the west. They are, however, much cleaner than the Egyptians, and generally better dressed, their ordinary apparel being a long white shirt and trowsers, with a broad leathern girdle, a red cloth cap forming the centre of their turban, and this completed by a white muslin cloth rolled round the brow, encircling the head. All the men, of whatever class or condition, wear arms, consisting generally of a musket and a dirk, or a pistol and a sword, it being thought unsafe to travel even an hour's distance, without being thus prepared for self-defence.

During our stay at Suwarrow, there were continual arrivals of persons from all quarters, most of whom halted here without intending to proceed farther, until the road was clear: and by a small party of the townsmen themselves who came from the eastward, we learnt that the horsemen now intercepting the road in that quarter were preparing for movement, and intended making a tour northward, in the course of the night. Many of the incidents of our present situation reminded me forcibly of being at sea in an unprotected merchant ship in time of war, when every distant sail is magnified into an enemy, and all eyes are on the stretch for discovery. Look-outs were stationed on the terraces of the houses, and on the heaps of rubbish formed in different parts of the town; and messengers were repeatedly sent by them to the sheikh's house to report what they saw: one man, for instance, arrived to say that three horsemen were in sight to the southward, going westerly; another followed soon after, to say that five men on foot were seen in the western quarter, apparently bound this way; then came another announcement stating, that two horsemen, strangers, who had passed through Suwarrow without halting, about an hour before, were seen stopped by the plunderers to the eastward, by whom they were stripped, and were now returning on foot to the town, the whole of this affair being distinctly seen from the terrace

of the sheikh's house, and without a glass, so acute has nature and habit together rendered the vision of these people; the transaction, though on a plain, taking place at the distance of at least three miles from the spot in which it was observed.

We had a constant succession of reports like these, some true, and some perhaps exaggerated by alarm; but soonafter su nset, the two horsemen who had been stripped, returned back to the town, and entered the room in which we were sitting, each having only a shirt and a skull cap remaining. These men had not halted in their way through the town, being well-mounted and proceeding onward in confidence, not knowing anything of the state of the road beyond us, from not stopping to make enquiries; they were therefore taken by surprise, when they found themselves surrounded by hostile men mounted and armed as themselves. They considered their case the more unfortunate, as, if they had been but half an hour later, they would have escaped injury, the whole troop being then mounted, in order to commence their march to the northward as the sun set. As it was, they were plundered of their horses, arms, money, clothes, and all that they possessed, excepting only the shirt and cap left to cover their nakedness; and they had the additional mortification to see their plunderers set out with all their train, and to know that there was no hope of their having their property restored. I observed, with pleasure, that every individual of our party sympathised in the condition of these unfortunate men, and that there was not one in the room who did not contribute to re-clothe them, and alsoto form a small purse of money to meet their immediate wants. They had thus more garments given them than they could possibly wear, or could conveniently carry, and about ten piastres in money, which was more than their expenses back to their own town would require, deprived as they now were of their horses, the only article requiring to be purchased with money in this part of the Haurān being corn for these animals, which was now unusually scarce and dear. A foot passenger could therefore make his way at little or no expense, as

travellers and wayfarers of every description halt at the sheikh's dwelling, where, whatever may be the rank or condition of the stranger, before any questions are asked him as to where he comes from, or whither he is going, coffee is served to him from a large pot always on the fire, and a meal of bread, milk, oil, honey, or butter is set before him, for which no payment is ever demanded or even expected by the host, who, in this manner, feeds at least twenty persons on an average, every day in the year, from his own purse: at least I could not learn that he was remunerated in any manner for this expenditure, though it is considered as a necessary consequence of his situation as Chief of the community, that he should maintain this ancient practice of hospitality to strangers.

Our evening supper consisted of boiled rice and stewed meat, with onions, and some milk poured on the whole; and as it was the Greek Lent, which my two Christian guides observed rigidly, though Abu Fārah's fasting was much against his inclination, the Mallim Georgis was obliged to decline eating of the dish set before us, there being flesh and butter in its composition. From this simple circumstance it was immediately known that he was not a Moslem, as at first pretended: but fortunately the company were in such good humour, that no evil consequences resulted from this discovery, which at any other time of the day, and in any other frame of mind, would not have been regarded by our Mohammedan entertainers with so much indifference or complacency. I performed my part, however, without scruple, and if the purity of my faith were estimated by the quantity of flesh meat eaten at my evening meal, I must have appeared in all eyes as one of the most orthodox of the party.

The Mallim Georgis and Abu Fārah, who ate a supper of bread and olive oil by themselves, rejoined the circle soon afterwards, and made effectual amends for their temporary separation, by their united exertions to please: the first reciting with appropriate action and gesture a long Arabian tale of the Khalifs of Baghdad, and the latter following this up by a sort of dramatic rehearsal,

consisting of declamation, recitative, dialogue, action, and singing, which lasted fully two hours, and which, like an Oriental personification of English Matthews, he sustained, unaided and alone, with great humour and spirit, from its opening to its close.

It was past midnight before our cheerful and entertaining party broke up, when we all lay down, to the number of twenty-three persons, on the same floor, each measuring his lengthon the earth on which he sat, rolling himself in his cloak to serve for matrass and coverlid, and using whatever was nearest at hand for a pillow.

Tuesday, March 13.—We remained to take a light breakfast before starting from Suwarrow, and left the town about an hour after sun-rise, the sheikh and his son holding our horses, attending us to the outer gate of their dwelling, and giving us the "Maat Salaami," or benediction of peace as we departed. As the Arab horsemen were now gone to the northward, the only route left open for us was to go from hence to Bosra, and join some safe party from that place to Damascus, or else go through the country of the eastern Druses, which from being well peopled and less visited by the Arabs, was less dangerous to travellers. We accordingly proceeded eastward, and in about an hour after our leaving Suwarrow, we passed Haraak and Haryik, the two ruined and deserted towns on which the predatory horsemen had quartered themselves, and which, they having now abandoned, was without a single living being as an inhabitant. We did not enter these towns, but passed a little to the southward of them; from whence however we could observe, that in size, manner of construction, and the general aspect and nature of their edifices, they resembled most of the other towns that we had yet seen in our way through the extensive plain of the Haurān.

Our road was now over a more rugged and stony soil, as we followed the vein of rock by the side of which the highway ran, and on the edge or ridge of which most of the towns had been originally

built. Our course from the two last-named towns made a bend in a south-east direction, until we came to Rukhum, a ruined and deserted town, distant about three hours from Suwarrow; after this, the road went again over a fertile soil, and the course bent to the S.S.E., in pursuing which we passed, in the short space of an hour, not less than fifteen dead animals, principally cows and calves, which were said to have died for want of pasture, as we could well believe, for the surface of the earth was every where parched and bare.

From Rukhum we came in less than an hour to Tchatchy, another ruined and deserted town, possessing no remarkable features by which to distinguish it from others of the same size. A sudden turn of the ridge of rock near which our road lay, obliged us to turn southward, the ridge running north and south along the plain, and the road repeatedly changing its direction in consequence of this obstacle.

One of the peculiar characteristics of difference between the ruined towns in the Haurān and those of the countries to the westward, is this, that in the former no fragments of broken pottery are seen, while near the ruins of ancient cities in Syria and Egypt, considerable quantities of such fragments are invariably found, either collected in heaps or scattered about on the surface of the earth. From this, one would infer, that abundant as was the use of earthen vessels in the two former countries, and particularly along the banks of the Nile, they were not much used in the Haurān, where, as stone had been so universally applied to all parts of their buildings from the want of wood, the same material, or perhaps metal, might have served for all their domestic utensils, and supplied the place of clay. Even at the present day, indeed, the want of this is so general that there are no potters or potteries in the country, and scarcely a vessel of earthenware is anywhere to be seen. The large jars used in their houses for containing corn and other provisions are made of mud and chopped straw, simply dried in the sun; their small drinking cups for coffee

are of chinaware brought from Damascus; their cooking utensils are all of iron or copper tinned on the inside; and water, where-ever we had yet had occasion to ask for it, was handed to us in round wooden vessels, about the size of an English gallon, such as is used in measuring corn, about the same size, shape, and material, and not round like a bowl; in every part of Syria and Egypt, however, the jars and water-pots are of red and yellow pottery of burnt clay.

In the course of to-day's journey, we met some Christians from the eastern mountains, all armed, as were indeed all the inhabitants of the country that we had yet seen; and as we advanced in this direction, we observed the people to be in general cleaner, handsomer, and better clad, than those subject to the government of the Turkish pashas in the west. After passing for half an hour along the side of the low range of hills described, we halted for a moment for the convenience of Georgis, who had occasion to claim a short delay, and taking Abu Fārah with me to the summit of the nearest point, which was quite close, I profited by this delay to take from thence a set of bearings and distances of the several towns and positions within sight from thence: the former were taken by compass on the spot, and the latter either computed by the eye, or set down from the information of my guides; my desire being to attain as much and as accurate materials of this description as I could, to construct a map of this part of the country, which at present is quite unknown, and a blank in the best maps of Europe.

Mesefeny	S. W.	1½ hours.
Faqueer Zeahby	S. W. ¼ W.	2 hours.
Seyda	S. W. ½ W.	6 hours.
Nayme	W. by S. ½ S.	6 hours.
Idderāgh	W. by S.	6 hours.
Altaman and Arran	West	1 hour.
Gherbee	W. ½ N.	3 hours.
Ghummān	W. by N.	6 hours.
Karak	W. ½ N.	½ hour.
Rukhum	N. W. by N.	2 hours.

Centre of Jebel-el-Telj . . .	N. by W.	
Do. of Jebel-el-Druse . . .	N. to N. N. E.	
Iddoor	N. N. E.	4 hours.
El Melēhah	N. E. by N.	4 hours.
Iddārah	N. E. ½ N.	½ hour.
Sidjin	N. E. ½ E.	3 hours.
El Mizzerāh	N. E. by E.	4 hours.
Reemy	E. N. E.	4 hours.
Walgah	E. by N.	1 hour.
Essāly	E. ¼ N.	3 hours.
Lussuhhah	E. by S.	3 hours.
Jeada	E. by S.	2 hours.
Soeda	E. by S.	6 hours.
El Gheleab Hauran, a round hill,	E. S. E.	10 hours.
Castle of Salghud	S. E.	12 hours.
Oom Welled	S. E. ½ S.	2 hours.
Rghotha	S. E. ½ S.	3 hours.
Bosra, (hid by a rising ground)	S. E. ¼ S.	8 hours.
Deer	S. E. by S.	½ hour.
Mukkraba	S. by E.	3 hours.

The spot from whence these bearings were taken, was to the north of Sheikh Hussein, about a quarter of a mile; and on a rocky eminence, similar to that on which is seated the deserted tomb of the Saint giving name to that place, which may be known by the distinguishing mark of two small domes, surrounded by a wall, though now in ruins. I have set down only the principal towns and places in view from the eminence on which we stood, omitting many smaller ones, but the enumeration is sufficient to show how populous a country must have been, wherein so many towns and villages could be seen from a slight elevation above its surface. Excepting in the immediate environs of large cities, or on the borders of rivers, I should doubt whether any country on earth, not even excepting China, was ever more thickly peopled than these plains of the Haurān must have been when in their most flourishing state, with all their numerous towns fully inhabited.

On descending from this eminence, and continuing our route in a south-east direction, we came in half an hour to the town of Deer, which I learnt was also called Ibn Eklāf. It was an ancient place of considerable size, but it was now mostly ruined and entirely deserted. There were some few buildings remaining, portions of which were tolerably perfect, and in these the original masonry appeared to be of the best kind, the stones being large, and the work both smooth and solid: in one of these I remarked a plain cornice projecting from the wall about half way up its height, without any apparent cause for its insertion there; and in another I remarked the square and circular window used alternately. On the left we passed a singular kind of pyramid, formed of a large collection of loose stones, heaped up in a pyramidal form upon a platform elevated from the ground, supported by four pillars of about three feet high, and the pyramid above this rising to the height of fifteen feet at least from the ground, the termination or apex of the whole being crowned by a rudely cut stone, of the shape of a sugar loaf, on the top. We could gain no accurate information as to this singular monument, which, however, I should be inclined to conjecture was an ancient tomb, though its rudeness might perhaps induce a belief of its more modern date.

In half an hour from Deer, we came to Wādi Thalith, where we found a considerable stream descending from the snows of the eastern mountains above Soeda. Here we watered our horses, and drank of the stream, which we found to be sweet and refreshing. During the rainy season, this brook must be of a considerable size, as at the present time, notwithstanding the long continued drought, which had parched up the face of the whole country below, the stream was about ten feet across and a foot deep in the centre.

The next place by which we passed was Oom Welled, a ruined but still inhabited village, containing about thirty Mohammedan families: and from thence our course continued south-east, until we came to Rghotha, another village, in which there were no per-

sons inhabiting the houses, but where a few of the Desert Arabs had encamped in tents. I noticed here the semicircular end of an old building, probably a Christian church, and many sculptured stones; but as we passed a short distance to the eastward of the town, I had no opportunity of seeing its interior.

From Rghotha our course turned east, and in half an hour from thence we passed by a rude tomb, formed out of a large quantity of loose stones collected together in a heap, and this again surrounded by an oval wall of other loose stones. It is called the tomb of Aziz Ibn Sultan Hassāni, who is said to have been a powerful chief of a tribe of Eastern Arabs, and to have met his death here in a warlike encounter, when very far advanced in years.

From hence, in another hour, and proceeding nearly in the same direction, we came to the town of Aehhrah, the station of Sheikh Shibley, the chief of the Eastern Druses, and peopled entirely by his followers and Christians, there being no Mohammedans among its inhabitants. We reached this town soon after four o'clock, and alighted at the house of a kinsman of Abu Fārah, who appeared to have relations, friends, and acquaintances over every part of the country. We had a large evening party assembled to greet our welcome, and here, for the first time in the Haurān, I saw chimneys and fire-places, as in the farm-houses in England, well filled with excellent fuel, and a blazing fire kept up during the night. The men of our party were all stout, handsome, clean, and well dressed; and the children were among the best-looking that I had ever seen in any part of Syria. The government being in the hands of the Druse chief, and the people of that sect never attempting to make proselytes, but exercising great toleration towards all other persons of opposite religions, there appeared to be greater harmony and good understanding between all parties here, than could have been the case if Mohammedans had possessed the sovereign rule. There were several of the Druses in our company, who were hardly to be distinguished in their manners or appearance from their Christian neighbours, and though

the conversation sometimes took a political and sometimes a religious turn, they readily joined in it, and expressed their opinions with great freedom; neither party, however, seeming to be offended at the remarks of the other. In this agreeable manner, the time passed away so rapidly, that it was midnight before we were aware of it, and still later before our party broke up.

Wednesday, March 14.—One of the first duties of the morning was to pay a visit to Sheikh Shibley, whom we found, as early as sunrise, surrounded by a party of his followers, in a large room in which he generally received strangers, and heard such complaints as it fell within his power to attend to and remedy. On being presented to him, I was invited to come and seat myself by his side, and we soon entered into a familiar conversation on general matters, which afterwards turned to those of a more local and particular nature. He was in person of the middle stature, and of an open countenance and agreeable manners; his age could not have exceeded forty-five; his dress was plain, and his whole demeanour entirely free from ostentation. He asked me many questions respecting Mr. Burckhardt, whom he had known under the name of Ibrahim, in a short stay which he had made here: and in the course of this conversation, having once or twice intimated to me, that from the number of persons present our intercourse could not be so free as he desired, he asked me for a small scrap of paper, which I fortunately possessed, and on this he wrote an Arabic line, which he handed to me without showing it to any one else, the purport of which was, "It may be, between us, another time, as it was with Ibrahim." I inferred from this, that though a chief of the Druses, the sheikh might be disposed to communicate much when alone that he felt it due to his station to repress when others were present, and regretted that circumstances would not admit of my staying a day or two with him, for the purpose of a more confidential and familiar intercourse. Under existing circumstances our conversation was confined to topics of the most

general nature, in which every one could join. Before we took leave, an excellent breakfast was brought in, consisting of the usual dishes of the Turks, who live much more expensively and luxuriously than the Arabs, to which were added walnuts and dipse or the sweet syrup made from dry raisins; and after a hearty meal we arose to depart.

In passing through the town, on our way to the house of Abu Fārah's friend, at which we had slept, I observed the fragments of old buildings, wrought up into more modern ones, shewing that this had been the site of some ancient town now destroyed, and that many of the present edifices had been constructed out of the ruins of earlier ones. One of these fragments was the sculptured architrave of a doorway, the upper compartment containing a device of pointed leaves overlapping each other, and going from the left end to the right and the right to the left till they met in the centre; the under compartment was a series of more rounded leaves or scales, the inner one deeply cut, and the outer in slight relief. There were also several plain columns seen in different parts of the town, and some buildings with pointed arches in them, which seemed to be original works, and not repairs, though having the appearance of considerable antiquity.

Being determined not to delay my progress, whenever it was in my power to prevent it, I resisted all solicitations to halt for a day or two at this place, and left Aehrrah, much against the inclination of my guides, as early as nine o'clock. Our road now went nearly south, that being the direction of Bosra, from which we hoped to find a small caravan for Damascus; and near the town we passed a small stream called Wādi-Dārah. In half an hour beyond this, we passed on our left the village of El-Mejeamer, on the side of a hill. This village was inhabited principally by Druses; and in the short space between it and the town we had quitted, the industry of these people was apparent, in the superior order and neatness every where conspicuous, as well as in the more cultivated state of the land. In this instance, as in a thousand

others I had witnessed, it was easy to be perceived how much the whole country might be benefited by a change of government. Wherever the despotism of the Turk extends, every motive to improvement is taken away, and every exertion paralysed; but where the influence of his tyranny is not felt, human industry makes the gifts of nature subservient to the happiness of man.

In half an hour after passing the Druse village of El-Mejeamer, we came to a ruined town called Walter, seated on the top of a hill, from which, as it afforded a commanding view of the surrounding country, I took the following bearings:—

Aehhrah	N. by E. ½ E.	2 miles.
El-Mejeamer	N. E. ½ N.	1 mile.
El-Gheleab Haurān	E. N. E.	7 miles.
El-Ghussan (on a hill)	E. by S.	1 mile.
Castle of Salghud	S. E. ½ E.	9 miles.
Thel Zeghagh (on a hill)	S. E. ½ S.	3 miles.
Buend (ditto)	S. by E. ½ E.	10 miles.
Thebeēn (ditto)	S. ¼ E.	8 miles.
Smaad (ditto)	S. ¼ W.	9 miles.
Muthahack (ditto)	S. ¼ W.	10 miles.
Krigt (ditto)	S. by W.	3 miles.
Bosra or Bussra	S. W. ½ S.	4 miles.
Deer Abu Salāmy	S. W. ¼ S.	10 miles.
El-Kenyel	S. W. ¼ W.	6 miles.
Jemereen	S. W. ¼ W.	2 miles.
Oom-el-Semāk	S. W. by W.	12 miles.
Deer-el-Zebear	S. W. by W. ½ W.	1 mile.
Maharraby	W. by S.	6 miles.
Ghussum	West	9 miles.
Gharraba	W. by N. ¼ N.	4 miles.
El-Jizey oua Sherkh	W. by N. ½ N.	12 miles.
Jebel-el-Telj	N. N. W. in the distance.	
Jebel-el-Druse	From N. to N. by E.	

At Walter, the place from which the foregoing bearings were taken by compass, and the distances computed by the eye, there are remains of Roman masonry in rustic work, particularly in a

large reservoir for water and cistern there; but the place is now entirely in ruins, and has not, probably been inhabited for many years past.

In half an hour from leaving this, we passed on our right the ruined town called Deer-el-Zebear, and soon afterwards, on our left, the town of Krift, on a hill, both now deserted. In a quarter of an hour more we passed through the bed of the Wādi-Zeady, which in the rainy season is filled by a brook, the stones now left bare by the absence of the stream being of a deep jet or coal black; and in another quarter of an hour passed on our right, the deserted town of Jemereen, much larger in size than the two preceding it. At the northern extremity of this town I observed a square tower, with five successive cornices or mouldings, at different distances from each other, resembling the stages of a Chinese pagoda, and in the centre of the town, appeared the southern front of a large building, seeming to be in the ancient stile of the principal edifices of this country. In the second story were two broad projecting cornices, not extending the whole length of the front, but a little way only beyond the centre, and between these were three windows, two of a square form and a circular one between them; the lower part of the building was hidden by what appeared to me at this distance to be the wall of an inclosed court. On the whole there was more to excite curiosity than to gratify it, and I passed this place, as I had done many others, with a regret that the nature of my circumstances did not admit of my devoting a day or two to their examination.

We pursued our way without interruption, being impatient to ascertain the state of things at Bosra, and in half an hour from our last position, passed a stream called Abu Hamāgha, and in another half hour entered Bosra in safety.



CHAP. XI.

FROM BOSRA TO THE CASTLE OF SALGHUD.

Having alighted at the house of a person well known to both my guides, our first enquiry was as to the state of the roads, and the probable safety of a journey from thence to Damascus. In answer to our questions we received only vague assertions of what was already known to us, namely, that there was no assurance of safety in any part of the Haurān, without being well armed and in a party. The communication between this place and Damascus had not been so frequent of late as formerly, though there were occasionally parties of fifteen or twenty persons on horseback who assembled for the purpose of mutual protection on the road. We

conferred together on the best mode of proceeding under existing circumstances; and, urging on my companions the importance of decision and expedition, which they were on all occasions more disposed to hinder than promote, it was agreed that Abu Fārah, who had the most extensive acquaintance here as everywhere else, should devote the day to enquiry among the trading people of the town, to ascertain when a party for Damascus might be likely to be made up, and whether it would not be possible to effect such a union in the course of a day, or otherwise multiply our own force by the addition of half a dozen others, if we could obtain no more, so that we might proceed without further delay. Leaving this task to the negotiation of Abu Fārah, who, besides being the best qualified for its performance, was in some degree jealous of interference in what he deemed his own peculiar province, I took Georgis with me, for the purpose of employing the remainder of the afternoon, which was now too far spent to admit of our doing any thing else, in making an excursion on foot through the town, which, having never before been visited or described, was an object of peculiar interest. The shortness of the time to which I had limited my stay here, whether additional companions could be found or not, and the hopelessness of my being able to collect in that short period of a few hours, sufficient materials for a full and accurate account of so interesting a spot, caused me to relinquish the idea which I should otherwise have entertained of making a plan of the ruins, and bringing away some description of the principal edifices there. I knew also that whatever I could commit to paper at all must be done in secrecy and stealth, as the Mohammedans here are as bigotted as in every other part of Syria, and would be likely to insult any one found making notes openly in their town. I, therefore, took with me one of the small note-books of about four inches square, that I had had purposely made in Alexandria for occasions like these, and a pen and ink in a little brass case suited to the pocket, by which I could write my memoranda, with the book almost concealed in my hand, while standing

to look at an inscription, or describe any general object while walking along; and, when likely to be interrupted or watched, could even pen such notes as I feared to commit to memory, by writing under the ample outer shirt of the Arab dress without being perceived, particularly while sitting on the ground, that attitude being more favourable than any other to the concealment of the hands when writing. These restraints were, however, extremely unfavourable to fullness, accuracy, or method in arrangement; but as every thing that could be gleaned from a field in which there had been hitherto none to gather in the ample harvest, was likely to be interesting and acceptable, I committed to writing as much as I could, and in the order in which the subjects presented themselves to me, which must plead my apology for the confused manner in which they may appear to be detailed.

The first remarkable building that I saw, after leaving the house at which we halted, was a large ruined edifice, which was originally an oblong square, with one semicircular end: the masonry of the exterior was smooth, well executed, and apparently old, the stones being let in or dove-tailed into each other, like those of former buildings already described as seen on our entering the Haurān, and thus united without cement. The part of the semicircular end now standing exhibited large and small doors and windows with the Roman arch, and other smaller windows of a square and circular form, most irregularly placed, and giving the whole an appearance of great disorder and barbarous taste. The following Greek inscription stood in a tablet over a door in the west or semicular front:—

+ЄΠΙΤΟΥΘЄΟΝΝЄCΤΝΟΥΚΝΟCΙѠΤΝΤΟΥΙΟΥΝ . . ΟΥΑΡΧΙ
ЄΠΙCΚRѠΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗΚΑΙЄΤЄΝΙѠΘΗΟΑΓΙΟCΛΡΑΟCCЄΙΡΓΙΟV
ΒΑΧΧΟΥΡΜΑ . ЄΟΝΓΙΟΥΤѠΝΑΘΝΟΘΟΡѠΝΚΜΚΑΜ
ΝΙΚѠΝΜΑΡΤΥΡѠΝЄΝΡΤΙ . . . Υ . . .ΤΝΔΠ . . . S . . . Κ.

The interior of the building presents a miserable work of the Greek Christians, by whom it was no doubt used as a place of

worship up to the period of its destruction. The walls have been stuccoed on the inside, and portions of this remain, showing that it had once been ornamented with portraits and figures of the principal Greek saints; the pillars have also been marked with the cross, but this would seem to be subsequent to its original construction; among these pillars I saw some of the Ionic order rudely cut, and the portion of a stone door that had once been used in this building, but all was in so confused a state as to render it difficult to separate the antient from the modern. Over one of the doors on the inside of the building appeared an inscription in characters resembling those in use among the Armenians, but not sufficiently distinct to admit of their being copied with accuracy. Throughout the building, the semicircular or Roman arch had been most frequently used, but at the eastern end was a large pointed or Saracen arch, ornamented with sculpture, and this was not the only instance in which we had seen these characteristics of two very different orders of architecture united in the same edifice.

Near to this, I saw an old building, with a high square tower attached to it, in which was a double-arched window near the top, the arches being divided by a spirally fluted column, and an open-work battlement on the top. This must have been a Mohammedan work, as we noticed many Arabic inscriptions in different parts of it; some originally sculptured and coeval with the building itself, and others let into the masonry at some subsequent period. In the court of this edifice we saw an old plain sarcophagus of stone, originally no doubt of Roman execution, but dug up from some place of sepulchre and since appropriated to a cistern for water; and on a large and flat black stone near it was an inscription of thirteen lines in Arabic, of the flat character nearly resembling Cufic, and near to this were pillars with spirally fluted shafts, and capitals of a sugar-loaf form reversed, such as I had never before seen.

The next building to which I was taken was a large plain edifice, with an arched window at the eastern end, and square aper-

tures of a small size in other parts; apparently once pent-roofed, but now quite open, with crosses sculptured in the doors and walls, and the whole appearance that of an early place of Christian worship. From this building the following inscription was obtained:—

AHAVRELIHIONΠEO
AVGGPRPR . . . GOSDESIG
ORTIONES 77LEG III KMR
VNERIΛNΛE6ℓLCIΛNΛERARISI
MOETPEROHNΛTVSΠSS . HOCOSIIC

At a building called El-Hamām, or the Bath, there are in the interior four pointed arches facing each other, with what would be called Gothic concave recesses, the arches of these recesses being also pointed, and formed by alternate layers or rays of black and white stone. Between them is a sculptured tablet, like the architrave of the door in the small pyramid at Dahhil, already described. The upper dome of this bath was of brick work, the bricks of the flat kind called Roman tiles, of a bright red colour and cemented together with a layer of lime equal in thickness to the brick itself, very strongly and neatly done, and resembling the brick work dug up from the ruins of the old Greek city of Alexandria.

Opposite to this was a large building entirely constructed out of the ruins of more ancient edifices. In some parts of this were seen columns of white marble in one solid shaft; in others, pillars of black basalt, formed out of several distinct pieces, and curious capitals of different ages, orders, and materials. The last use to which it had been appropriated was no doubt that of a place of Christian worship, but it was difficult even to conjecture to what age its origin should be ascribed, as there was a mixture of emblems and ornaments, which it would require much time and great difficulty to separate from each other and assign with any accuracy to their respective authors. Of inscriptions alone, there were

Cufic, Arabic, and Greek: of sculpture there were some portions that might be as old as the Chaldean times, others worthy of any of the five Greek orders: and others again of a much later date and much inferior execution. Some of the stucco work on the wall was extremely rich, while the paintings on the same surface were the most miserable performances. The pavement was formed of large flat stones laid in diagonal squares, and other parts were entirely neglected; so that throughout the whole there was a mixture of antiquity and freshness, of wealth and poverty, of skill and ignorance, of care and neglect, which rendered it more puzzling to decide on its original purpose and intention, than any other building I had yet seen.

From hence we ascended on the inside of a square tower by sixteen several stages of steps, each containing four in number, making sixty-four steps in all. The door which closed the entrance to this tower below was one solid slab of stone, and similar but smaller doors of stone served to close the apertures for light in different stages of the building, as we ascended it, all of them being hung by pivots traversing in sockets above and below, as before described. At the top of this tower was an open space, with a high wall enclosing it, each side of which had a double arched window in its centre, divided by a column; that in the western front spirally fluted, and all the rest plain. The roof of this open space, and the ceiling of it also, was of solid stone, and every part of the tower strong and perfect; but whether constructed by Romans, Saracens, or Christian Greeks it was not easy to determine.

From the summit of this tower we enjoyed a commanding view of the ruins of Bosra, and from this spot, any one possessing sufficient time for the task, might make a very accurate bird's-eye view of the whole, and even construct a ground plan sufficiently correct to indicate the line of streets and the positions of the principal buildings at least. The compass of the town appeared from hence to have been about three miles around the walls, the form of these

being an irregular square, facing E. by S. and W. by N. At the western end are seen the remains of a Roman arched gateway, not unlike that of Jerash, standing, like it, alone, or unconnected with walls, as far, at least, as could be perceived from our present point of observation. In the street running east and west, to which this arched entrance originally led, were seen the remains of two fine Roman edifices, the Corinthian columns of which are still erect, standing near the centre of the town. A long street intersected this at right angles, going north and south, passing directly through the columns of the southernmost of these two Roman buildings, which is called Serait-el-Bint-el-Yahoodi, or the Palace of the Jew's daughter; but I could not learn the origin of this name, or obtain an account of any tradition connected with it. The western gate before described, is called Bab-el-Howa, or the Gate of the Wind, from the wind generally blowing from that quarter across the plains of the Haurān. The only points of which the bearings were taken from hence were the Castle of Salghud, which was E. S. E., four hours distance; Oom-el-Jemāl, S. W., six hours; and the spring of Moiya Jeheer, which supplies the town with water, bearing N. N. W. from the foot of the tower, distant about eight hundred yards, and surrounded by the ruins of the city.

After we descended from the tower, I observed near its entrance a large fragment of a stone door, which was finely sculptured with the kind of wreath so frequently observed on the sarcophagi of the Romans, in the centre of a perfect pannel, with a border of leaves and Maltese crosses around it, the latter of which might, however, have been a modern addition.

On the outside of the tower, and in the street near it, were many sculptured stones, and one of fifteen spans long, of a pattern something like the one before described in two previous instances at Dahhil and at the bath in this city, with the additional ornament of a sculptured chain bordering the whole.

After leaving the town, we went next to the ruined building called Serait-el-Bint-el-Yahoodi. The street which led to this was

the street going in a north and south direction, and leading southerly from the spot we had left. It was narrow, but paved with stone, and in its general character resembled the covered streets used as bazars in large Turkish cities, with little arched recesses, as shops, on each side. At the point of intersection, where this street is crossed by the other principal one of the city at right angles with each other, we could see the whole length of the latter, from Bab-el-Howa up to the ruins of this central edifice. On this spot stood four fine Corinthian columns, each about four feet in diameter, and resembling in size and style those of the temple of Jupiter, at Jerash. They do not follow the line of either of the intersecting streets, but lie in a direction of N. E. and S. W., obliquely to the great avenues of the town, and appear to have belonged to the portico of some splendid temple once occupying that spot. The principal edifice must, however, long since have been destroyed, as the pillars now standing are surrounded by ruins of smaller buildings than they could possibly have formed a portion of. A few paces only to the east of this are other pillars, forming, however, part of a building of a different age, if one might judge from the difference of style and proportion between these and the pillars before alluded to. The former are in excellent taste and just proportions; but the latter, though of the same order, Corinthian, are in as bad taste as the others are in good; their shafts are not more than three feet in diameter, yet they are much higher than the other columns, whose diameter is one foot greater; they are also additionally elevated on high and narrow pedestals, as if placed on stilts, and cannot be less, on the whole, than fifty feet in height, making, at the least, fifteen or sixteen diameters, a scale that gives them an appearance of weakness and insignificance quite unworthy of comparison with the strength and majesty which belong to the chaste proportions of good architecture: there are only two of these columns standing, and these support an entablature richly sculptured in the most florid style, but appearing too heavy for the pillars to support.

From hence we went to the castle of Bosra, which lies to the south of the ruins just described: and, from a large stone near the entrance, I copied the following inscription: —

+ΕΠΘЄΑЄΚΦΙλΟΤΙΗΙΑ . . . . ΙΟΡΘΔΟΣ . . .
ΙλЄШΝΙΟΥCΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΘЄΟΔШΡΑCШΚΟΔ . . .
ΗΡΙΟCΟΙΚVCΤΟΥΑΤΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΘλΟΦUΡΟΥΙШΒΙΚΑ
ЄΠΙΤΟΥΠΟCΙШΤΙΚΑΙΑΤΙШΤΑΤΟΥΑΟΧΙ.

The exterior of the castle is in the rustic masonry of the Romans, which might, however, have been adopted and used by the Saracens: but here, as in most of the other large castles that I had seen in this country, there was a mixture of styles which rendered it exceedingly difficult to say in what age or by what people they were constructed. Just before the entrance to this was a small guard-house, with a fan or shell-topped niche, of good sculpture, with a column on each side, such as is frequently seen in Roman ruins generally, and is often met with in the remains at Jerash; while on the walls of the castle itself is a long Arabic inscription, dated in the year of the Hejira, 722, which is, of course, Mohammedan. A faithful copy and translations of the numerous inscriptions found here might, perhaps, remove all doubt on this subject, by comparison with each other; and it was this impression which chiefly induced me to copy so many of these memorials of past ages in every part of my route, in the hope that more learned aid might serve to throw some light, through them, on many interesting particulars connected with this thickly peopled, though comparatively unknown tract of country. Those in Greek, from the characters standing each separated from the other, are far more easily copied than the Arabic, which, particularly in old inscriptions, is so intricate, from the characters running one into the other, that even the learned Arabs of the country have often great difficulty in decyphering them, and for a foreigner to attempt it would be hopeless; merely to copy them accurately, as a painter might do, without understanding a single character, would be of itself a work of great

labour, and it is not too much to say, that one hundred characters of a Greek inscription might be copied in the same space of time that it would take to disentangle from their maze, and write down legibly and distinctly, any ten characters of an Arabic inscription ; and the older they are the more difficult are they faithfully to transcribe. It was for this reason that I confined myself to what was most practicable, and what I could collect with greater certainty and effect in my peculiar circumstances, rather than commence that in which I might be interrupted before I could finish it, and thus lose even the opportunity of doing what might have been made, at least, intelligible, if not quite complete.

Reverting to the singular mixture of styles and ages in the same building, after I had copied the Greek inscription, observed the Roman niched guard-house, and remarked the Arabic lines on the castle walls, we came, on the inside of the gate of entrance, to a piece of decidedly Roman sculpture, in the architrave of a doorway, with a circular wreath in the centre of it, and near this another Greek inscription as follows : —

ЄΚΠΡΟΝΟΙΛCΚλΙЄΠΟΥΛΗCΜΟ
ΤΗΘΙΟΥΤΘΡΜΑΝΟΥΒΚΑΙΧΗΛϢ
ΝΟΓΜΑΛΧΙϢΝΟCΑΙΧΟΝΓΟΝΤΟ
ΤЄΜЄΝΟCЄΚΟЄϢΕΛϢΝЄΚΤCΘΗ.

While copying this inscription I learnt indirectly, from a conversation that passed between two Arabs, in my hearing, one of whom had himself seen the place he described, that the town of Oom-el-Jemāl was six hours' journey from Bosra, in a south-west direction, and that the place was large and full of ruins ; among others, that of a Christian church, with many niches, was named, but it was added, that among all the ruins there were no columns of any kind. The place is uninhabited by permanent residents, and at the moment in which this description was given, a party of the tribe of Beni Sakker Arabs made it the head-quarters of their plundering expeditions.

Proceeding further into the interior of the castle, the following inscriptions were met with, the first on a stone altar, and the second over a door-way : —

ΦΛΜΑΝ
ΜΟCCΗΡ
ΛЄΓΓΚ
ΥΡCΓΡΑ
ЄΝΟCΕΤ
ΗΚΓΛΠΟ
ΘΑШΝ.

ЄΚΠΡΟΝΟΙΑCΙ.... ΡΠЄΤΡΟΥΤΟΥΔΙ
ΗΓЄΜЄΚΤΙCΘΗΓΟΤЄΙΧΟC : CΝΡΟΕΟ
ΙΟΥΛΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ.

In the very centre of the castle I was at once surprised and delighted by our coming suddenly upon a fine Roman theatre, apparently of great extent and beauty in its original state, though now so confounded with other ruins that it was difficult to say whether the castle was originally a Roman work, with this theatre in its centre for the entertainment of the garrison and such other guests as might be admitted from without, or whether it was a Saracen work built upon the ruins of a Roman theatre previously standing on this spot. It was an interesting problem, but it would require a more careful examination than my hurried moments would admit to secure its solution, so that I content myself with merely stating that this subject of enquiry was one that instantly presented itself to my mind, on first seeing these undoubted remains of Roman luxury, art, and pleasure, enveloped, as they might now be said to be, with ruins of a less determinate description. The theatre faces exactly towards the N. N. E., where it had a closed front, with Doric wings, fan or shell-topped niches, and Doric door-ways, and a range of pilasters above these, marking a second story. There was only one flight or rather division of seats, consisting of seven or eight ranges of benches gradually rising, and receding as they rose, in the manner of all the theatres

of antiquity. The upper range was terminated by a fine Doric colonnade running all round the semi-circle, the pillars being about three feet in diameter, supporting a plain entablature. The circuit of the upper range of seats was 230 paces, measured as I walked over it. There were nine flights of cunii or smaller steps intersecting the ranges of seats, like rays from the centre to the circumference of a circle, and these were carefully wrought, the edge of each being finished by a nicely rounded moulding, as well as the edges of the benches intended for the accommodation of the audience. The only entrances for the visitors of this theatre, as far as I could discover, were through arched passages in the semi-circular parts, passing under the benches, and landing at the foot of the range of seats now in sight, corresponding with the ancient vomitories, and about thirty in number. The whole of this noble monument of Roman splendour appeared to me to be in the chastest and best taste, and I never more strongly regretted the necessity which obliged me to content myself with a hasty glance of an interesting subject, than while hurrying almost breathless over its ruins.

Among the fragments observed in the ruined heaps, spread every where around, I noticed an Ionic capital with a female bust between the volutes; and a Greek inscription which I was prevented from copying, just without the theatre, to the eastward of it.

The stone doors, so abundantly seen throughout the Haurān, and which had excited our admiration so strongly on first seeing them among the ruined tombs of Oom-Kais, were here very numerous. I omitted to state, in its proper place, that the square tower which we had ascended, and from which we commanded so distinct a view of the town, was of a sloping pyramidal shape growing narrower progressively from its base to its summit, after the manner of the Egyptian temples and the pagodas of India, to which there is nothing similar, that I remember, in either Greek, Roman, or Saracen architecture, all their square buildings carrying

the same dimensions throughout their height, and only circular towers, such as minarets (and these not always), diminishing their diameter as they ascend. The door of entrance to the tower here spoken of, was a double or folding one, pannelled and sculptured with various ornamental devices. Besides this, many other stone doors were seen in different parts of the town, some fastened by horizontal bars of stone, and others by perpendicular ones placed on the inside of them, and lodging each end in the massy frame-work of the door, on either side, or above and below, as the position of the bar required. Some of these doors were highly ornamented, others plain ; and while on one of them we saw the cross frequently repeated, as an emblem of Christianity, the prevailing faith, no doubt, at the period of its execution, we saw also, in other instances, the Mohammedan profession of faith — " La Illah ul Ullah, oua Mohammed el Russool Ullah"— sculptured deeply in the Arabic character on others, as if in triumph at the overthrow of Pagan and Christian monuments in one common ruin, and the appropriation of the materials of these to proclaim the unity of God and the sacred mission of him whom they regarded as his prophet.

From a large loose stone, not used in any part of the masonry, but lying on the ground without the theatre, I copied the following inscription : —

†ΠΑΝΤΑΧΘΗΝΦΥΕΙΚΑΙΕΜΠΑ
λΙΝΑΜΦΙΚΑΛΥΠΙΕΙ . . . .
ΤΟΥΝΕΚΑΜΗΕΤΟΝΑΧΟΙΤΙΕΑΠΟ
ΧΘΟΝΟCЄΙΕΧΘΟΝΑΔΥΝΗΝ
ΟΤΑΝΚΑΜΗΕΤΟΥΤΟΤΕΛΟΕ.

The castle of Bosra appears to be nearly of a circular shape, and is much larger than the castle of Assalt, or that of Adjeloon, both of which, however, in the masonry and appearance of its exterior, it may be said to resemble, the rustic style being used in all. Whatever determination might be made, therefore, as to the age and origin of one, would equally apply to all the others. If this

of Bosra be originally Roman, and all the Saracenic parts can be accounted for as subsequent additions or repairs, so also might all the peculiarities of the castles of Assalt and Adjeloon be explained in the same manner. It is a question highly worthy the close investigation, not only of the antiquary but the historian, and as such may well deserve the attention of any future traveller, who may bring to the task more ample means of observation, and more leisure to record them, than it has been my fate to command. I should not omit to mention, in addition to the striking facts of the Roman theatre in the centre of this fortress, and the guard-house with all the peculiarities of Roman style about it at its entrance, that the bridge leading across the broad and deep ditch by which it is surrounded is constructed over Roman arches, which ought to be decisive, till better evidence be shown of the building, to which this bridge leads, being Roman also; unless it shall appear that the semicircular arch was not confined to Roman architecture, but that the Saracens made as frequent use of that as of their own pointed form, which, to say the least of it, is at present extremely doubtful.

About three hundred yards from the castle, in a direction of S. E. by E., is a large reservoir, nearly three hundred feet square, and in a very perfect condition ; which, as a receptacle for rain, added to the spring near the centre of the town, must have furnished an abundant supply of water for the use of the town. In one part of the ruins I observed the fragment of a pillar of red granite, which must have been a very costly material here, as no such stone is known, as far as I am aware of, in any part of Syria, and this was probably brought from Egypt, in the obelisks and other monuments of which country it is alone frequently used.

Beyond the Corinthian portico, in a court, I noticed, on what was formerly the cornice of some building, now used as part of a a door frame, the two following lines in Greek, in rudely cut characters : —

+ϹΤΗϹΕϹΑRΙΝΟΝΤΟΝΑΟΙΛΙΜΟΝΗΤΕΜΟΝΗΑ
ΑΝΘΕΥΕΡΤΒΕ . . . ΗϹΗΠΟΛΙϹΗϹΦΕΤΕΤΕΡΗ.

There is another stone used in the wall near this, also, behind the portico and nearer to the columns composing it, on which is a Greek inscription turned upside down, evidently proving that both this and the former were among the remains of some older edifices, and had been applied by more modern hands to their present purposes, either when the building was first constructed, or subsequently in the way of repairs. This inscription, from its being reversed, was difficult to read or transcribe, but I surmounted the obstacle, and obtained the following copy of it: —

MONHCAYTONPAIOPOCKAICAPOCP . . .
TYXOYKΠΠΗΚΟΛWNIACΠΙΜΑΡΚ
PЄCBCЄBANTICTPATHIOY
IAIЄKATOCTOYTAKOVOYΘATOY.

Having already committed more to paper during this rapid and hasty view than I had anticipated, or thought possible, and the day drawing to a close, we left the castle to proceed homeward to the house in which we had taken up our shelter, there to ascertain the result of Abu Fārah's enquiries. On passing the little Roman guard-house a second time, near the entrance of the castle, I learnt that the niche there, originally designed for the warden or sentinel, was now used by the Mohammedans as a place of prayer, for which it might well suit, as it pointed to the S. by W., and near enough to the direction in which they face towards the Kāba at Mecca, to answer that purpose. The castle itself is inhabited at present entirely by Mohammedans, to the number of about forty families, no Christians living within its walls, though there are many in the town, where they are intermingled with Moslems ; but there are no Druse families, either in the castle or in the town.

On our reaching home we found Abu Fārah returned from his tour of enquiry, but without having succeeded in obtaining additional companions for our journey onward, so that the prospect for the remainder of our way was no brighter than before ; and it seemed probable that we should be obliged to rely for the future,

as we had done during the past, on our own prudence, vigilance, and strength, for protection.

Our evening party was pretty numerous, consisting of at least thirty male Christians, no females joining them in public, so extensive has been the influence of Mohammedan manners with regard to the seclusion of women, over all classes of people subject to their rule. Among the topics of discourse was that of the miracle of feeding the multitude with five loaves and two small fishes, which gave rise to a warm dispute, as to the localities of the scene, between the Māllim Georgis and the Greek priest. The debate was in Arabic, the only tongue spoken here, in which the former appeared to me to have the best of the argument, and I was glad to see such an unusual symptom of religious freedom as this evinced, for I had hardly before believed that any person in this country would dare to dispute any thing of a religious nature with a priest of his own sect.

It was in vain that I directed my enquiries as to any traditions respecting this celebrated city; not one among our whole party remembered the poetic passage in Isaiah, "Who is he that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength?" (chap. liii. ver. 1.) Not one of them remembered any thing of even the name of Judas Maccabeus, by whom this city was taken *; nor were they at all aware that it had been a post contested by the Romans, Parthians, Saracens, or any other people, as a fortified and border possession; but imagined that it must have been originally one of the principal cities of Solomon, and from the decline of the Jewish power have passed at once into the possession of the Christian Greeks, to whom they attributed all the principal remains now seen in the city. †

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* See Ancient Universal History, 8vo. edition, vol. x. book 2. chap. xi. p. 288.

† The learned Dr. Vincent, in his interesting work on the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, has the following passage applied to Basra or Bussorah, in the Persian Gulf, which may be appropriately introduced here: —

Thursday, March 15. — On arising in the morning I found that I had been bitten all over, during my sleep, by an insect, whose bite seemed to combine the venom of the bug and musquito in one, and to be more painful than either. I was informed, on enquiry, that this insect was peculiar to Bosra, and failed not to select strangers for its feast in preference to those who were old residents of the place, which was the reason, probably, of so little pains being taken to use precautions against it. Our morning debate naturally turned on the subject of our future route, and as there appeared to me that nothing was likely to be gained by further delay, I was content to run the risks, which could only be avoided either by great loss of time or increase of expense, and try the road alone, or with our own party only, as we had hitherto done. I resolved, therefore, to proceed at once by a road leading through several of the Druse towns on the eastern border of the Haurān, and less liable to interruption, as I understood, than the roads on the plain to the west, from being better peopled, and the inhabitants in general being more prepared for self-defence, whether stationary or journeying from town to town. This route would also

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" Basra, Bozra, and Bosara, is a name applicable to any town in the Desert: it signifies rough or stony ground: and thus we have a Bosara in Ptolemy, near Muskat; and a Bozra, familiar in Scripture, denoting an Arabian town in the neighbourhood of Judea, taken by the Maccabees. — *Gal. ad Alpag.*, p. 120. ; *Terra crassa et lapidosa.* But see בוצרת under בצר. *Bosrath, desertum, à Batzar clausit, quia clauduntur aquæ.* Bozrah is mentioned as early as the age of Abraham; Genesis, c. xxxvi. v. 33; and in Isaiah, c. lxiii. v. 1. From hence, *bazar* for an emporium, and *urbs munita quia circumclauditur:* to which the Bursa of Ptolemy is allied."— Vol. i. p. 436.; note. 4to. 1807.

In Richardson's Arabic Dictionary بصرة, Busret, is called — " 1. Whitish stones; 2. A kind of gross earth, out of which they dig stones; and 3. The city of Basra or Bussorah, in the Persian Gulf, as seated on such ground." Besides this meaning of *whitish* stones, which is the most general, but which will not apply either to the Bozrah of the Haurān, or the Bussora of Arabia, بصر, *bussr,* means also " the side, the border, the margin," a sense that would apply with equal truth to the positions of both these towns, as being each on the borders of the Desert. بازار, *bazar,* a market or emporium, is differently spelt, and comes from a different root; but the names of Bozrah in the Haurān, and Bussorah on the Euphrates, are each pronounced in the same manner (Bussra) by their respective inhabitants.

give me an opportunity of seeing the castle of Salghud, at a little distance east of Bosra, without more than an hour or two's deviation ; and my guides being well acquainted, as they assured me, with the road from thence to Damascus, we determined on setting out.

Before we started we were kindly detained to take a parting breakfast, at which almost every individual of our evening party was present ; these including nearly all the male Christians in the town ; the present population consisting of about 100 Mohammedan families, with thirty Christians, and only a few Druses, as occasional visitors rather than permanent residents, drawn here from time to time for the purposes of trade. Besides the Christians, there were a few Mohammedans of our breakfast party, attracted chiefly, I believe, to see the strangers ; their curiosity, probably, having been excited by what they might have heard on the previous evening of my peregrinations and close enquiries respecting particular objects of research in the town. Between one of these and a Christian of the party a stout debate was maintained on the subject of religious fasts ; the scanty fare of our breakfast, bread, onions, and oil, having been imposed by the Greek Lent now celebrating, naturally giving rise to the subject. The Mohammedan contrasted the long and continued privation of the Greek fast with the more agreeable intervals of the Ramazan, in which the orthodox Mussulman is enjoined to fast daily from sunrise to sunset, but is rewarded for his virtue by being permitted to feast nightly as luxuriously as he pleases, provided he eats and drinks only while the sun is below the horizon. To most persons, this would certainly be far more agreeable than living in the miserable manner of the Greeks during their rigid abstinence of forty days, in which scarcely any thing but bread, oil, vegetables, and salt are eaten ; even butter, eggs, honey, and all that can be warped into the interpretation of animal food is strictly prohibited. I had a difficult task to perform when appealed to for my opinion, as it was necessary that I should conciliate the one without offend-

ing the other, in which, happily, by a little management, and by the aid of plain sense and moderation, of which even the most bigotted are sometimes sensible, I succeeded, so that the harmony of our circle was preserved unbroken.

Leaving Bosra at nine o'clock, we went out by the reservoir for water near the castle, which I had an opportunity of ascertaining to be 150 horse-paces square, and the walls of which were at least ten feet thick, being an interior casing to the rocky bed out of which it had been excavated. Our course lay to the eastward, in pursuing which we passed over a stony ground, and in an hour after setting out we halted for a moment on the south bank of the Wādi Zeady to water our horses. The stream was here twenty feet wide, and ran over a bed of rock, the surface of which was naturally black wherever it could be seen fresh, as in recent fractures, but which acquired a yellow and sometimes a whitish hue by decomposition from exposure to the atmosphere. After crossing this stream we proceeded in the same direction through a more stony tract, and in another hour we arrived at the town of El-Gheryeh.

This place appears to have been, in its flourishing state, quite as large as Bosra, judging from the extent of space now covered with its ruins; but it struck me as remarkable, that in all that portion of them which I could see in passing through the town, there were no columns nor other indications of Roman luxury, as in the theatre and temples of the place we had left. There were, however, many of the large massy doors of stone, which must be considered as a peculiarity of the aboriginal or earliest style of architecture known in this country, and continued down through all its successive occupiers from the same cause, namely, the entire absence of wood throughout the whole of these extensive plains: one of these stone doors was much more profusely ornamented with panels and bars sculptured in relief than any that I had yet seen. In a mass of rock near the town I thought I could perceive the basaltic division of columns: and throughout the buildings I

remarked that, wherever the stone was recently broken, the fracture showed a deep black surface, while the older stones were almost invariably coated over with a decomposed substance of a brownish yellow, resembling the rust of iron.

As the visit to Salghud, which is entirely deserted, required to be made from this place, to enable us to return here and sleep at night, the castle being about three hours' journey from hence, we halted at Gheryeh to take coffee only, and arrange for a place of shelter at our return, after effecting which, we mounted our horses, and set out on our visit at noon, accompanied by a Christian from Gheryeh, named Eesa or Jesus, a common name among the Christians of the East. Keeping on the east side of the stream of Wādi Zeady, we came in an hour to the ruined town of Diffin, in which nothing remarkable attracted my attention. In half an hour from thence we came to a very pretty and interesting spot, compared with the solitude by which it was surrounded, called Ain, being, as its name imports, according to its Arabic meaning, a spring or fountain, and the source from which issued the Zeady, the stream mentioned before. The value of this spring had been sufficiently estimated by the Romans, and probably, according to their usual custom, it had been dedicated to some nymph or river-god, as around the fountain-head of this source of the Zeady were scattered fragments of some ancient building erected over it, with Roman sculpture on many of the blocks, though not sufficient for us to trace any particular design ; neither was there any inscription met with, in the cursory view we took of this place, by which we could learn any thing of its founder or the date of the work in question. From the passage of the water being obstructed in several places by the scattered fragments of the ruins near it, a small lake was formed, the banks of which were now surrounded with sedgy grass, and a flock of wild ducks were sailing on its surface, apparently unintimidated by the approach of man.

Leaving this fountain we proceeded onward over a stony road,

and in half an hour came to a place called El-Kāris : this is seated on a hill, and near it is a stream with a small bridge across it. We were roughly accosted here by some men who belonged to this place, who insisted on knowing the object of our journey ; but we were in no mood to communicate this to any one, and still less disposed to lose the time which a parley would necessarily have occasioned, so that we gave them evasive answers and passed on. In another half hour we came abreast of the town of Aioon, which we did not enter, but passed on the right of it at a short distance : we were near enough, however, to observe, that the town, which was now completely ruined and deserted, was nearly as large as Bosra, and had, among other buildings, a square tower, not unlike the one described among the ruins of that city. From hence we ascended on the north side of a hill, through continual ruins and among rude wells, in many of which water was still to be found ; and at three o'clock we reached the castle of Salghud.

As it was indispensable to our safety that we should return to Gheryeh by sunset at the latest, there was but little time left to examine the many objects of interest worthy of notice here ; but as every particular respecting a place so entirely unknown and undescribed as this would be acceptable, I employed the brief hour of our stay there as advantageously as I could.

The castle of Salghud, which has a general resemblance to those of Assalt, Adjeloon, and Bosra, is nearly circular in form : and is surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, hewn out of the rock, and cased with masonry where necessary, the area on which it stands being eight hundred paces in circuit. The castle occupies a fine elevation, and is founded on a rock, which rock is itself cased with masonry in such parts of its surface as are presented to the ditch, where additional strength is required. There is throughout every part of it the same mixture of styles observed in all the other fortresses of these parts, so as to render it difficult to say whether it be Roman or Saracen ; my conviction, however, was rather confirmed than shaken by all I saw here, which led me to

believe that all these castles were of Roman origin, and that the pointed arches and other marks of Saracenic * and Mohammedan work, were of more recent date either as additions or repairs.† Around the environs of this castle, for the first time since leaving the higher lands of Syria, scattered fragments of pottery were seen. The rustic masonry of the Roman days was used almost throughout the building; while on the south front were two figures of animals badly executed, apparently intended for lions, and certainly of Mohammedan execution, though it is contrary to the religious precepts and also to the general practice of the followers of that faith, to " make to themselves any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth;" a prohibition which Mohammed has repeated from Moses, and which the more orthodox of his followers observe as scrupulously as the Jews. The entrance to the castle was now much obstructed, but we remarked a mean and badly built bridge, near which was a stone door, then hung, and a passage leading downward from it. We could not spare the time which an examination of the interior of this castle would have required, and therefore did not risk the delay which would have been occasioned by entering it; but we observed on one part of the building an Arabic inscription of four lines, well cut, the

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* In the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, the Scenite Arabians, or Bedouins of the Desert were called Saracens, l. 22. c. 15. and Saraceni was said to have been given to the Arabs as a name from Suhhara, a Desert. — *Vincent. Periplus*, v. ii. p. 548.

† In confirmation of the opinion that the principal positions indicated were very anciently chosen for the site of castles and fortresses, I may be permitted to quote a passage of the same author, Ammianus Marcellinus, from a French translation, published at Lyons, in 12mo. 1778, not having access to the original. He says, " L'Arabie, qui d'un côté touche à la Palestine, et de l'autre au pays des Nabatéens, est puissante par la varieté de son commerce; elle est rempli de forts et de chateaux, que la prudence attentive des anciens y a construits dans des défiles sûrs et commodes, pour arrêter les courses qu'y faisoient leurs voisins. Elle a encore des villes considerables et revêtues de bonnes murailles, telles que Bostra, Gerasa, Philadelphia, (or Ammaan). L'Empereur Trajan qui poussa avec tant de succes la guerre contre les Parthes et les Medes, après avoir humilié l'orgueil de ses habitans, en fit une province, et la soumit à nos loix Romains." *Liv.* 14. c. 8. vol. 1. p. 58.

characters in high relief, and broad enough to occupy two layers of the stones of which the walls were built. There were also pointed arches and rustic masonry seen together in one place, and Roman arches and sculptured stones in others, the whole presenting a confused mixture of orders, styles, and ages, which it would require great labour to separate, and great ingenuity as well as application to assign each to their proper origin and date. I should not omit the remarkable circumstance, that the last assault upon this fortress, and that which probably caused its final abandonment by those who last occupied it, appears to have been accompanied by a destructive fire, as there are marks of the ravages of this element on various parts of the building: and all around it are traces of cinders and ashes, in such quantity as could only have been produced by a fire of great intensity and some duration.

On halting at one of the highest parts of the ground without the walls and ditch of the castle, I was struck with the extensive view which its position commanded, and could not but admire the choice which had been made of this for the site of a city and fortress, in so early an age as that in which we first find its name mentioned in Scripture, when the warfare of mankind was confined to weapons which against such a place as this could produce scarcely any effect. The city or town, which is now entirely in ruins, and without a single inhabitant, is spread out at the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, and extends from S.E. to West. We could not spare a moment to look at this town, and could only remark from hence an octagonal tower rising from among its ruins, resembling the minaret of a Mohammedan mosque. The town of Oom-el-Jemāl, which bore S.W. six hours from Bosra, was pointed out by one of my guides as visible from this, bearing W.S.W, about eight hours in a straight line. This was no doubt its bearing, but though my guide declared he saw the town clearly, my sight, which was then perfectly unimpaired, was so far inferior to the sharp vision of an Arab, that I could only make out the smoke which ascended from it. The following bearings,

however, taken by myself, from the western face of the castle of Salghud may be safely relied on for their accuracy: —

El Allehgah	W. ½ S. . . .	4 miles.
Bosra	W. by N. . .	12 ditto.
Thebeen	W. by N. . .	8 ditto.
Ghode	W. by N. . .	16 ditto.
Butcha	W. by N. ½ N. .	10 ditto.
Jebel-el-Telj	N. N. W. ½ W.	

The bearings of all these places were taken by compass on the spot, but the distances are computed in miles only by their appearance to the eye; all the places indicated being, however, on the plain, which rendered the estimate less liable to error than if seated amid an uneven country.

From our present position on the west face of the castle, I could perceive that there were traces of a broad public road, visible all the way between this spot and Bosra, in a direction of W. by N., from which it may be inferred that there was a constant communication between these two important posts. The plains of Belkah, to the southward, in which the city of Ammān or Philadelphia is seated, were also visible from hence, presenting a flat surface almost as unbroken as the sea, but still on an elevated level; while the plains of the Haurān, to the west, were extensively commanded and surveyed from hence, being apparently as flat as those of Belkah to the south, but on a much lower level.

Proceeding round to the eastern face of the castle, the view in that direction was calculated to excite surprise, and to awake an intense curiosity or desire to traverse the scene which it opened, and which desire, as I felt it in the strongest degree, I would have encountered any risk to gratify, were I not restrained by the peculiar circumstances of my duty. In the best maps which we possess of this country, the region beyond Jordan to the east is very imperfectly delineated and described: but Bosra and Salghud form the extreme border of all that is known, and beyond this the country

has hitherto been supposed to be entirely a desert. How was I surprised, therefore, to see, as far as my sight could extend to the eastward, ruined towns without number, and a country which promised a still richer harvest to the scholar, the antiquarian, and the traveller, than even the interesting region behind us to the west. My guides knew but little of the parts beyond Salghud, Abu Fārah having only once passed this boundary with some of the Arabs occasionally visiting this tract of country; but from him I was glad to obtain the names of such few places as he knew, for the purpose of noting their bearings and distance, and filling up as much of the blank of our maps as this opportunity furnished me the means of doing, leaving to others who might come thus far, unfettered by any other claims than the ardour of research, to push their enterprise and enquiry beyond this limit with a success which other considerations peremptorily denied to me. The following are the bearings that were taken of those few places, of which the names were known, as seen from the eastern face of the castle of Salghud:—

Place	Bearing	Distance
Orroman	E. by N.	3 miles.
Hubbehtcha	E. by N.	6 miles.
El Khuzzir, a large town	E $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	5 miles.
Talliloze, ditto	E.S.E.	8 miles.
Ghirbt el Bozereak	S.E. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	7 miles.
Deer ul Nassarāni	S.E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	1 mile.
Shaaf	S.E. by E.	3 miles.
Public Road, extending	S.E.	5 miles.
Mellah, seated on a hill	S.E.	5 miles.
El Mejeadel	S.S.E.	7 miles.
Agrebba	S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	8 miles.

The bearings, as in the former case, were taken by compass, and the distances computed or estimated by the eye, as they appeared from hence.

I learnt that there was not a single town of all the many to the eastward of us (of which those named were but a small portion) which was now peopled, the only inhabitants of this deserted region

being the birds of the air, and the beasts of the field; among which lizards, partridges, vultures, and ravens were all that I saw, but the wolf, the hyena, and the jackall are said to abound. Some of the Great Desert tribes of the Arabs occasionally visit this country to the eastward, for the sake of the water and verdure which they occasionally find for their camels and flocks after the rains; and then, as I was assured, it often happens that a person might, in peaceable times, go right across the whole country from west to east, passing from tribe to tribe without danger, provided he were well assured of protection from the first tribe, from whom he might obtain his safe conveyance to the next beyond it, and so on; a journey that would well reward the enterprise of any European traveller who might have the inclination, the means, and the power to accomplish it. At present, however, the great body of the Wahābees of Nejed had so spread themselves from the borders of the Hedjaz up to the highest parts of the desert beyond Palmyra, and close to the cultivated country on the edge of Asia Minor, that there was no security for any one; the whole Desert, as it might be called, being in a state of war. It is to be hoped, however, that on the first favourable occasion, some intelligent traveller will be induced to make the attempt, in the course of which he would be able to explore every part of the celebrated dominions of Og the King of Bashan, of which this place of Salghud was one of the principal, and do much to elucidate the early books of Scripture, by an examination of the ruins of the "threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan," which cities "were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, beside unwalled towns a great many." (Deuteronomy, c. iii. v. 1. to 10.)*

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* Selcha, quæ quoque Salecha, — Hebræis Salcha, aliis verò Selchar, ac postea Salchata quibusdam dicta est, vetus civitas est, quondam Og Regi Basan parens, atque una et sexaginta munitionibus ac validioribus urbibus regni ejus, sita autem est juxta urbem Gessur, montem quæ Hermon: et Basanitides regionis versus Boream claustrum est. Hæc etiam civitas olim à gigantibus inhabitata, ac diu possessa fuisse

As this has been named in Scripture as the land of the giants, and even the dimensions of the iron bedstead of their king have been given, which was kept in Rabbath of the children of Ammon, as a memorial, and was there referred to by the writer of Deuteronomy (c. iii. v. 11.), there is no part of the country wherein this enquiry as to the probable stature of man in the early ages of which the Scripture speaks, could be carried on with greater probability of success than here*; where the proverbial expression of there being "three hundred and sixty-six ruined towns," now commonly used by the natives of these parts when speaking of many other districts of the country beyond Jordan, may be uttered with less exaggeration than in any other quarter to which I had yet heard it applied; so thickly strewed is every part of this interesting region with the vestiges of former strength and abundant population.

We had been now upwards of an hour on the ruins of Salghud, and it appeared to me that I had done nothing; so ardent were my desires, and so insignificant appeared to me the few notes that I had taken, compared with what I should have done if my power to record facts and observations on paper had kept pace with my eagerness to collect them. I had done my best, however, and strove to be content; but when we remounted our horses to return to Gheryeh, I confess that I experienced a feeling of regret at my being unable to go farther, which one must travel in untrodden countries, and have an enthusiastic love of research, to understand, and which it requires the strongest sense of duty and the most determined resolution to conquer.

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videtur. Porrò anno Christianæ salutis millesimo centesimo quadragesimo tertio nobilis quidam Turcorum Satrapa hanc et Bostrensum urbem, quibus præerat. Hierosolymam profectus, Christianorum regi Baldwino tertii tradero molitus fuit. Sed uxor ejus, dum ipsa hæc agebat, hostibus civitates aperuit, ac adversæ partis præsidiarios in arces admisit, et Christianis adventantibus bolum è faucibus eripuit. *Adrichomius Theatrum, Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 94.

* See, for further mention of Salchah, (or Salghud as it is now pronounced,) Deut. c. iii. v. 10. Joshua c. xii. v. 5. c. xiii. v. 11., and 1 Chron. c. v. v. 11.

Returning by the same route along which we had come to the castle, nothing worthy of note occurred in our way; and we reached Gheryeh in safety about an hour after sunset. We had a welcome reception, and passed our evening in a pretty large party, in which I learnt that the population of the place did not exceed fifty families, of which twenty were Christians, who had all come here to settle from Debeen, a village near to Jerash, from which they said they had been driven out by the Arabs, and fled to this place for greater security from their depredations, though here they had been subsequently almost as liable to pillage as in the place they had abandoned. In our party were both Mohammedans and Christians, who appeared to be unusually tolerant towards each other, the former rising up and performing their prayers in the middle of the room without seeming to offend any of the latter, and afterwards entering with greater freedom into the religious conversation that principally engrossed the attention of the company ; the Greek Christians being much more given to controversy on disputed points of history and faith, than any other sect of Eastern Christians that I had yet seen. Abu Fārah, one of my guides, relished any other subject better, however, and was perpetually breaking in upon the solemnity and gravity of a debate by some rude joke, at which no one could refuse to laugh, so natural and so striking was his humour, while his companion, Georgis, as frequently indulged in his peculiar vein of predicting events, which gave an agreeable variety to the subjects of our mirth.

In the course of the evening we removed from the house in which our party was first assembled to the one adjoining it, which was larger, and without an occupant. This gave me an opportunity of observing that the folding stone door of the first house, which was of the same description as those seen in the most ancient buildings, and at the entrance of Roman tombs, was fifteen inches thick, from which some idea may be formed of these ponderous masses, how unwieldy they must be to open and shut, and with

what propriety they might be enumerated under the terms of "gates and bars," when speaking of the strength of the three-score cities of Og the king of Bashan; as these ponderous doors of stone were all closed on the inside with bars going horizontally or perpendicularly across them, and the whole edifice even to the beams and roof being of stone also, must have rendered them almost inaccessible to any but the battering-ram or cannon. This also appeared to me as another proof of the very high antiquity of most of the towns and buildings as we now saw them (notwithstanding the peculiar marks of Roman and Saracenic work about them which might well be subsequently added), from their accurate correspondence with the descriptions in the earliest books of the Scriptures: for such buildings must have been impossible to be destroyed and swept away entirely to give place to others, without infinitely more labour and cost than it would take to make them the abodes of all future successors; while each race of their occupiers might make such additions, improvements, and ornaments, as suited their own style of taste, leaving the more solid parts of the structure just as they found them, and as they are likely to endure, as memorials of the highest antiquity for ages yet to come. In the house adjoining us, to which our party retired, I remarked a central fire-place, with massy stone beams forming the roof, pointed arches, and extremely solid masonry throughout.

Among other matters related during the evening, I learnt that the seven largest towns of the Haurān were appropriated to the seven days of the week, and that each bore the name of the day on which it held a market or fair; the round of the week being completed by each town holding a market once in seven days; so that during every day of the week there was a market or fair in some one or other of the seven, which being regularly observed was accurately known and attended as occasion required.

Just before we were breaking up to retire, a stranger joined our party, who communicated as his portion of news, that an English fleet had arrived off Alexandria, and that Toussoun

Pasha, the eldest son of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, was coming from Constantinople, where he had been sent on a mission after defeating the Wahabees, to assume the government of Damascus; but as the latter part of this intelligence was one that most nearly affected the interests of all present, it entirely absorbed the attention of the company, and the English fleet were forgotten almost as soon as the rumour of their destiny and purpose had been mentioned; so much do events rise and fall in human estimation, in proportion as they more nearly or more remotely bear on the interests of the individuals by whom they are considered.



CHAP. XII.

FROM GHERYEH TO GUNNAWĀT IN THE MOUNTAINS.

Friday, *March* 16. — I rose with the earliest dawn of day, and while morning coffee was preparing, I took an opportunity to steal out unobserved, for the purpose of taking a hasty glance around the town, well knowing that our party would not be ready to mount before they had taken their breakfast and enjoyed their pipes, which would be nine o'clock at the earliest. During this hurried excursion I observed that the town of Gheryeh resembled, in all its general features, the many places of a similar size that I had already passed through in the Haurān, with very few local peculiarities to distinguish it. In the centre of the town is a reservoir for water, sixty-five paces long, forty paces broad at the east end, and thirty broad at the west, the descent into it being by

flights of steps at each corner, about fifteen feet in depth. At the east end of this reservoir, or tank, as it would be called in India, stood a portico formed of eighteen pillars, in three several rows of six each. A remarkable feature of this building was, that instead of the portico being on a level, and above the ascending flight of steps, to the number of seven, by which it was entered, the pillars stood on the steps themselves, the front row being the longest, the second row shorter, and the last or inner row the least in altitude of the whole, a peculiarity that I had never before observed anywhere. The pillars were about two feet in diameter, but of rude workmanship. There was a water-work on arches near to this, and a sloping tower rising from amid the whole, the general aspect of the scene being more like the combinations of an Indian pagoda, tank, ghaut, &c., than either a Roman temple or a Christian church. The walls here were at least seven feet thick, and were constructed of large blocks of stone in the rustic style. On the upper range of steps leading to this remarkable building, I observed a large block of stone, apparently black basalt, six spans long and two deep, now used as a mortar, with a wooden pestle in a hollow excavated in the top of it, and lying there to be used by any one who may need it for pounding burnt coffee, on the face of which stone is the following inscription : —

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ЄΚΤΙϹΘΗΗΑΙΜΝΗЄΤΟΥϹΡ
ЄΚΟΙΝШΝΑΝΑΑШΜΑΤШΝ
ΤΗϹΚШΜΗϹΧΙЄЄΚΠΡΟΝΟΙΑϹ
ΦΑΚΟΡΝΗΑΙΑΝΟΥΠΠΙ.

In the town, the reservoir before mentioned is known by the name of El-Birket, or the Lake. On a loose block of stone, near an old square tower to the west of this lake, is the following inscription, rudely cut : —

ΑΜΑΘΑΛΤΗЄΖ
ΙΑΙШΝЄΚΤΙϹЄ
ΚΙΤΟΜΝΙΗΜЄ
ΟΝΑΝΔΒΙΤЄΚΛ
ΙΤϹΚΝΟΙϹΟΤΙΟ
ΟΥϹΟΑΡЄΛΑΒЄΝ.

Stone doors were seen in several parts of the town, and one of these was barred, studded, and sculptured in each pannel, with great care. In the upper part of the same building to which this belonged, which was a tower, the blocks of stone were dove-tailed into each other for security of union, after the manner already described as prevalent in the earliest buildings of the Haurān.

At the west end of the town is a large edifice, called by the Christians here, El-Kaneese or the church; near to this is an arched subterranean work, with large beams of stone; and close by it a modern sepulchre, or a tomb of a Mohammedan Santon. In different quarters of the town there are springs of water, from which it is more abundantly supplied with that necessary of life than any town we had passed through; and in addition to these are reservoirs for containing rain, so that it is probable this place was once the seat of some manufactory, in which the agency of water was perpetually required. I noticed, also, in two separate instances, the act of ploughing up small patches of ground amidst the ruins, for the purpose of sowing corn; and both the ploughmen followed their labours with their swords by their sides; the object of preferring this enclosed ground to larger portions without the limits of the town being, as they told me, for greater security, as, at a very short distance from the dwellings of the husbandman, no one could be sure of reaping what he himself had sown. I learnt also that these patches of cultivated ground were like the houses among which they were seated, the permanent property of no particular individual, passing from hand to hand as events arose to change the motive for tilling them; the only property, therefore, in them being the right of reaping the produce that might be sown; and even this required generally to be defended by vigilance, and some-

times even by the sword.* There are about one hundred and fifty families at Gheryeh, mostly Christians, then Druses, and lastly Mohammedans.

Being now determined to pursue our way to Damascus without waiting for more favourable opportunities, or the protection of an increased number to our party, and to risk all the dangers of the route, we left Gheryeh about nine o'clock, and proceeded in a direction of N. N. W., over a rocky ground, diversified with occasional enclosures and large heaps of stones collected by the way side; and in half an hour after setting out we passed the large ruined town of Hebrān, which was seated on a hill about two miles to the eastward of our path. Here we crossed the stream of the Zeidy, already mentioned more than once, and observed at this place two or three smaller rivulets augmenting this brook by their waters. Half an hour further on from this we passed the ruined town of Ghussun, seated on a hill about a mile to the westward of our path, and like the town of Hebrān, to the east, deserted and in ruins.

From the great plain of the Haurān, on the west, to this its eastern border, the elevation is very slight, but gradually continued for a space of about five miles. The hills seen by us from hence on our right forming this eastern border, were now covered with snow; and beyond these again, was another great plain, on a higher level, to

* This is so striking a confirmation of one of the early stages of society alluded to by the learned and philosophic historian of British India, Mr. Mill, in his chapter on land tenures and taxes, that I shall take the liberty to transcribe the passages from his valuable work; which, however, I had not read until long after the fact noted above had been remarked by me, my journey being in 1816, and Mr. Mill's history being published in 1820. The passages are as follow: —

" At different times, very different rights and advantages are included under the idea of property. At very early periods of society it included very few: originally, nothing more, perhaps, than right during occupancy, the commodity being likely to be taken by another the moment it was relinquished by the hand that held it. * * * * * It is worthy of remark, that property in moveables was established, and that it conveyed most of the powers which are at any time assigned to it, while as yet property in land had no existence. So long as men continue to derive their subsistence from hunting,

the eastward, said to be in all respects equal to that of the Haurān in the fertility of its soil and the abundant remains of a numerous population. It is really humiliating to see so fine a country in the possession of so barbarous a government as that of the Turks, and abandoned as it were to sterility and desolation. On the mountains and plains of these districts of Belkah, Adjeloon, and Haurān, extending from the Dead Sea to the sources of the Jordan north, and from the banks of that river to the extreme limits of the cultivable land on the east, there would be room for a million of human beings to form a new colony; and so far from doing injury to their surrounding neighbours, they would enrich every country that was on their borders, and form a centre from which industry, arts, science, and morals might extend their influence, and irradiate regions now the prey of ignorance, rapine, and devastation. If the ruler of Turkey knew his interest well, he would imitate the conduct of Shah Abbas the Great, of Persia, who brought a colony of Armenians from Julfa, and planted them near Ispahan, where they enriched themselves, and did incalculable benefit to the Persians also, until they were persecuted by a succeeding government, who pursued a different policy. No part of the Turkish dominions could probably be selected with less risk of interfering with the property and rights of others, or with more certainty of success, than these districts which I have enumerated; where the colonists would find a fertile soil and springs of water capable of being led in any direction for irrigation; towns and houses built ready for their occupation; a delicious climate, and a wide extent of country on all sides, for the consumption of their cattle, grain, and even manufactures. These impressions were forcibly obtruded on my mind at different periods of our journey, but never more

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so long, indeed, as they continue to derive it from their flocks and herds, the land is enjoyed in common. Even when they begin to derive it partly from the ground, though the man who has cultivated a field is regarded as possessing in it a property till he has reaped his crop, he has no better title to it than another for the succeeding year." — Mill's *History of British India*, vol. i. b. ii. c. v. p. 257, second edition, 8vo.

strongly than here, upon the border of the Great Eastern and Western Plains; but however ardently I might indulge the desire to see a step so favourable to progressive improvement suggested, I had seen too much of Turkish apathy and ignorance to hope for the period in which such a dream of happiness would ever be realized, in my day, at least.

In an hour after quitting Ghussun we passed the town of Mejeamer, which was seated on a hill about half a mile to the left, containing, as I was informed, about fifty Mohammedan families, but neither Druses nor Christians; and in half an hour more, proceeding uniformly on the same course, we reached Aehrrah.

Here we halted, and falling into a party consisting of six Christians, one of whom was a Greek priest, we were soon joined by some others, and assembled to the number of fifteen in all, for the performance of prayers. Our place of worship was on a raised platform of mud, before the door of the house at which we alighted, and in the open air, which rendered it peculiarly impressive in my estimation, from its apparently primitive simplicity. This charm was soon dispelled, however, when the service commenced, by the total want of all devotional spirit, or even a manner that assumed or resembled it, in the officiating minister. Our little congregation all stood up, and the priest, as if desirous of shortening the duration of an attitude painful to all Asiatics, hurried through his task with inconceivable haste and indecorum. At the commencement of his recitations he was indeed slow and solemn, but this was only for a moment, as he soon accelerated his pace, and thus increasing in speed as he advanced, became at last so rapid as to be quite unintelligible, and to lead the inexperienced hearer to expect that he would fall down, breathless and exhausted, before he could possibly reach the end of his task. I could compare it to nothing at the moment but the manner in which young drummer boys are initiated into their art, when they practise their lessons after the same manner, beginning their beat slowly, and gradually quickening their succession, till they attain the rapidity which

forms the roll of their drum, and is considered the perfection of their labours. I remember also to have seen a Mohammedan Faqueer from India on his way to Mecca, being a fellow passenger with me in a voyage from Mocha to Jedda, who in nearly the same manner began to repeat his profession of faith, "La Illah ul Ullah, oua Mohammed ul Russool Ullah," first slowly and solemnly, then moderately quick, and so on, increasing in rapidity with every repetition, till he literally foamed at the mouth, and with his eyes staring as in a frenzy, fell exhausted to the ground. I had hardly expected to have met with anything similar to this, however, in a Christian priest; but fanaticism and superstition are nearly alike in all religions, and where the spirit is neglected for the letter, and the substance abandoned for the form, there is no security against the absurdities into which all are equally liable to degenerate. In the service in question all the individuals stood with their faces to the east, and while the priest read in the manner described, the audience at short intervals bent their knees, and having their fists closed, touched the ground with their knuckles only, while they prostrated their faces near to the earth without actually touching it. After each prostration they rose and crossed themselves; and this being frequently repeated, with exclamations of "Halleluia," and "Kelia Eleeson, ya Rub!" filled up the service; the genuflections and the responses not being uniformly made, but following in the most irregular manner. This ridiculous and unmeaning service, in which the hearts of the worshippers seemed to have no share whatever, lasted for at least an hour, during which period I had to stand still in one position, and was more tired by it, than I should have been by walking for a whole day: but because I could not join in the prostrations and repetitions of the others, from my entire ignorance of the ritual, I could gather from the countenances as well as the whispers of the rest, that I was regarded as a heretic, by persons who are certainly not at all more tolerant of religious differences, whether of opinion or practice, than their Mohammedan neighbours, though their faith enjoins charity as the greatest of virtues.

When prayers were ended we took coffee together: and in the conversation that passed I learnt that within the last month five hundred head of cattle had been seized and driven off from the surrounding pasturage of this town only, by the plundering parties of horse Arabs from the southward: a piece of intelligence that gave us but little satisfaction, when we knew that we were liable to meet those marauders at every step of our progress: but we had embarked on the journey, and I felt myself bound to proceed.

We accordingly left Aehrrah at noon, and pursuing our course to the northward, still over stony and rugged ground, we came in half an hour to a small stream called Cantara. About two miles to the eastward of this, on the hills, stands the ruined town of Sihawah, with five or six mills near it, now used for grinding corn, and all turned by this stream. In half an hour from thence we crossed the stream called Canat El Zeiny, and observed from the ford the town of Ilsass, about a mile to the eastward of our position; and two miles distant, in the same direction, the castle of Zeiny, both in the hills; to the westward were many other places the names of which I did not ascertain. In half an hour more we crossed the bed of a stream, which flows to the westward, now dry; in another half hour we passed through the small deserted village of Mejeadthil; in half an hour from thence we crossed a second dry bed of a small stream, and gradually ascending to a higher level during the next half hour, we entered the town of Soeda about three o'clock.

This place, which is the capital of the eastern Druses, and the residence of their Emir or Prince, is seated on very elevated ground, about two miles to the westward of the summit of that range of hills, which forms the eastern boundary of the plains of the Haurān. It thus commands the whole of the low country to the westward, though the ascent to it from thence is long and gradual. It is well supplied with water; for, besides the many streams in its neighbourhood, a fine spring gushes from the solid rock, and winding down between two stony hills in which are many grottos,

it goes westerly through the plains, and forms the stream of Wādi Zeidy, which we crossed more than once on our way. On the north-west of the town is also a lake about six hundred paces in circumference, and in the centre of the town is a circular reservoir for rain water, well lined with masonry, descended to by several flights of steps, and at least fifty feet in depth.

Soeeda contains about 200 families, of whom 30 are Christians, and all the rest Druses, there being no Mohammedans settled here. This town was apparently once as large as Bosra, being nearly three miles in circumference, judging from the extent of the ruins scattered about the foot of the hill on which it stands. It was surrounded with towns and villages in every direction, and the communication between it and Bosra was over a large public road, like that between this last named city and Salghud. It is now, however, in almost as ruined a state as either of the cities near which it stood; even those dwellings which are inhabited by the 200 families settled here, being in a most dilapidated state, and some of them half destroyed.

The few patches of the ground near the town that are sufficiently clear of stones to admit of cultivation, are ploughed and sowed with corn; and as the Druse peasantry have had industry enough to turn branches of the several streams near them through their fields, irrigating them by small canals, they have avoided the calamity occasioned by the general drought in the plain. It was here, indeed, for the first time since our leaving the district of Adjeloon, that we saw any continued verdure, which was a most agreeable relief, after the dry, parched, and brown surface of the Haurān below. The country, however, continues still bare of wood, as far to the eastward as this, there being only one tree to be seen, which stands in the centre of the town, and is the more remarkable from its standing thus alone. In consequence of this general absence of wood, the same peculiarities of building prevailed in the hills as in the plain. The houses are all of stone, with stone beams and doors, no wood whatever being used in them;

and only in such as have been recently repaired for the accommodation of some Druse family is there any wood to be seen, this being supplied, as I was informed, from very small trees felled in the hills above, and to the eastward.

In the lower part of the town, towards its southern end, is a large ruined building, about 100 paces long by 50 paces broad, fronting the west, and having a semicircular end towards the east. On each side of the nave of this building, which was no doubt at at one period a Christian Church, there are eight arched windows. The northern wall of this building is about 40 feet high, and still perfect, but the masonry is far inferior to that of the ancient works generally in these ruined towns. There is a broad doorway in the centre of this, and the sculptured device which runs round it as an ornament, represents a waving stem, with bunches of grapes and flowers. There were originally folding doors, most probably of stone, which closed this entrance, the sockets for their pivot-hinges still remaining. The interior of the building is covered with the ruined fragments of the edifice here accumulated in heaps. Among these are several columns, the shafts of which are three spans and a half in diameter, and the capitals of a fanciful kind, being of neither of the five Greek orders, though uniting the ornaments of the Corinthian and Ionic, without being equal in beauty to either. Opposite to the northern door is a similar one in the southern wall, the sculptured device of the vine-leaf and bunches of grapes being also used, and over the whole is the Christian emblem of the Cross in the centre.

About 300 yards to the eastward of this building, and on higher ground, are the remains of a curious edifice, apparently once encompassed by a square of twenty columns, five on each face. There are still ten of these columns standing, four on the north, supporting a perfect entablature, and forming the principal front; three on the west, the capital of one of them fallen; and three on the south, with the entablature of the angle remaining perfect. The pillars are three feet and a half in diameter, and of

a well-proportioned height; but contrary to the practice which prevailed at one period, of making the shafts appear to swell towards the centre and diminish near the extremities, these were absolutely of less diameter in the centre than at the ends of the shafts, which appeared to me as very bad taste. These capitals were totally unlike any others that I had before seen, and the deep entablature of the front reminded me of the massive architecture of the Egyptians, which this in many respects resembled.

The central building, enclosed by the square, had one large door of entrance with pillars to the north, and two smaller ones on each side of it. The pediments of the side entrances are sharply pointed, and the sculpture with which some parts of the building is ornamented, resembles that of the supposed church in the lower part of the town, with vine-leaves and clusters of grapes; which are seen also on two disjointed blocks of stone near the door, where they are executed in a bold relief, fully six inches raised from the surface, and very finely carved. The whole of the interior of this square building, is covered by fallen shafts and capitals of columns, with other blocks of stone richly sculptured; and I remarked that the capitals were not uniformly alike throughout the same building, but apparently varied in pairs, which is also a feature peculiar to Egyptian architecture. They stood, when erect, on low circular pedestals, and seemed like a poor and tasteless attempt to unite the Ionic and Corinthian in one. The whole appearance of this place resembled that of an Egyptian temple with its central sanctuary, the inner apartment not being more than twenty feet square. The stones were large, the sculpture profuse, and the strange mixture of orders and styles barbarous, but at the same time curious, and leaving great doubt as to whether it had been originally a Pagan or a Christian place of worship.

In some parts of the town I remarked heaps of broken pottery, of a coarse quality; in others, I saw spirally fluted columns, none however now standing; and in almost every part

were to be seen blocks of sculptured stone, with massy stone doors, some large and small, some single and others double or folding, now in use. Near the centre of the town, about 200 yards to the north-west of the columns of the square before mentioned, is a long stone now used as the architrave of a doorway, with a Greek inscription of five lines, very rudely cut, and not legible without the aid of a ladder.

Going out of the town to the northward, we passed over a small bridge supported on one Roman arch, and paved across: the stream winding by here, and in its progress being used to move a mill for grinding corn. Turning from this, suddenly to the westward, we came, after five minutes' walk over a green turf, to a beautiful and highly interesting monument, being apparently the tomb of some Roman warrior. It is a closed building, of a square form, about fifteen paces in length on each front, and nearly twenty-five feet high from the base to the terminating cornice. Its respective sides face N.N.E., S.S.W., E.S.E., and W.N.W., and on each of these are six Doric pilasters, or rather semi-columns projecting from the surface, being three spans and a half in diameter, and having five spans of interval between each. The frieze and cornice of this building are also purely Doric, and among the most chaste of any work I had yet seen in this part of the country. In the intervals between these semi-columns, and only a little above the centre of the building in height, the following insignia are well sculptured, in high relief: in the central interval is first a Roman helmet, with two oval shields beneath it, and next a coat of Roman armour suited to the body only, with a broad girdle round the waist, and other belts crossing over the front of the body diagonally. In another interval is an oval shield, with a broken spear on it, the point turned downwards, and in the two intervals towards the angle of the building are two globes, about the same diameter as the pillars. The same devices are repeated on each face of the building, and all are executed with great propriety and care. The southern and western fronts are partly destroyed, moa
at the top, the tomb having been evidently uncovered by the hands

of some persons violating it in the hope of their enterprise being rewarded by a valuable discovery. I went up over the fallen blocks on this side, and could perceive that the interior was one solid mass of masonry, the outer faces being neatly built, and the centre filled up with large rough stones, without any appearance of a hollow space remaining. On the north front some of the stones have been taken out, leaving a sort of blocked-up entrance where these stones were imperfectly replaced beneath the device of the helmet in the centre, which had been originally done, no doubt, in search of treasure. The east front was quite perfect, and on a stone in the centre of it, just below the device of the helmet, which is the same on all sides, is the following line in this character:

[illegible]

but whether read from left to right or right to left, there was no particular mark by which to discover. On the north front, and near the north-east angle, but on an original stone of the building is the following inscription, very distinctly cut.

ΟΔΑΙΝΑΤΟΣ
ΑΝΝΗΛΟΥΩΙΚΟ
ΔΟΜΗΣΕΝΤΗΝ
ΣΤΗΔΗΝΧΑΜΡΑΤΗ
ΤΗΙΑΥΤΟΥΤΥΝΑΙΚΙ

This inscription is in the fifth layer of stones from below, and the sixth from above; and goes nearly the whole length between the pilaster at the angle and that next to it, and stands in the third layer of stones under the sculptured globe, being just four spans long and two spans high, so that the characters are large and distinct. The stone immediately beneath it has been forcibly taken out, from a belief, probably, that this inscription marked the place of the body's being deposited, and with it its armour and treasure: for, though the Mohammedans are constantly disappointed in the search after these among the ruins of ancient buildings, their credulity on this head seems incurable; and they return

after every successive disappointment, only with renewed eagerness of hope. On the cornice of the eastern front, I thought at one moment that I could perceive the traces of Greek characters, of a larger size than those I had copied: but if any might be found there with the aid of great scrutiny and a particular light beaming on that part, they were not sufficiently distinct to be legible without those aids. This tomb is on the whole not unlike some of the sepulchres in the valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem, except that it is flat at the top, and is altogether in purer taste and more harmonious proportions.

I remarked from hence that the columns and entablature in the town before described, looked extremely like the colonnade of Luxor, among the ruins of Thebes, when viewed from the opposite banks of the Nile at Gournou, and also like the celebrated Portico at Hermopolis, though not to be compared to either of them in magnitude, but being in its general effect strikingly Egyptian.

I returned to the town but a little before sunset; and, desirous of taking another ramble round it before I retired for the night, I found occasion to indulge my wish without much interruption, though not with the same freedom as might be done in any other country; so extensively have the prejudices of Mohammedan bigotry and intolerance infused themselves into all classes of people living within their reach.

Nearly in the centre of the town, and on a lower level than the buildings generally, is a large edifice, with an arched piazza and pillars before it; and in the east front of this, over a flat doorway with an arched window above it, is the following inscription, which I copied with great difficulty.

ΕΤΟΥΕΕ .. ΡΓΟΤΚΥΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹ .....
I✱IPΔX .... VΠΑΤΕΥΟΝΥΟϹ .. ΟΥΜΟΥ
ΕΑΤΟΡΝΗΝΟΥΗΙΟΛΙΕΤΟΚΤΙΕΜΑΓΥΜΕΡΕΑϹΤΗΡΙΟΠΚΑΙΠΑ
ΝΤΙΚΟϹΜωΚΟ .. Ρ ... Γ
ΕΠΙΕΚΟΠΟΥΝΤωΝΚΟΥΛΕΥΤωΝΦΥΛΗΓΑΙΤΑΙΗΝωΝ

ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΚΥΡΙΛΥΚΤΙϹΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥϹΟΥ ..

On the inside is an open building without a roof, distinguished from most of the others in the town by arcades running across it, the pillars of which have capitals of different orders, and the masonry is in general so bad as to induce a belief that it is mostly a modern Mohammedan work, constructed out of the remains of some earlier Christian edifices. It is called El Jāma, or the Mosque, and at the southern end of the wall is an arched recess for prayer, pointing towards the Caaba at Mecca, with a flight of steps ascending to the kind of pulpit used by the Turks and Arabs for the delivery of their sermons by their Imams and Mollahs, though the original foundation of the building was most probably Christian.

On a broken stone, within this open space, was still legible the fragment of an inscription, the characters of which were longer and more slender than usual, and rudely cut, though still perfectly legible, as follows,

ΤΠΡΝΕΙΝ▯ΥΥΠΛΝΚοΥ

Near the west front of the great church in another part of the town, I remarked some Ionic capitals; and to the south of this, another large building with Doric columns. To the west of the town is a ruin called El-Kassr-el-Nejjemy, or the Astronomer's Tower; and 200 yards to the east of it is a large building, the western door of which is richly sculptured, with the vine-leaf and clusters of grapes so often repeated in this place, as if the worship of Bacchus had once prevailed here, among the diversity of religions to which the place had evidently borne witness.

There is a Roman theatre also at Soeda, but it is in a very ruined state. It is near the great church before described; and, like all the others yet seen in this country, had its opening towards the north, so as to enjoy the cool breezes from that quarter, and avoid exposure to the heat of the southern sun. It is the least perfect and interesting of any that I had hitherto met with; and

appears to have been originally got up with less attention to ornament than usual, though it was exactly of the same form as the others, and possessed all the requisite divisions for the accommodation of an audience and performers.

The town of Soeda must have been planned with an attention to regularity not always seen in places of the same size; as it was, from its original construction, apparently, intersected with streets passing at right angles through each other, most of which are narrow, as is the custom still throughout the east, and were paved with black stones, so firmly imbedded in the soil that most of them still remain.

In the evening-conversation which followed our supper, I learnt that the name of the Druse Prince residing here was Hussein Amadān; and I heard mention made of a place a little to the north of Salghud, called Belled Sheal, in which it was asserted that there were subterraneous works that we had not seen: but whether the authority for this information was unexceptionable I had no means of deciding with accuracy.

Saturday, March 17.—We left Soeda at nine o'clock, being detained to breakfast before we set out, and ascended the stony tract of country before us, our course being generally in a N.E. direction. In our way we overtook some Druse families going up to Gunnawāt, a place in the hills, with their furniture and children to settle, in conformity with the general custom of the people of those parts to change their place of abode on the slightest cause, rather than remain to defend their property from spoliation.

In an hour and a half after setting out, having had all the way stony ground, with thorny shrubs and bushes, we passed a round tower, called Cassr Assouan, leaving it on our left. In the plain below, and about five miles to the N.W. of this, was a large ruined town called Atheel, thinly peopled, having only ten or twelve Druse families residing there.

In half an hour after this, our course being still about N.E. and still ascending to a higher level, we came in sight of Gunnawāt; the first aspect of which presented only a few tall columns rising up from among the bushes by which they were surrounded. We passed here a small rude building, leaving it on the left, with a spring called Ain-el-Lutka; and on our right we saw a square tower of smooth and good masonry. Soon after this we came to another spring, called Ain-el-Hhor, with cisterns and masonry, now a shapeless mass of ruins, leaving only a few traces, at least, of its former design. These are just sufficient to enable the observer to perceive that the columns here belonged to a square building 25 paces in length and breadth. This was surrounded by a colonnade, of eight Corinthian pillars on each face, and its principal front was to the east. The shafts of the pillars were four spans in diameter, and they stood on lofty square pedestals, with circular ones about two feet high, above these again, the latter being richly sculptured. The shafts were plain, and each composed of several pieces; and the pillars were placed so close to each other that they have not even an interval equal to their own dimensions between each, the pedestals being six spans square, and the intervals between each being only five spans. Three paces within the east front, was another range of four similar pillars, differing only from the outer range, in having their pedestals octagonal instead of square. Within this was a square platform, on arches of rustic masonry, with an open square aperture in the centre for descending into this vaulted space. On the west, two pillars still remained erect, and two pedestals in their places; on the south were two pillars only; on the north, all the columns had fallen down; and on the east, two of the front pillars, and an inner one with the octagonal pedestal remained. On the pedestal of the pillar at the south-west angle, and on its eastern side was a sculptured tablet of the common form used for inscriptions; but the inscription for which it was evidently intended had never been engraved. Around the upper part of the pedestals of the western

front, and on their eastern side, were to be seen traces of inscriptions, but they were too much broken and mutilated to be copied; on the southern one the following letters were seen :—

ΘΟΥΑΜ.... AѠ:

on the second, in two lines,

ꓶ ΙΦΙΛΟ
ѠΡΑΒ:

and on the third, the following lines : —

ΔΟ.... ΧЄΤΤЄϹΟΥΑ....
ΙΔΙѠ..... ΝЄΧϹЄΘ.. ΤΧΔ....

On the pillar at the S.E. angle, and at the foot of the pedestal on the eastern front, are the following lines : —

.... ЄΒΑΝΗϹϹΙΘΡΟΥΤΟ.... ΙΑΙ....... ΙΟΥ....
.. ѠΝΙΔΙѠΝЄΥϹЄΒѠΝΑΝЄΘΗΚЄΝ......

All these are deeply cut, but those on the western pillars are the best formed characters.

This remarkable building, of which there are only these indistinct remains, stood on a very elevated position, and commanded a view of all the Haurān; behind it, to the east, it has a gentle rising ground; but the west affords the most extensive view; and, from the west front I took the following bearings : —

Ateel, a large ruined town . .	W.N.W. . .	2 miles.
El Migdel	N.W. . . .	6 miles.
El Mezzarāh	N.W. by W. .	7 miles.
Jebel-el-Telj	N.N.W. ¼ W. .	
Abu Terneis	N.E. by E. . .	3 miles.
Tal Mighaley	N.E. by. E. . .	1 mile.
Deer-el-Juze	E.N.E. . . .	3 miles.
Town of Gunnawāt	E.N.E. to E.S.E.	¼ mile.

There were steps ascending to the eastern front of this building, and a considerable quantity of broken pottery scattered about it, as if it had once been a place where sacrifices or ablutions had been much performed and the vessels subsequently broken up.

On entering the town of Gunnawāt, we remarked that the streets had been all originally paved with black stone; and I learnt that there were only five or six Druse families now residing in it, and even these but recently settled here.

As we did not propose halting for the day at Gunnawāt, but intended to proceed, after refreshing here, I took the opportunity of our short stay to glean a few particulars respecting the place. The first inscription that I observed was over the north door of a large building called the church; it was mutilated in several parts, but the following lines and fragments of lines were still legible enough to be traced: —

. . . . ICICOTШMCAYΓCKNTPAIANOY
ΛΔΝΑΝ . . . YKNCCЄΓTOYKNIOYΔIA
POYAOPOXΛШMЄOYCAMC . . OTΛYTOY
. . . OΔOΛIO . . . . C . . . CHC
. . . . NIOC . . . . OYNIOY . . . NI . . .KOY

On the inside is seen a building, fifty paces long by twenty-five paces broad; with six pillars on each, the capitals of which are quite plain, and the arches of the nave are remarkable for their flatness, like the Norman and Saxon arches in some of our old English castles. On each side of this building is a piazza, with a gallery above it, and at the east end is the recess usually seen in Christian places of worship. The columns at the west front are of the Doric order; and the arches of the Roman semicircular shape and well formed. The sculptured ornaments of the vine-leaf and clusters of grapes are seen here also: and the entrance was closed by stone doors. The emblem of the cross is visible in every part of the building, the whole appearance of which proves it to have been a Greek church.

From this edifice we went up to the eastward, and came to the high bank of a fine stream, running in a deep bed through two rocky hills. From this we again ascended, but in a southern direction, leaving the stream on our left, and saw many vestiges of Roman building, with water-works, stone doors, and fallen columns. On the hill we observed a large Corinthian edifice, called Deer Aioobe: it faces east and west, and at the western front are sculptured doorways, the vine-leaf and grape being in high relief, and the cross placed in the centre of the device, though this might perhaps have been subsequently added; the masonry is particularly good; but I observed here a peculiarity that I had never before remarked, some of the blocks used in the building being sculptured with a pattern of diagonal cross lines.

To the southward of this, is another fine Corinthian temple, like the peripteral temple of Jupiter at Geraza in its general design. It fronts the north, is seventy paces long by thirty-five paces broad, and had a fine portico in front. The walls of this building, both on the inside and the outside were quite plain; the western wall is still standing in perfect order, being from thirty to forty feet high, and about six feet in thickness. The pillars of this edifice were four spans in diameter, and the style is more chaste than that of the buildings generally seen in this part of the country. It is surrounded by other Roman buildings on both sides, but among all these I saw no inscription, though it must be admitted that the very hasty glance which I was forced to take of the whole rendered it probable that many might have existed, although they did not meet my observation. The buildings here spoken of stood on so elevated a position as to command the whole extent of the Haurān in one view to the westward; and from the mixture of wood and water, with the fine mountain air which it enjoyed in great purity, must have formed a delightful place of residence.

Descending from hence northerly, we found on the east of the church an extensive building, with colonnades, arches, doors,

passages, and galleries, so numerous that it would take a whole day at least to give an outline plan of them. One of the doors that fronted the north was richly sculptured in the most beautiful style, with devices of leaves, wreaths, flowers, bound around the stem by ribbands, and cut in a full relief of at least six inches above the surface. On each side of this doorway were sculptured blocks projecting about two feet from the wall; and in the centre of the architrave above the door was sculptured a small Grecian helmet. The space of entrance was nearly square, being about ten feet high and ten feet wide, as far as the eye could estimate these dimensions: and it was once closed with stone doors: the whole effect was rich in the extreme. The access to this building was through an open court, with a double colonnade, and in front of this a Corinthian portico, on two pillars of which, to the right on entering, were two brackets for the reception of small statues, as seen projecting from the columns in many of the avenues at Palmyra.

On the east of the stream which descends here from the mountains in small cataracts, and is now broad and rapid from the melting of the snows, is a small building like a Roman temple; and a few paces to the north of this is a little theatre, facing to the west, and having the stream which winds here to the northward, running along in front of the spectators as they sat, as is the case also with the large theatre at Ammān. The water after passing by this edifice turns to the west, and goes down to Nedjeraun in the plain. The rock rises steeply behind this theatre of Gunnawāt, which appears to have rested on it for support, another striking feature of resemblance with the theatre to which it has been already compared, and from which probably it may have been copied. This theatre is smaller than either of those at Geraza, but its situation is much more pleasing, as the valley below it must have been always cool and shady, and the noise of the water running by it peculiarly soothing and agreeable.

Although the principal edifices at Gunnawāt are much destroyed, and the whole of them in a state of ruin, it is remarkable that there are no appearances of Mohammedan works erected over these, or out of their fragments, as is the case in almost all the other cities and towns in this eastern region. The presence of the theatre indicates with certainty that this was once a settlement of the Romans, when the whole of this country was annexed to the empire as one of its colonies: and many of the principal edifices were certainly Roman temples for the worship of their particular deities. In the course of events, these came to be converted into Christian places of worship by the Greeks of the Lower Empire, who probably engrafted the emblem of the cross on what were originally Pagan edifices, and also affixed many of their inscriptions on such buildings at the period of their being dedicated to the service of their new faith. But no Arabic or Saracen works were seen amidst all the numerous and varied assemblage of ruins here: so that it is probable, at least, that it might have escaped them in the fury of their conquests. I know of no place that would furnish a richer harvest to a traveller possessed of leisure and the means of research than this; and I had again to feel deep and poignant regret at the circumstances which made it impossible for me to prosecute my enquiries with that minuteness which I had ardour enough to desire, and should have had perseverance enough to accomplish, had but time and fortune, with a freedom from other engagements, justified the pursuit.

By the time that I had made this hurried visit to the places described, the refreshments preparing for us at the house of the principal Druse resident were ready, and we returned to partake of them with increased zest. As we sat on the terrace of the Druse's house to partake of our morning meal, and were at once admiring and enjoying the extensive view of the Haurān which we commanded from hence, extending from this eastern range of hills to the mountains west of the Jordan, our Druse entertainer observed, that there was another Haurān behind us to the eastward,

(by which he meant a plain in all other respects similar to this,) which he afterwards added was even more extensive and more fertile than the western one. He assured us also that it was full of ruined cities and towns, larger and better built than Gunnawāt, with churches, palaces, theatres, and other edifices. There were at present no permanent residents in any of these towns, though they are all occasionally occupied by parties of the Desert Arabs, who find pasture for their camels and flocks in their neighbourhood. For this reason it would be difficult for any traveller to range over the eastern plain without a strong escort; but for one who had the liberty and the means, there could be no more promising field to reward his enterprise. The names of these ruined towns are known only to the Arabs of the Desert, though several of our party in their occasional intercourse with the eastern tribes, had seen and passed through many of them; but as these were unpeopled, and they had no particular motive for enquiring their names, they took no pains to learn them.

The few Druses that we saw here were handsome, well-dressed, clean, and polite in their manners. We ate our food out of earthenware vessels, and drank out of brass bowls lined with tin; and the Druses and myself made an excellent repast, though my guides, being rigid Christians of the Greek faith, still kept their fast by abstaining from all kinds of animal food, even eggs, butter, and milk, and confining themselves to bread, vegetables, and oil. This gave occasion for another discussion respecting fasting, which the Druses approved as to the matter, but disapproved as to the manner, saying that satisfying the appetite at any hour of the day, whatever the description of food might be, was not fasting at all; and that the only true fasting was a total abstinence from all kinds of food for some specific period, such as the Ramadān of the Mohammedans, from sunrise to sunset. I was surprised to learn during this debate, that though the Druses dislike the Mohammedans generally, and entertain no tenet in common with their faith, yet that many of them have been so infected with

their customs, as to keep the fast of Ramadān with as much rigour as the most orthodox follower of the Arabian prophet; in the same manner that the Mussulmans of India, though they profess to hate and despise the Hindoos, have nevertheless adopted so many of their superstitions and ceremonies, as to be regarded by their western brethren as little better than infidels and idolaters.

The passion of all classes of people in these countries for arms, has frequently been remarked; and, as usual, we had a long dispute about the relative value of different weapons from different countries, in which the sabres of Ispahaun and Damascus were unanimously preferred, and the muskets and pistols of England praised above all others. I did not much wonder at this opinion, as it is justly and universally prevalent in the East; but I was both surprised and pleased to see one of the Druses produce, at this remote and unfrequented spot, an excellent fowling-piece, with the name of "Webb, London" on the lock, as evincing the manner in which our manufactures are sure, sooner or later, to spread themselves everywhere.



CHAP. XIII.

FROM GUNNAWĀT TO EZRA ON THE PLAIN.

We quitted the interesting ruins of Gunnawāt at noon: and descending to the westward through a stony country covered with thorny shrubs and bushes, we came in an hour to the large ruined town of Ateel.

At the south end of this is a small but beautiful Corinthian temple, facing the north, the sculptured ornaments of which are richly designed, and executed in a bold relief; concave niches were remarked in several parts of it, and square pedestals, projecting from the front columns half way up their height, as if for supporting small statues.

At the south end are the remains also of a small temple, and from the south front of this, near the eastern corner, I copied the following inscription, deeply cut.

. . . . I . . . . ᑌNIONNAONEYNΠAN
IIKOEMWEYLEBWN
ΕΣΙΔΙWNWKOΔOMHLEN

From a stone near this, and beneath a fragment of sculpture, apparently belonging to a statue, the following was taken.

ΘAIMOΠAV
OVTWNOE
WNAYPΔNEK
TONEAEWIN
ΠOBLEN

And from two other fragments of shapeless stone, each of them broken in pieces, the following portions were obtained.

KΠEPLWIHI
KYPIOY . . . . HN
TOKPATOPO

ALT◇Y
IWN
LKAIΓAPOL

The small temple from which these fragments were separated, and near to which they were found, was in the most chaste style of the Corinthian order, and must have been built before the decline of architecture in this country. The arch and pediment were in the best proportions ; and the building was adorned with fan-topped or shell niches, and beautifully rich sculpture, of the same style, but better executed than that at Gunnawāt.

In the centre of the town was seen a square tower, sloping upward from the base, and growing narrower gradually as it approached the summit, with curiously sculptured mouldings, giving it an Egyptian or Indian appearance. There was a large reservoir for water, and many houses now unoccupied, there being only a few Druse families residing amid these ruins. One of these had taken up its abode in the first little Corinthian temple, which rendered it

difficult for us to enter it. I regretted this the more, as its external appearance led me to believe that it would be found, on examination, to be the most beautiful of the two.

From Atheel we descended over stony ground; in an hour after which we crossed the stream that flows down from Gunnawāt in the hills; and in two hours more we reached Mijdel, on entering which I took the following bearings of a few surrounding places.

Soeda	S. by W.	7 miles.
Gunnawāt	S. E	7 miles.
Reemy	N. E. by N.	3 miles.
Cufr Illah	N. E. by N.	
Nedjeraun	N. W. by N.	8 miles.

The town of Mijdel contains many buildings, all in the old style of those before observed in the Haurān, being originally constructed entirely of black stone, but having the probably subsequent addition of Roman wreaths sculptured over the doorways and stone doors. There were two square towers in this town, with Roman arches, and a series of mouldings projecting like plain cornices at stated and equal distances, between the base and the summit of the building on each of its sides. We learnt that there were 50 Druse families residing here, who lived principally by their flocks and herds. As we made no stay in this place, I could obtain only the two following inscriptions, which I copied without delaying my guides, who were never prepared to pass through any place without spending half an hour, at least, in enquiries and conversation with its inhabitants, in which I sometimes joined, and at others took that opportunity of looking around for interesting objects.

The following inscription was copied from a small square building at Mijdel, on the left hand side of the arch of entrance, the letters long and thin, but deeply cut.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΗΝΕΣΑΤΗΛΕΧΟΣΑΝΕΡΟΤΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ
ΟΣΠΟΤΕΝΙΣΤΡΑΤΙΗΚΛΕΟΣΗΛΕΙΟΤΑΕΔΕΚΑΤΕΡΑΕ
ΜΑΖΙΝΟΣΕΥΔΑΙΗШΝΚΑΙΤΑΦΑΝΟΓΔΥΟΠΑΙΛΕΙ
ΕΚΤΙΣΑΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΙΣΚΑΙΑΠΑΤΗΝΑΣΠΙΠΑΛΣΑΙΣ
ΙΣΤΑΣΑΝΟΦΡΑΠΕΛΟΙΝΤΟΦΙΛΟΙΠΑΡΑΠΡΤΡΙΕΑ

On the right of the same arch of entrance, was the fragment of another inscription. The first was cut by a deep incision into the stone, but the last, on the contrary, had its letters in high relief, above the surface of the stone. The following only were legible.

ΠΑΡΑΓΕΚΑΙ
+ΦΘΟΝΕ

We left Mijdel about three o'clock, and going still in a north-west direction we passed, in an hour, a small town called Mibn-el-Beit, which we learnt was uninhabited, and which we left on our right. In another hour we passed a second town called Oom-el-Allak, which was also deserted, and which we left like the former on the right hand of our path. In half an hour more we came to the stream that descends from the mountains near Gunnawāt; and after crossing this, and proceeding onward, we arrived about sunset at the town of Nedjeraun.

Our road from the foot of the hills at Atheel to this place, had been over an elevated plain, from which the Haurān seemed deep below us. It was thickly interspersed with beds and veins of rock, with stones gathered up in heaps, as if in some general attempt to clear more of the soil for cultivation, and many walls or enclosures of loose stones, apparently marking the boundaries of ancient fields, now no longer in a state of culture. The soil of of this tract, where not intercepted by rock in the way described, is a dark brown loam; and where it was not recently turned up by the plough for the reception of seed, it was covered with a fine green turf, and a profusion of the scarlet flowers so abundantly

seen on the southern plains of Belkah and in the mountains of Adjeloon. From the abundance of water obtainable here, and the industrious habits of the Druses, the greater part of the good soil had been brought into cultivation, and we had the gratification to see young corn sprung up here already a foot in height, and of a beautifully fresh green colour, while the whole of the Haurān below us was a dull brown, and from the prevalence of the late drought and want of rain, was, at the present moment, a parched desert.

Our entrance into Nedjeraun was over beds of rock of a singular kind, having the appearance of volcanic lava, suddenly cooled while in the act of boiling in a liquid heat; there being globular masses in some parts like the bubbles on boiling pitch, and in others a kind of spiral furrows like the impressions often seen in a semi-liquid when put into violent motion ; and, on striking it with any hard substance, it gave forth a ringing sound, like metal. Out of this hard material, there have been, however, several tanks or reservoirs for water excavated, and the stores from rain preserved in these, with the aid of the several streamlets running by the town from the hills, enable the Christian and Druse inhabitants of this place, to continue their cultivation even in the most unfavourable seasons.

We were kindly received by a Christian family, these being more numerous than the Druses, though it is always considered a Druse town ; and a number of each sect being collected together at our evening repast, we had a great deal of conversation, sometimes grave, and at others witty ; sometimes on useful, and at others on trifling subjects ; from which I endeavoured to glean as much as appeared to me worth recording, and particularly the topographical notices which follow.

The principal stream that passes by the town of Nedjeraun, descends from the eastern mountains near Gunnawāt, with a bend to the northward ; it then turns southerly, and runs in a south-west direction where we first crossed it. It then makes a wide circuit, and comes again to the northward, running in that direction, where we next crossed it close to Nedjeraun. Its course is

thus from Gunnawāt, (or Konawāt, as it was pronounced here,) to Isseleem, Cufr Illah, Mibn-el-Beit, Deer-el-Ism, Nedjeraun, Tārah, Busr, Ezra, Etheneiby, and Addely, and from thence to the south-west, till it discharges itself at the hot springs, near the foot of Oom Kais. It has been already seen that the lake at Mezereebe was assigned as the source of a stream which goes from that place to the hot springs in question, and from thence into the Jordan, at the southern extremity of the lake of Tiberias. But if this, which extends through a much longer course, be correctly described as terminating there also, it would follow that there are two branches meeting there, of which this, as the longest, may perhaps be considered to be the ancient Hieromax. Its source is at Issyer, a ruined town, two hours to the eastward of Gunnawāt, on the elevated plain above it, in which plain are said to be many other springs, particularly one at Mishāly, called Shellāl-el-Mishāly, Shellāl being the term used in Egypt and Nubia to signify a cataract or fall of water; but whether implying the same local feature here, no one could assert.

The stream of Wādi Soeda is said to come first from Jewelleen, which is the name of the place at its source where it first springs up, three hours to the east of Soeda on the hills above. From thence it comes first to Gooramāta, half an hour west of its source, and then passes through Merj Daood, Ain-el-Merj, Oom Thad, Ain Oom Thad, Soeda, (from whence it derives its name, that being the principal place through which it passes, though not its source,) Hadeed, Lithulheh, Ithāly, Gherb Ithāly, El-Karak, El-Ghereeah Sherkeeah (or the eastern), El-Ghereeah Gherbeeah (or the western), Meheserat, Tal Errār, and Mezereebe; and from thence to the Shereeat Mandour, or Hieromax, near Oom Kais.

The stream of Gunnawāt divides itself into two branches, to the north-west of Atheel, at a place called Ain Thellem, from whence the second branch (the course of the first being already described,) goes to Reemy, Walgah, Themmah, Teery, Meleheh

Sherkeeah, Meleheh Gherbeeah, Hharaak, Hharyeek, Deer-el-Thult, Thowarrah, Aehlmeh, Kiteiby, Elmely, Dahhil, Tuffus, and from thence north of Mezereebe to the westward, where it also joins the Shereeat-el-Mandour, by making a bend to the southward.

In the course of the evening, I learnt also that the population of Nedjeraun included about 50 Druse families and 150 Christians, the latter of whom have a church and two priests. The Druses have a great veneration for this town, and for a certain place of the same name in Yemen, the southern district of Yemen, which they believe to be peopled by Jews, but which has been recently discovered to be in ruins. When I communicated this fact, as I had had a previous opportunity of doing, the principal Druse of the company exclaimed, " Alas! There are but two Nedjerauns in the whole world, and these are both in decline."

We had, as usual, in our evening parties, some warm theological discussions, in which one of my guides, the Māllim Georgis and the priests took the chief part; and one of the topics debated was, whether the flames, in which Shadrach, Meshek, and Abednego were seen to walk unhurt, were red like earthly fire, or blue like the flames of hell. The Māllim was always grave and serious; but Abu Fārah, as if from envy at the respect paid to his companion by those who listened to his dogmatic decisions, took occasion to interrupt him perpetually by some witty remark, which was sure to set the circle of hearers in a roar. And this evening more particularly, Georgis was shocked to such a degree by his profane incredulity, that he stopped short in the midst of a declamatory harangue, and was so mortified by the interruption, that he remained silent during the whole of the evening afterwards.

The elders of the Druse sect and the priests of the Christian community mix here with their respective laymen and with each other on terms of great equality; indeed it surprised me to see the little respect paid to their opinions, and the freedom with which they were occasionally bantered by their own communicants. All parties, however, seemed to entertain a belief, that Syria and Pa-

lestine would ere long be conquered by the Franks, an event which they made no scruple to say they would cordially unite to promote; for though the Druses imitate the Mohammedans in many particulars as regards their manner of living, yet they dislike them as thoroughly as the Christians do, and live with the latter on a footing of friendly equality and good understanding.

Sunday, March 18. — There was a Mohammedan journeyer who had taken up his quarters here, and slept in the same room with us, around the common fire, in the centre of the apartment; so that at daylight, when all our party began to stir, there were Christian and Mohammedan prayers heard at the same moment, and both proceeded without any interruption. It being the Greek Lent, and some particular service being to be performed in the Greek church here to-day, my guides declined proceeding on their journey until to-morrow, as they wished to attend the worship in common with all those of their own religion. Desirous as I was of reaching Damascus soon, I urged all I could say against this detention, but without avail, as my companions persisted in their determination; and my reward was, to be considered as little better than an infidel by all who knew the cause and subject of our dispute. I attended the morning service with them, however, at an early hour, the ceremonies being exactly similar to those described in the Greek church at Assalt; but finding, on our return, that I should be likely to pass a tedious and uncomfortable day, from the impossibility of being alone, even for an hour, I proposed making an excursion on foot to the ruins of Shuhubah, in the neighbourhood of this town; and leaving my two Christian guides with their friends, I procured a Druse of the village to accompany me in my visit as proposed.

We left Nedjeraun immediately after breakfast, or about eight o'clock; and going E. S. E. over the plain, in which we crossed the stream forded by us on the preceding day, we came in an hour and a half to the town of Reemy. In this place were many

ruined buildings ; among which I noticed a square tower, built of large stones, with a small square apartment within it, as if it had been intended for a place of honourable sepulchre; and on the south front of this was seen the following inscription.

ΚЄλЄСΤЄΙΝΟСΠΙΝΥ . . ΟШЄЄΑΙΜΑΙΒΙШΔЄΝΙΧШΡΜ
ΑΥΤШΚΛΠΑΚЄЄССΙΦΓΛΗΤΠΛΛΟΧШЄΠΟΙΗСЄΝ
ΝΗΟΝΠΛΟΥΠΙΙΙΝЄΠЄΝΗΦЄΡСЄΦΟΝΘΙΗ
ЄСΘΛΗСЄΚСΤΡΑΤΙΗСΝΥΝΔΟΥΔЄΝΥСЄΝΟΤΑΦΟ
ΟΥΤШΚΝΜЄΙΝЄΜΠΠΟΛΟΥΝΧΡΟΝΟΝΙΔΛΡΑΚЄ.ΔΙ
ΔЄΣΑΙΜΗΝΤΗΡΑСΚΟΝΓΑСЄΥΔΔΙΜΟΝΑСΤЄΚΝШСΑΝΤΙΑС

The characters were rudely formed, but deeply cut, and the lines irregular in length, the third line being shortest, and the fourth and sixth lines extending beyond the frame or pannel, in which the whole inscription was originally intended to be included. There were ruins of a Christian church near to this, but we did not stay to examine them closely, nor did we learn any other particulars respecting this town.

Proceeding eastward from hence, we came, after an hour's walking, opposite to the town of Deer-el-Lebben, which was on our right, and the town of Burreatchy, which was on our left, both in ruins, and both now without inhabitants. In half an hour more we came to the foot of the hills, and noticed there a ruin resembling the remains of an old fort, with a spring of water near, and called Oothubba. We ascended the hill, which was in many parts stony, but in others covered with a fine green turf and scarlet flowers; and in half an hour from its foot we came opposite to Murdook, a large ruined town, which lay in heaps on a hill to the right of our path. From hence we continued to ascend to a still higher level, and in a north-east direction, over a bare surface, with beds and masses of rocks, artificial heaps, and small enclosures of loose stones, and entered about noon upon the ruins of Shuhubah, which formed the object of our excursion.

On approaching these ruins from the south-west, we passed a small building of good masonry, which stood on our right ; and noticed many hewn and sculptured blocks of stone, evidently the fragments of former edifices now scattered along the road. We could perceive too on looking more attentively at the mass of high and rugged rock to the left of our path, that an artificial wall of stone had been built along its summit. We entered the town at its south-east quarter, through a plain arched gate-way, of very inferior masonry; and over this, on its southern front, was a tablet of the ordinary kind, evidently intended for the reception of an inscription, which, however, had never been cut, as no traces whatever could be seen of any characters imprinted there.

On passing this gateway we could perceive that the city had been walled, and was nearly square in form, the southern wall running easterly from hence for a quarter of a mile, when it turned sharply at a right angle to the north, and formed the eastern one. From the small gateway by which we entered, at one of the angles of the square, over the rugged mass of rock bounding the city in that quarter, and going northerly with several windings, ran the western wall: the northern one I did not see. The principal entrance to the city appeared to be from the southward ; as in the centre of the southern wall was seen a large gate, with three arches, the central one broken. The principal edifices were at the west end of the town and the private dwellings at the east, with a large bath nearly in the centre, resembling in all these particulars the divisions marked in the ruins of Geraza. As at that city the theatre was one of the first objects to which we came ; so, here also, the first edifice that presented itself, after our entrance at the small angular gate, was a theatre. We did not stay to examine anything minutely, before we had taken shelter somewhere ; but, proceeding through the ruins, we halted at the house of the only brother of the Druse who accompanied me as my guide.

After mutual salutations, by kissing the cheeks and shoulders, and butting the foreheads against each other like young goats, we

partook of some sour milk and oil, offered as a great delicacy; and after a pipe and a cup of coffee, we left the house to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of the town.

The town of Shuhubah occupied a square of about a mile, and was walled on each side: on the west it was bounded by a ridge of rock; on the east by a valley with a stream running through it; on the south by a rising ground; and on the north by a continuation of the Great Plain of the Haurān, which, with the range of hills beyond it, is distinctly seen from hence. The following are a set of bearings and estimated distances taken from the terrace of the house in which we had refreshed: —

Ammra, Mohammedan town . .	N.N.E. ½ E. . .	3 miles.
Ayalt, uninhabited	N.N.E. ¾ E. . .	6 miles.
Hilheet, Christian town	N.E. ½ N.	6 miles.
Seleea, uninhabited	E.N.E.	3 miles.
Shukkah, Druse town	E. by N. ¼ N. .	6 miles.
Tuffah, uninhabited	S.E.	4 miles.
Mejern, ditto	S.E. by S. . . .	3 miles.
Abu Temeis, a snowy peaked mountain	S.E. by S. . . .	3 miles.

While taking these bearings by compass, the Druse who gave me the names of the objects, said that there was a place called El Kuff, a day's journey to the S.E., containing more ruins, and those of a larger kind than at this place, but he could furnish me with no specific details of it that could be relied on for their general fidelity or accuracy.

The flat stone pavement of this town still continues perfect, though the edifices forming the streets are mostly ruined. Among those that are least demolished, is a large bath, and an aqueduct, with a Corinthian temple, of which five columns, each three and a half feet diameter in their shafts, are still standing, without pedestals; the stone is throughout the black basaltic stone so common in the Haurān, which is used in the larger and smaller buildings indiscriminately, as well as in the massy stone doors, of

which there are several here still hung in their original positions. The private dwellings, like those at Geraza, were mean and inconvenient, notwithstanding the expensive structures which towered over them; and, indeed, this proof of the inequality of wealth and condition among the people is met with at every step.

The first inscription that I saw was over an arched doorway, of which I took the following copy: —

ΥΠΕΡ⊏ωΤΗΡΙΑCΚΑΙΝΙΚΗCΤωΝΚΥΡΙωΝΑΥ
ΠΚΡΑΓΙΟΡωΝΜΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΥΑΝΤωΝΕΙΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙΛΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ . . . . . . ΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ⊏ΕΒΑ⊏
ωΝΕΠΙΜΑΡΤΙΟΥΟΥΗΡΟΥΠΡΕΕΒ⊏ΕΒΑΝΤΙ⊏Τ . .
ΕΦΕ⊏Τ ωΤΟ⊏ΗΕΤΟΥ⊏ΙΟΥΕΥΛΗΜΟΥoΛΙΓΙSΦΥ . .
ЄΠΙΑΙΛΑΜΟΥΔΑΒΑΝΟΥCΤΡΑΤΗΡΟΥ.

Near the centre of the town is a reservoir for the reception of rain water, about a hundred paces round and thirty feet deep, lined with masonry on the inside: and near to this is a Roman theatre. The first peculiarity which I remarked in this, was that it faced to the southward, in which respect it differed from all the other theatres I had yet seen in this country, as they have their fronts opening invariably, with this one exception, to the north. The cause of this difference may be easily traced in the difference of climate at the respective cities which these theatres once adorned. In all those to the southward of our present position, the heat was much greater; and there it was desirable to avoid the rays of the sun, for which reason the spectators sat on benches facing to the north. Here, however, from the greater elevation, the rays of the sun would be rather agreeable than otherwise, and would be courted instead of avoided; so that it was judicious to turn its front to the south, where they might enjoy a comfortable temperature, while the sun shone on them, its beams being tempered by the presence of snow on the summit of Abu Temeis, whose whitened peak stands right before the theatre at a distance of four or five miles only.

The theatre at Shuhubah had only two compartments of benches for the audience: in the upper one were six separate ranges of seats going all around the semicircle of the building, and in the lower one about nine similar ranges as far as they could be traced. The upper range is 120 paces in circuit, from its edges, and the central range 90 paces: the compartments or divisions were separated from each other by a platform on which any of the auditors might walk from one end of the theatre to the other without disturbing those who were seated. The front of this theatre was double, the outer front having arched doorways for entering from without, and these leading off by wings to enter also at the sides; and the inner front three open arched doorways, with concave arched niches and square windows, but the architecture not of the best description. The lower ranges of seats had five several flights of radiated steps or cunii intersecting them; and the upper ranges, or second division, had seven such flights of steps intersecting them. For the support of these stone benches for the audience, as well, probably, as for the accommodation of other parties connected with dramatic exhibitions, there was an arched passage running under these benches, and passing all round the back or semicircle of the theatre. Such of the audience as took their seats on the lower division of benches must have made their entrance to the theatre by the passage that ran between the outer and inner front, towards the stage, where side stage doors intersected it in their usual places; and such of the audience as took their seats in the upper compartment or division of benches entered by arched passages, of which there were seven in number, leading in from the north or back of the theatre; and from these three square doorways led into the platform which separated these divisions, going all around the centre of the ranges of seats like a belt, from whence the auditor might ascend by the flights of radiated steps to any part of the upper division of the seats that he wished. This theatre is called, by the people residing here, Khan-i-Dibbs, or the Caravanserai or Hotel of a kind of sweetmeats made of raisins, and called Dibbs, before described: in the belief that this article

was formerly sold here, in which they are confirmed by a tradition to that effect. It differs from all the other theatres that I had seen in this country, not only from its facing a different quarter of the heavens, but in being also entirely destitute of sculpture or ornament, which induced me at one time to think it was abandoned and ruined before it had ever been completed. The blocks are in many instances marked with single Greek characters, as if for the guidance of the workmen, but the masonry is not so good as that seen in Roman edifices generally, more particularly those of a public nature; and, indeed, on the whole it must be pronounced as inferior both in execution and preservation to any of the numerous theatres, the work of the same people, the Roman colonists, met with in this once thickly peopled country to the east of Lebanon and the Jordan.

The inhabitants of Shuhubah consist of about 100 families, who are all Druses; besides these, there are one Christian and two Mohammedan families settled here; and all parties are said to live in great harmony with each other.

Among the many fragments of sculpture observed in different parts of the town, I noticed the capital of a Corinthian pillar of white marble; and, in the north-east front of a square tower, on a stone used in the building of the wall, I remarked four small human figures in theatrical attitudes, and apparently well executed. The following inscriptions from brackets intended for the support of statues were copied from the broken fragments of them still remaining near a large building at the west end of the town: —

. . . . . . ΟΥΠΡЄΙΔ
. . . . . ΟΥΕξΟΧϢΤΔ
. . . . ЄΠΑΡΧΟΥΗЄCΟ
. . . ΓΑΗΙΑCVΙΟΝΑ
. . ΡΟΝΗΠΟΛΙC
. ΔΙΔΓΟΥΛΙΟVΗΔΛ
ΧΟVΒΦΥΛ
CΥΝΔΙΚΟΥΚΑΙ
ЄΓΠΜΛΗϢΟΔ.

. . ΟΥΕξΟ . . . .ΑΤΟV
ЄΠΑΡΧΜЄCΟΠΟ
ΤΑΗΙΑCΥΙΟΝΚΑCΟ
ΟЄΓЄΙΜΟΘЄΟCΑΠ
ΟΡΦΠЄΤЄΙΓΟΡΤΟ
ΝΟ . . ΛϢΡΟΝΜΧ.

(The letters of each deeply cut.)

The beds of rock in the neighbourhood of Shuhubah are of the black kind found in the western Plains below; but, although the small rounded pieces of this substance seen scattered over the surface are porous, like pumice stone, and would seem to be of volcanic origin, yet the quarries found here, from which the stones for building have evidently been taken, exhibit a firm close-grained basalt. The great Plain to the eastward of this is as bare of wood as that to the west, so that the same style of building no doubt prevailed in the towns now lying in ruins there; but the eastern Plain is said to have the deepest and the most fertile soil, from which as populous a state of the country in past times may be also inferred. My informant here said that still farther to the east again than we could see, was a third Plain, on a higher level, and more fertile than either of the other two: but as this stood on the bare assertion of one individual only, it may well be doubted, until corroborated by better evidence, though it might be worthy the enterprise of some future traveller to penetrate as far in that direction as any trace of former population extended. To the westward of Shuhubah, there are many isolated round hills, covered with a smooth green turf; and these, with a mass of rugged rock that look at a distance like the castle of Salghud, intercept the view of the town in that quarter, so that it cannot be seen from the Plain below.

We left this place about three o'clock, and returned to Nedjeraun by a route a little to the northward of that by which we came out, but still in sight of the same villages, and crossing the stream close to Mibn-el-Beit. At Reemy, we noticed a large reservoir full of water, the tank being excavated out of a bed of rock, which had evidently served also as a quarry to furnish the materials of building; and near to this was a small but solid square mass of masonry, probably an ancient tomb. I had often wondered at not seeing the sarcophagi of stone, so common among other ruins of Roman cities, in any of the large towns of the Haurān, and those to the east of it; but at Reemy we were assured that there were two; at Shuhubah there were said to be

many in private houses; and at Mijdel three highly ornamented with sculpture; enough, at least, to prove that where the Romans carried their baths and their theatres, which we have seen they extended even thus far on the extreme border of their Syrian colony, they carried also their mode of sepulchre and entombment after death.

Monday, March 19. — We were to set out after breakfast on our journey: but as this would not probably be ready for an hour after we had arisen, I employed the interval in taking a second glance at the remains of Nedjeraun, in which all the gleanings that I obtained were a few Greek inscriptions.

The following was taken from the architrave of a square doorway, leading into a small but well built house, apparently always used as a private dwelling: —

ΟΙΑΠΟΦVΛΗCΜΛΝΙΗΝ
ωΝЄVΤVΧΙCΟΝΤЄCЄΝΔΟ
ξΟΝΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΝЄΤЄΜωCΑΝ
ΠΡΟΝVΔΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟVΑΡΙΠ
ΠΟΥΚΑΙΚΑΡΟVΜΟCΑΜΑΊΟΥΠΙCΤωΝ.

In the course of this ramble, I was shown into a building with two sloping towers, the one at the east, and the other at the west end. Within this building were three longitudinal arcades, supported by mean and slender pillars, with stucco and painting, and over the central arch, beginning at the east end, is the following inscription: —

ΒЄ | ..Α | ΓΑ | ΤΥ | ΝΑ | ΚΗ | ΝΡ | ΘΗ | ΑΥ | ΟC | ΟΥ | ΜΟ | ЄΠ | ΛΚ | ΛCЄ | ΡΟΙC | ..Ο | ΜΛ | ΔΙΑ | ΟΙΥ | ΗΛΙ | ΧΗ | ΝΛ | ΤΟΥ |

The 24 separate divisions in this represent the joints of the stones, which appear like the ends of beams close together; though this renders it a very uncommon place for affixing an inscription. The building has evidently been used at different periods for a Christian and a Mohammedan place of worship; the vestiges of

both being apparent in the paintings of the former, and the niches toward the Kaaba of Mecca, with a flight of steps and place of oratory of the latter.

The Druse who accompanied me in this morning excursion, seeing me copy the inscriptions I had met with, pressed me very urgently to go with him into a private house, where, in the apartments of the women, I should see what he called written stones of much more importance in his estimation than any that were exposed to vulgar view. I readily complied with his solicitations, and we were admitted among the females without scruple; but the written stones turned out to be a sculptured door with pannels and knobbed bars in imitation of iron, and a Corinthian capital which had been built into the wall, but without a single character in any language. The women were exceedingly amused with our visit, though evidently incredulous as to its cause, which they thought to be curiosity of another kind: but in either case we should have been equally disappointed.

There were many stone doors still hanging in their original positions in different parts of the town; and, on a single block in one of the buildings, I observed the following characters rudely shaped, but large and deeply cut: —

VAXΘM

I was shown also a square building, now the tomb of some Mohammedan saint, over which lamps are kept continually burning: near the grave is a niche pointing to the Kaaba at Mecca, for the prayers of devout visitors to this sepulchre; and on the north face of this, over the door of entrance, I saw the following inscription: —

ΤΟΝΔЄΝЄΟΝΟΙΤΥΗΒΟΝΑ .. ΝΗΡѠΑCΤΟCCΔЄΙѠЄ
ΤΡѠΝΟCΑΡΤΙЄΠΗCΥΙѠΝΟ . . ΦΙΛ . . CΟΛΒΙCCΤЄ . . .
ΟCΠΟΘΗΓЄΜΟΝΟCΒЄΝЄ . . ΦΙΚΙΑΡΙΦΟCΚΑΙΤΑCΘΝΟC
ЄΠΛЄΤΟΦΟΙΝΙΚΟΝ · ΔΑΔΜΑΤΙΟCΑΝΤΑΔΟΗΘΙΟ
ΑΥΛΗCΤЄΠΡΟΠΑΡΟΙΘЄЄ . . ЄΥΔЄΙΝΟΙΦΑΠΑΜѠΝ
ΟΠΠUΓΑΝΑΙЄΑЄΑΗCΙΝΟΗΟΠΟΥΘΑΝΑΓΟΙΟ
ΟΦΡΑΝЄΚΥCΤΑΝΔΤЄCCΙΝΑΙCΙΧѠΦΟΙCΙΝЄΝЄΙΗ.

On our return we breakfasted at the house of our entertainer; after which, before we could take leave, it was deemed right that we should pay a visit to the Druse Sheik, Ahmed ibn Harouf. We were politely received there, and, after taking coffee and interchanging a few common place compliments, retired.

We quitted Nedjeraun at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and proceeding over a broken road for an hour to the westward, we came on some old ruins of a town once standing on a rocky eminence, but scarcely any single edifice now remaining perfect. Near to this is a spring and stream of water called Moya Karatta; and two miles to the south is the large town of Iddoor.

In half an hour after passing the ruins above mentioned, we came to Sahara, a small village, built on a raised mound, but now entirely without inhabitants; and in an hour from hence we passed the town of Bussr, leaving it at a little distance on our right.

Our course from Nedjeraun thus far had been about west; and from hence the rugged mass of rock, near which the town of Shuhubah is seated, on the mountains, bore east, apparently distant about thirty miles. The town of Bussr is peopled entirely by Mohammedans, and contains about 100 families. The Druses extend no farther west in the Haurān than Nedjeraun (though there are many farther to the westward, in the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon); and the Christians from thence westerly gradually diminish in numbers. Wherever a settlement contains a few of each of these sects, a balance of interests is preserved, and they live together in tolerable harmony; at least they do not molest each other: but where Mussulmans principally inhabit, neither Druses nor Christians are borne with as when they live by themselves; the Druses being the most tolerant, and the Mohammedans the most bigotted of the three. Bussr appears to have extensive ruins, but these are mostly of private dwellings, if we except an old building with two square towers, similar to one at Nedjeraun, which is now used for a mosque; the towers of this at Bussr have sharply-pointed domes built on them, and being

whitewashed on the outside, so as to be seen from a great distance, resemble the towers usually applied as light-houses, with their lanterns at the summit. S.E. of Bussr, about a mile distant, is the ruined village of Dooery, on an elevated mound, now quite deserted.

From Bussr, our course went W.N.W., and the road improved as we proceeded. From Nedjeraun thus far it had been stony in the extreme, and only partial spots of it were capable of cultivation; but from hence westerly we had before us a wide expanse of light red soil, equal to the plains of Esdraelon, or Zabulon, in Palestine, and like them, now bearing an abundance of thistles, which are now admitted to indicate a fertile soil, though often considered as a symbol and characteristic of sterility. The absence of water began, however, to be visible; as every where the brown soil was parched and cracked, and not an acre of it had yet been ploughed for seed.

On the right of our road, running along east and west to the north of us, we had the southern edge of a rocky district, called Ledjah, which extends all the way from Bussr to Ezra westerly, and spreads itself for many leagues to the northward. All along its southern boundary are seen small towers, and stone walls of enclosures, both now in ruins. This district was once covered with vineyards, and the towers were no doubt used as watch-houses, in the same manner as they were anciently in the vineyards about Jerusalem. It is probable, also, that the stone walls seen on the hills at Salghud, at Gunnawāt, and at Shuhubah, were to mark the precincts of vineyards, in the same manner as seen on this district.

In about two hours from Bussr, going all the way W.N.W. over a clear and rich soil, and gradually descending by a gentle slope towards a lower level, we approached the town of Ezra. This is built on the S.W. projecting tongue of the rocky district of Ledjah; and Nedjeraun is built on a similarly projecting tongue of the same district, at the S.E. angle: there being a slight concave

indentation, like a bay, curving to the northward between them. The road of entrance into Ezra, over this bed, from the eastward, was exactly like the road of outlet from Nedjeraun to the westward; and at each of these, from the sharp and rugged nature of the rocks, we thought it prudent to dismount and lead our horses over it: even this, however, was required to be done with great care, to prevent the horse from falling. It would be difficult to assign any one reason for the choice of such apparently inconvenient positions for these towns, that would not be liable to some objection; but the probability is, that many more considerations than one united to recommend it. The want of wood for building rendered it necessary to use very large stones for some parts of the edifices, such as beams for the roofs and doors; and the convenience of saving the carriage of these heavy masses, by constructing the building as near the quarries as possible, is evident. This was, no doubt, a leading consideration; and security might have been another; as the unobstructed surface of the Plain would afford an easy approach to robbers and marauders, who would have the greatest difficulty, particularly if horsemen, in traversing this rocky bed, over which alone the town can be entered.

We alighted at the house of a Christian in Ezra, near the western edge of the town, and immediately opposite to one of the best preserved buildings, in the original style of the country, that I had yet seen. We were extremely well received, as our host was one of Abu Fārah's relatives: almost all the Christians of the Haurān being from the provinces of Belkah and Adjeloon, from whence they have been driven out, as they say, at different periods, by the southern Arabs, who are constantly plundering those who settle near them. The eastern tribes of Bedouins, though all acknowledge them to be bad enough, are admitted, however, not to be so daring as the Beni Hassan, and the Beni Sakker, near the Dead Sea; besides which, their being here somewhat nearer to the seat of government at Damascus, gives them, in their opinion, greater

protection than can be enjoyed in more remote parts, where no fear of a superior power exists.

After taking a meal of Dourra bread, and a sweet paste made from grapes in the neighbourhood of Damascus, from which it is brought, as all the vineyards have long since declined here, we went out to see the town.



CHAP. XIV.

STAY AT EZRA, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO DAMASCUS.

In the examination which I desired to make of the ruins at Ezra, during our short stay there, I was assisted by a person well acquainted with the town, who accompanied me in my ramble, merely to direct me through the streets, and point out such large buildings as the place contained. The first edifice to which I was taken by my guide was what at first seemed to be a very old work, from the style of its architecture, but which proved to be the southern front of a Greek church, now called Mar Elias. The principal face of this building was towards the west; but the place for the altar was no doubt on the east, where the end of the building was of a semi-circular form. The masonry of the southern face had its stones singularly inlaid and locked together, no cement

being used. The interior was divided into a central nave, with two side aisles, separated by arches; and the roof, with its massy beams, were of solid stone; but there were no pillars in any part of it. Over the large door in the southern front, in which were circular and square windows, with stones curiously interlocked with each other, was the following inscription: —

†ΟΙΑΠΟΖΟΡϵξΙΔΙΒ . . ΜΑΘΗΛΙΟUΠΡΟΦ
CΠΟΔΗΙꞶΑΜΟΥΕΜΣΟUΔΙΑΚΕΝΕΤΙΥΙΖ
ϵΚΙCΑΝϵΠΙΟUΑΡΟUΘϵΟΦSϵΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ
ꞶΕΠΙΓΑΚΟΘCΠΟΤΥΟΝRΟΝΒꞶΝΔCSΜΑΛΗ

On a low door way to the right of this was a singular mixture of emblems, exhibiting the cross and the vine, as if the worship of Bacchus and Christ had been at one time united, or the latter engrafted on the ruins of the former. The cross appeared in the centre, with vine leaves and clusters of grapes suspended from its arms; and on each side of the circle enclosing the cross, a stem of the vine extended, in a wavy form, with the fruit on it.

On a side door on the left the following appeared on the architrave: —

ΟΛΗΟC + ΗΛΙΑC

One of the inner divisions of this building is now used as the Greek church of Ezra. It has a few paltry pictures, and a rude altar formed of several stones piled together, which stands in the centre of the whole. The other parts of the building have been partitioned off into small dwellings, by heaping up the fallen stones, and forming out of them loose and miserable walls.

From a stone over a square window, exactly in the centre of the eastern or semi-circular end, I copied the following inscription, by climbing on the wall of an arch since built from it across the street, and sitting in a space left vacant by some of the stones having fallen away: —

†ΠΙΣΤΙΔΙΕΔΡΑΜΕΝ+ΘϾΟΔΟΜΟΣΠΡΟΤΕ
ΣΠΟUΔΗΚΕΡΤΟΙΣΙΝΕΙΣΑΓΑΘШΙΝΑΝΑΠΟΔΟΣΚ
ΠΡΟΦΗΙΟUΠΑΙΑΣΥΝΑΠΕΛΟΙΣΕΟUΡΑΝΟΙΣΙ†

And from a broken block of stone now used in a causeway, on the north side of a street to the north of the church, I copied the following: —

ΑΤΑΗΡΕΗΟΝΙΚΟΝΠ . . . . . ΑΓSΟΧΙΑΠΡΑΣΙΣ
ΔΥΣΝΙΕШΝΤΕΣΣΑΡШΝΘΗΚШΝΤΟΙϹΚΛΗΑ
ΔΕΝΑΘΟΥΑΝΙΝΑΓΟΣΤΙΣΟΙΤΙΗϹΣΔΗΛΟΙ
ΡΕΕΝΤШΥΠΕΡΘΥΡШΤΗΕΑΝΑΤΦΑΙΑΜΑ
ΤΨΤΣΡΑΕΘΗΚΜΣΜ ΑΣΔΙΑΨΣΡΟ
ΗΡΣΙΑΧΑΝΨΚΑΣΣΙΑΝΟΥΣΕΜΕΡΟ
ΙΑΙΑΔΟΧΟΙΣΑΥΓΧΕξΑΝΜΟΓΟΥΨΤ

In the end of the wall, a few paces to the west of this, on the north side of the street, is a large sarcophagus built in with the ordinary masonry. In its cover, which is flat and plain, is a circular hole, about a span in diameter, and above this is an arch cut in the stone, evidently for the purpose of leaving access to this hole, as if it were intended to admit of the dropping alms, or any other thing, into the sarcophagus below. On the side of the sarcophagus is a central ornament, something like a sheaf of wheat, but much injured, and on each side of this is an inscription, as follows: —

ΚΑΚΑΑΥΔΙ	ϾΠΟΙΗϹϾΝ
ΑΝΟϹΟΓϾΤ	ΤΗΚΙϹΤΗΑΗΝ
ΟΠΟΦΑΝΟΥ	ΙΔΙΑΙϹΑΥΓΟΥ
ΣΕGΙΡϾΧΣΣΕGΙΙΙ	ΔΑΠΑΝΑΙϹ . .

The pannels are raised from the surface of the stone, and the letters are cut deep into the black porous material, with a line drawn between each separate line of the characters.

Close by this sarcophagus is a curious old mosque, with a large open centre and colonnades, or wings of three arcades each, on each side. Some of the arches rest on square pillars of masonry, and others on small circular columns of basalt. One of these pillars is formed wholly of one piece of stone, including pedestal, shaft, and capital; and near it is a curious double column, the pedestals of which are in one piece, the shafts each composed of two pieces, and the two capitals with their plinths all formed out of one block. These pillars are not large, and are only distant from each other, as they stand, about a human span. They are right opposite to the door of entrance into the mosque, and we were assured that it was a general belief among the Mohammedans here, that whoever could pass through these pillars unhurt, was destined for heaven, and whoever could not, might prepare either to reduce his bulk, or expect a worse fate in hell *; the pieces forming the shafts are united by a layer of melted lead used as a cement, and now visible. There are two niches for prayer in the southern wall of this mosque, facing towards the Kaaba at Mecca; one of these might be taken for a Roman arch, as it has the semicircular form, and is built of bricks, of a flat kind and bright red colour, of the description commonly called Roman tiles, and united by a cement of fine lime almost as thick as the bricks themselves; the other is as characteristic of Saracen work and taste, being composed of alternate layers of black and white stone, like the niches in the bath at Bozra, and many other specimens of Saracen work still seen in the great Mohammedan cities of the east.

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* This is another instance to add to the several others already enumerated in the "Travels in Palestine," of the prevalence of a notion, probably founded on a literal interpretation of what must have been meant in a figurative sense by Christ, who says, "Straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be "that find it." Matt. vii. 14. But the notion is not exclusively Christian: it appears to be common to all religions.

Over the west door of entrance to the south wing of this mosque is a curious block, with a star cut in relief, and several holes made at stated intervals through the stone. Above this is sculptured the Greek cross, and below it is an inscription deeply cut in Arabic. On the outer western front, which is ascended to by a wide flight of four steps, are three square doors, and above and on each side of the central one are three blocks of stone, with pannels raised on them in high relief, and each containing a long Greek inscription, now illegible. These blocks do not appear to me, however, to have been sculptured since they were used in the building, but being found when this mosque was constructed out of the ruins of former edifices, were selected because of their containing such inscriptions, to be placed in their present positions as ornaments, or, possibly, for the purpose of thus recording the fact that Mohammedan places of worship had been raised on the ruins of Christian temples. This, at least, was my impression on the spot, though it might have been a conclusion too hastily drawn.

At the north-west angle of the mosque is a high sloping square tower, near the top of which are seen two Roman arched windows in each face of the building ; and below is a bastard Ionic column. I had long entertained a belief, from the various instances in which I had seen the Roman and the Saracen, or the round and the pointed arch united in the same building, that there must have been a period when these distinctive marks of two opposite orders of architecture were confounded together, and often used by the same builder as well as in the same edifice. I was here confirmed in this belief by seeing, in the interior of this tower, the round and the pointed form of arch used in the same arcade, and necessarily contemporary with each other ; so that the same may have been the case in the larger edifices, as at the castles before described, where this mixture of styles has been already observed, and accounted for by supposing the one to have been occasioned by

additions and repairs subsequent to the first building of the other: the subject, however, still remains a difficult one, and the solution of that difficulty is not much advanced even by this admission.

Between the tower and the opposite wing, in front of the open part of the mosque, are pure Ionic capitals in good taste, with shafts, pedestals, and blocks of stone, from fifteen to twenty feet long, evidently the remains of some former and more splendid work of Roman times, from the ruins of which the present edifice has been constructed. In the wall of the building, only a few paces west of the tower, are two Arabic inscriptions nearly illegible. Greek inscriptions are seen in the same place, so that the mixture of languages is as complete as the mixture of styles. It was with some difficulty that I made copies of the following.

The first of these is near the two Arabic inscriptions over a door in the wall of the building to the west of the tower:

ΥΠ . . . . ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΥΤΙϾΡCШΤΗΡΙΑCΚΑΙΝCΙΚΗCΤΟΥΚΥΡΙUΥΗΜШΝΑΥΤΟ . . . .
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥϾϾΟΥΗΡΟΥ. . . . . ϾΥCϾΒΟΥCϾΥΤΥΧ . . . . . .
ШΜΓΑCΖΟΡΑΥΗΝШΝϾΚΠCϾΑΝΤΟΒΑΛΑΝϾΙΟΝΙ . . . .

The next was over a small doorway, within an open court, on a broken architrave, and at a short distance to the northward of the former:

. . . . ΗΛΟCΚΙΖΟΒΑΙΔΟCΥ . . . . . .
. . ΜΟΥΘΟΥΚΑΙΛΛΟCϾΙΓΟCΚΑ . . . .
ΑΙΛCΥΙΟΚ .. ΟCΒΑΡΑΧΟΥΚΑΙΚΟC . . .
ΟCΓΔΒΑΡΦΥΚΑΙΙΑΒΝΗΛΟCΑΒΓΑ . . . .
. . . . . CΑΝϾΝΤШΝΙΛΙШΝ.

The next was on a stone in the north wall of a street, to the north-east of the preceding one, close by the side of a small window. The letters were large, but very lightly traced on the

stone and rudely formed; they are now indeed scarcely legible without pain:

ΠΑΤΜΚΙΣ
ΧΙΩΡΙΜΦΥ
ΕΤΙΑΦΝΚΙΟ
ΕΣΝΠΔ....

To the east of this is a building called the northern church, now in ruins, and no trace of an inscription remaining, as far as I could discover. Over the southern door of this, however, are sculptured ornaments, formed of the vine leaf with clusters of grapes; with a vase, as if meant to be emblematic of the sacramental wine; and before the door is a plain sarcophagus of the old Roman kind, and of the usual size.

West of this, and due north of the square tower before described, is a building surmounted with a high dome; and over the west door of entrance to this building is the following inscription:—

ΘΟΥΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΟΙΚΟϹΓΟΓΩΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝΚΑΤΑΟΩΓΙΟΝ
ΦΩΣΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝΕΛΑΜΨΕΝΟΠΟΥΣΚΟΤΟϹΕΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΝ
ΟΠΟΥΘΥΣΙΑΙΕΙΔΩΛΩΝΝΥΝΧΟΡΟΙΑΓΓΕΛΩΝS
ΟΠΟΥΘΕΟΣΠΑΡΩΡΓΙΖΕΤΟΝVΝΘΟΙΣΕξΕΥΜΕΝΙΖΕΤΑΙ
ΑΗΝΡΤΙΣΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΣΟΠΡΩΤΕΥΩΝΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΔΙΟΜΗΔΙΟΜΗΔΕΩΕΥΙΟΣ
ΕξΙΔΙΩΝΔΩΡΟΝΘΕΩΠΡΟΣΗΝΕΓΚΕΝΑξΙΟΘΕΑΤΟΝΚΤΙΣΜΑ
ΙΔΡΥΣΑΣΕΝΤΟΥΓΩΤΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΜΑΡΓΥΡΟΣΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΧ
ΤΟΝΙΜΙΟΝΝΙΨΑΝΟΝΤΟΥΦΑΝΕΝΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΙΩΑΝΝΗS
ΟΥΚΑΘΥΠΝΟΝΑΛΛΑΦΑΝΕΡΩΣΕΝΕΤΙΘΕΓΟΥΣ.

The stone on which this inscription is cut is underneath a round or Roman arch, and on each side of it is the emblem of the cross, with clusters of grapes accompanying it. Beneath this, again, is a small doorway with a pair of small folding-doors of stone, still hanging, their dimensions being about four feet by three each, and eight inches in thickness; and above it is a small square window, with folding window-shutters of stone in the same style.

Within, the building is seen to be a Christian church, covered by a dome of about sixty feet in height, supported by eight square pillars of good masonry, thus forming a circular arcade. The arches between these square pillars are of the Roman shape, and above each of them, at the foot of the dome, is a semicircular window. At the east end is the usual recess and altar of the Greek church, cut off from the outer space by a screen, with three doors and two small windows, and having another low partition between this and the rotunda, with a rude altar and some broken fragments of marble. The interior was stuccoed, and painted with the emblem of the cross and figures of saints; and though the building is now in a ruined state it is still visited as a place of worship by the Greeks, being dedicated to Mar Georgis, or St. George, the principal saint in their calendar.

There is a paved court in front of this church, and the stone doors which lead to it are still hanging in their original position. The east end of the church is not exactly semicircular, as is usual, but demi-sexagonal, at the place where the altar is fixed.

To the north-east of this large church is a smaller one; it contains, however, nothing remarkable, if we except the faint traces of a Greek inscription which is still to be seen over the western door of entrance, but too much obliterated to be accurately transcribed.

E.S.E. of the domed church, and E.N.E. of the mosque with the square tower, equidistant from each about 300 yards, is the fragment of a building which appears like the semicircular end of a church long since destroyed, as walls and buildings of a subsequent date are now attached to it. On the central or key-stone of the high round arch which separated the altar from the nave, on the under part of the stone, is the following: —

+ЄꜰΠΡΟLΦΟΓΑ
ΙШΛΝΝΟΥΑΙ
ΑΔΑΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ
ΗΑΗΙĽΑΥΤΗ.

The characters are of the rudest form, and the most imperfectly traced of any that I had yet seen; they were probably cut after the arch was constructed, as ceilings are done by a person lying on a stage with his face upward. On coming out of the arch we found this to be at the east end of the building, at the door of which the plain sarcophagus is before described as standing.

In this town of Ezra are to be found the most perfect specimens of ancient houses probably throughout the whole of the Haurān: at least I had not before met with any so good. In the course of my ramble I was taken into one that was unoccupied, though no part of it was destroyed or even materially injured. The front of this exhibited the singular kind of masonry before described as seen in the church of Mar Elias, the stones being interlocked within each other by a kind of dovetailing, and thus very strongly united without cement; with small windows, both of the square and circular form, in the same range. The central room of this house was large and lofty, and on each side of it was a wing, separated from the central room by open arcades at equal distances from the sides and from each other. The east wing appeared to have been the kitchen, as in it were seen two large fire-places in the stone wall, with hearths, as in the farm-houses in England, and a large earthen vase, half buried in the centre of the floor, and capable of containing at least a hogshead of water; with small recesses, like cupboards, around the walls. This room was low, being not more than a foot above a tall man's height: but the stone ceiling was as smooth as planks of wood, as well as the ends of the stones on which the massy beams that formed this roof and ceiling rested. In the centre of it was sculptured a wreath, the ends fastened with ribband, and a fanciful design within it, all executed in a style that proved it to be beyond question Roman. In the opposite, or western wing, were other low rooms; and before the house was a flight of stone steps projecting from the wall, and unsupported, except by the end imbedded in the original masonry leading up to the terrace of the dwelling. In front of the whole

was an open paved court, and beyond this, stables with stalls and troughs, all hewn out of stone, for camels, oxen, mules, &c.

This edifice was exceedingly perfect, and would be an object of great interest to any future enquirer; but the evening was closing in so fast that we had not time to take a plan or elevation of it, though few buildings would be more worthy of an accurate delineation. I was convinced from this and some other proofs, which I remarked in our hasty ramble, that Mar Elias was itself an ancient building, as I had at first conceived it to be, and that it was at some period subsequent to its first erection that it became a Christian church, and received the Greek inscriptions now seen upon it in different parts. It is worthy of remark, that the stones of all these buildings are originally black, but from long exposure to the atmosphere they decompose at the surface, and this decomposition assumes a yellow colour, giving them an appearance of newness and freshness equal to the sandstone of the Egyptian temples, which, in many places on the banks of the Nile, looks as if it had been taken from the quarry only a few days instead of hundreds of years ago. The most ancient of these buildings assume therefore the freshest appearance: so that the style of the architecture becomes the only safe criterion by which to judge of the age of their first construction. From their extreme durability, being wholly constructed of large masses of stone closely and strongly united, this age may be carried up even to the earliest times of which history makes any mention; they may be as ancient as the pyramids of Egypt, and are certainly likely to endure as long. The style and character of the buildings in question is low, square, and massive, like that of Egypt. The doors and windows are small, and their frames, though composed of four sides, are often cut out of one stone. The doors themselves, from their great weight and thickness, are in general immoveable by one person, though they are often nicely fitted and highly ornamented; and the roofs or ceilings are formed of beams and planks of stone, laid as closely and as smoothly together as the planked ceiling or

floor of an English house; so that the whole seems fitted to endure for ever. These peculiarities must have belonged to a very early state of society, when this taste for the solid and indestructible in architecture seems to have been so universally prevalent as it was in Babylon, Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Greece, and India in the old world, and among the Mexicans and Peruvians in the new; but which necessarily yields to the more useful, convenient, and agreeable accommodations studied in buildings of a later period, among all people at least who can devote so much time, wealth, and labour as these massive houses of stone must have cost, to furnish themselves more pleasurable abodes. They might have been the work of the most ancient inhabitants of these plains; and the Romans who colonised here might have followed the taste of the country, and ornamented some and built others, during the period they occupied the country; but no *later* date than this can be assigned them, as they were most assuredly not constructed by the Greek Christians, nor by the Saracen followers of Mohammed.

At sunset I obtained the following bearings and distances of objects as seen from the terrace of our entertainer's dwelling: —

High peaked hill, called El-Haurān	S. E.	50 miles.
Ragged rock before Shuhubah	E. by S.	40 ditto.
Town of Meleehah, Christian and Mohammedan	S. E. by S. ½ S.	7 ditto.
Theneiby, a Mohammedan town	W. S. W.	3 ditto.
Shukaru, ditto	N. by W.	3 ditto.
Zubbayne, in Ledjah, deserted	N. N. E. ½ E.	6 ditto.
Jeddil, ditto, ditto	N. E. ½ E.	6 ditto.
Harrān, ditto, ditto	E. by N. ½ N.	6 ditto.
Bussr, not in Ledjah, Mohammedan	S. E. by E. ½ E.	8 ditto.
Neamir, ditto, deserted	S. W. by S.	8 ditto.

The bearings of the surrounding country from the same point of view were as follows: — To the north, were the mountains of the Druse, an extension of the eastern chain, and very distant. To the north-east was the flat stony tract of Ledjah. From east to south-east were the eastern mountains bounding the Haurān. To

the south lay the plains of Belkah and a level horizon. To the south-west the high range of the mountains of Adjeloon, visible, but distant. To the west, a level horizon as far as the Jordan, gradually rising in broken hills as it goes to the northward, till it reaches the snowy Jebel-el-Telj, from N. W. by N. to N. by W.

In the stony district of Ledjah, which begins about here, and extends from hence to the northward and eastward, are said to be 366 ruined towns, and a sea (bahr) of inscriptions. These expressions, which are quite suited to the exaggerating taste of an Arab, only mean, however, that there are a great number of each. In the same manner I was assured by one of our party, who had been in Egypt, that in Belled Massr were 366 districts, and in each district 366 peopled towns; to which he added, that having seen Englishmen there he learnt that they had always 366 suits of clothes, or one for every day in the year: an impression, no doubt, occasioned by the frequent changes of garments among the English, a practice almost wholly unknown among the Arabs, who after they put on a new garment rarely leave it off till it is worn out and finally done with. The people of the Haurān, generally, and those residing on its eastern border more particularly, never having seen the sea, are struck with wonder and admiration at descriptions of large ships and the details of a sea life. Even here, however, they are not satisfied with bare facts, however surprising these may be, but constantly endeavour to engraft on these, something of a more exaggerated nature, so powerful is their passion for the marvellous. As an illustration of this, when asked by one of our party what was the greatest number of cannon I had ever seen mounted in one ship, and replying 120, my guide, the Mallim Georgis, insisted that I was far below the mark, declaring most solemnly that he had, with his own eyes, seen 200 pieces of cannon discharged from one side only of Sir Sydney Smith's ship at Acre, and 200 from the other side within the same instant of time! He also asserted that Mohammed Ali, the pasha of Egypt, had lately sent from that country to the Hedjaz, in Arabia, 100 karāt

of soldiers, each karāt being 100,000! supporting his assertions with the most solemn declarations of their truth. This feature of exaggeration, an inseparable companion of ignorance, is prevalent among all classes, and can only be cured by increased information diffused among the community generally, to enable them to distinguish truth from falsehood.

During our evening party I was intreated, by several of the individuals composing it, for written charms against poverty, sickness, danger, &c. At first I endeavoured to persuade the applicants that no human being possessed the power to compose such charms, however impostors might pretend, from interested motives, to propagate a belief in their efficacy; and that a very strong proof in support of their being false and delusive was to be gathered from the fact, that the venders of such charms, to save others from misfortune, were not able to protect themselves from the evils inseparable from humanity, but were equally liable, with all other men, to sickness, misfortune, and death. This argument, however, convincing as it would have been to most minds, had no effect whatever on theirs, and I was somewhat surprised to find it combated by an example from sacred history: one of the parties observing that the same objection had been raised, but without foundation, against the divinity of Christ, when those who mocked him exclaimed, "He saved others: himself he cannot save." It was in vain to attempt conviction on minds entrenched behind such a position; and, therefore, to satisfy the increasing importunity of those who now believed, from my very scruples and reluctance, that I really *had* the power, but was indisposed to exercise it for their benefit, I wrote on slips of paper various unmeaning characters, which were taken as favours, and construed into talismans of a general rather than a particular nature, from my declining to assign to them any specific virtue. The occurrence of such a scene as this among the Mohammedans of the Nile, or the barbarians of Nubia, or the savages of Africa, would not have been surprising; but here, as I had been forced, by what I had seen, to estimate the

state of civilisation among the Arab Christians of these parts, I had not before supposed it to be so low as this incident evidently showed it to be.

After supper we had some sage political speculations among the members of our party, who agreed only in one particular, that whenever the Christian Powers should repossess themselves of the Holy Land, their vengeance on the Mohammedan spoilers of the holy places would be without bounds. It may not be unworthy of remark, that in Ezra all the dwellings of the Christians are marked with the emblem of their faith on the portals of their doors, as if for the guidance of some destroying angel that they expected to pass through their town, and spare those whose dwellings were so distinguished, as among the children of Israel of old.

Tuesday, March 20.—We were detained at Ezra for the purpose of attending the morning service of the Greek church, and returned from thence to breakfast. After this, our future progress to Damascus became a subject of debate; and the oldest of my guides, Abu Fārah, who had already come further from home than he had at first intended, and who began to be alarmed at the difficulty of his returning thence all the way alone, solicited his release, that he might remain at Ezra, till a convenient opportunity should occur for his setting out in company with some one, on his way back to Assalt. The old man's request was so reasonable that it could not justly be refused; and he had already been of so much service to me on the journey, that I only regretted my incapacity to reward him more liberally than my means then admitted. It was stipulated, however, that he should procure a guide to fill his place for the remainder of the way to Damascus, which was readily effected from among those who had formed our party on the preceding evening, and I drew up for Abu Fārah, such a written character as it appeared to me his many excellent qualities as a guide justly merited.

These transactions delayed our departure until noon, when taking leave of Abu Fārah, who left me with tears and benedictions, and the fervently expressed hope that we might one day meet again, and receiving also the good wishes of our entertainers for a safe entry into Damascus, we mounted our horses to depart.

After traversing the rocky bed on which the town of Ezra stands, we went northerly across a fine, fertile, light red soil, having on our left, or to the westward, an extensive plain of the same description, and on our right, or to the east, the western edge of the stony district of Ledjah, extending itself farther to the north-east.

In little more than an hour after quitting Ezra, we passed through the town of Shukharah, which, like the place we had left, is built on a projecting tongue of the stony tract of Ledjah, the patches of soil intervening between these towns being like the curvature of small bays gently indenting a line of rocky coast. I noticed nothing remarkable in this town, except an old square tower in its western quarter, with an open arch of the Roman form in the wall below, and three separate projecting cornices going round the buildings at regular intervals above. The population of this place being entirely Mohammedan, and on bad terms with their Christian neighbours, we did not alight even to take coffee, a great act of self-denial to an Arab, and much regretted by Georgis.

On the bed of rock near this place, our Ezra guide pointed out to us the quarries, from whence the large mill-stones before described are cut, of which we saw several in a progressive state of preparation. The unskilfulness of the Arabs, and their want of proper implements adapted to their labour, with the expence of carriage from the quarry to the place of sale, each stone requiring a single camel, wheel carriages and good roads being entirely unknown, occasion an advance above the prime cost, at which they might be hewn in England, of at least 500 per cent, each pair of stones costing from ten to fifteen and sometimes twenty pounds sterling. This is the only produce that the stony tract of Ledjah now yields, almost all its towns being deserted, except those on

its very edge; but as the ruins scattered over it are very numerous, there must have been a period when some other sources of wealth existed for their maintenance.

Our horses drank from large stone troughs, near a quarry, at the bottom of which excellent fresh water was found, about twenty feet below the surface; and proceeding northerly, we ascended from thence over a very gentle slope for nearly an hour at a walking pace, when the whole of the stony tract of Ledjah became exposed to our view, and presented a most forbidding aspect. From this slight elevation, we went gradually down over a gentle declivity for another hour, until we lost sight both of Ezra and Shukharah, by the intervening hill; and about three o'clock we reached the town of Mahādjee, built like the others through which we had lately passed on a tongue of rock projecting from the main body of it to the northward and eastward.

We had been directed here to the house of one Eesa, or Jesus, —a very common name among the Arabs, whether of the Greek or Catholic faith, — the only Christian residing in the place; and as our guide from Ezra informed us that all the towns between this and Damascus were inhabited by Mohammedans, and that we need not halt at any of them if we slept here, as the journey might be performed in one whole day, we determined on taking up our shelter with him as proposed. Our horses were taken into the court-yard of the house, and unburthened of their saddles, without a single question being asked on either side; and it was not until we had all seated ourselves that our intention to remain here for the night was communicated to the master of the house; so much is it regarded as a matter of course, that those who have a house to shelter themselves in, and food to partake of, should share those comforts with wayfarers, whenever they may halt at their door to partake of them; a state of things that could not exist but in a country where the communication is unfrequent, and where from such infrequency of communication and general insecurity,

there are neither good roads nor houses of entertainment for passengers, the sure indication of civilisation and commerce.

We were kindly received by our Christian host, and a meal of bread and oil, which I had seen so often as to make it become most unwelcome to me, was placed before us, there being neither vegetable nor animal food, neither eggs, butter, milk, or fruits with which to vary it, so that nothing but extreme hunger could support the constant repetition of the same insipid and unsatisfactory food. We ate of it, however, from necessity, as choice was not permitted to the rigid observers of the Greek fast, still continued; and I could not without offence have even asked for any thing forbidden to themselves. When the wayfarers and guests had finished, the remainder of the meal was eaten up by the persons resident in the town, who had already collected to enquire who and what were the strangers on their way to Sham, this being the only name by which Damascus is known here.

The party alluded to consisted of about ten persons, Moslem and Christians, including our host and my guides, and our first conversation turned on some points connected with market prices of different articles, and quotations of purchase and sale, a subject in which most of those present were likely to feel personally interested. The Mallim Georgis, however, had not been long among them, before his peculiar genius gave the conversation quite a different turn; and from speculations on the price of corn and oil, it soon passed to speculations on political and religious subjects, and the awful import of the signs of the times. During the last evening of our stay at Nedjeraun, while a strong north wind blew, and the sky was overcast with clouds, a red light appeared in the west, which was no doubt the reflected light of some large fire that might have taken place in a field or a village near the spot over which it appeared; but this easy and natural solution of the matter was not acceptable to those who love the wonderful, and despise the plainness and simplicity of unexaggerated truth: so that this red light in the west, coupled with the long drought that

had afflicted the Haurān, and the confusion which still reigned in the political affairs of Damascus, was construed into a portentous omen of approaching plague, pestilence, and famine, with battle, murder and sudden death. Like children, who on winter nights gather round a fire and relate stories of ghosts and goblins, till they start at the sound of the wind, and are almost frightened at their own shadow, the party by whom I was now surrounded were so in love with their subject, and the eloquence of Georgis was poured out with such effect, interspersed with passages of scripture and verses of modern seers, that they literally talked themselves into a panic of alarm, and many seemed impressed with a belief that the world was really near its end. On occasions like these I generally remained a patient listener to what was said by others, as I had long since discovered that any attempt to oppose superstition was always regarded as a profession of open infidelity. The intolerance of the human mind is in all countries just in proportion to the ignorance in which it may be enveloped: and on this occasion I saw no hope of benefit by departing from my system, as the evil can only be cured by increasing knowledge.

About sunset, when the conversation began to cease, I took our host, Jesus, on the terrace of his dwelling, and obtained from him the names of such places as were visible from his house-top, took their bearings by compass, and their estimated distances as accurately as I could by the eye, as follows.

Toaf, a few houses on a hill	S. W. ½ S.	3 miles.
Miggadad, a saint's tomb on a hill	W. by S. ½ S.	1 mile.
Kiteiby, deserted	N. W. by W.	5 miles.
Inkhel, a Mohammedan town	N. W. by N.	5 miles.
El Gheneyey, do.	N. by W.	6 miles
Ghussawa, deserted	N. N. E.	½ mile.
Tubbiny, Mohammedan	N. by E. ¾ E.	2 miles.
Busseer, do. large	N. E. ¾ N.	10 miles.
Iddoeer, two towns in one, deserted, in Ledjah,	N. E.	8 miles.
Zebyre, deserted, in Ledjah,	E. by S.	5 miles.

Jeddil, deserted, in Ledjah	S. E. by E. ½ E. .	12 miles.
Ghiratata, Do. . . Do.	S. E. by E. . . .	2 miles.
Lobare, Do. . . Do.	S. E. ½ S. . . .	3 miles.
Meseetchy, Do. . . Do.	S. E. ½ S. . . .	4 miles.
Nadjee, Do. . . Do.	S. S. E. ½ E. . .	3 miles.
Bussr, with two white towers	S. by E. ¼ E. . .	15 miles.
Square tower and dome of Ezra	S. ¾ W.	10 miles.
Shukhara, not visible	S. ¾ W.	6 miles.

All the places indicated above, with the exception of the last only, which is hidden by being in the low ground between this town and Ezra, were distinctly seen; and the bearings noted carefully, for the purpose of filling up the blank that now exists in our best maps of this almost untrodden country. Although so many objects were seen, however, in this extensive panorama, the view was, on the whole, tame and uninteresting, from the bareness and flatness of the country over which it is extended.

On enquiring whether there were many ancient inscriptions in the town, I was assured there were several, but no one appeared disposed to take the trouble of pointing them out to me. On the very door, however, of the house in which we had taken shelter, was the fragment of an inscription still remaining, with a Greek cross in the centre of it, and I copied this, chiefly for the purpose of showing, (if, after the many already copied, further proof could be needed,) that even in the smallest and most inconsiderable of the towns in the Haurān, abundant proofs of a former Christian population are to be met with. The fragment alluded to was as follows: —

M . . . IѠVONVΔIIANO . . . AIЄY . . . . OA . . .
MNITYHCANIOTIOII . . . .
. . . .
KAIΦIPMINIANOYΓЄ.

The town of Mahadjee resembles those of the Haurān through which we had lately passed, in the general character of its style and mode of construction, but it is smaller than most of the towns to

the southward, and is at least as much in a state of ruin as any of them. In the S.W. quarter of the town is the lower part of a square tower still remaining, the masonry of which is in the oldest style used here, with the stones let into each other, and united without cement. It is now used as a stone-cutter's workshop for the purpose of finishing the circular mill-stones before spoken of as manufactured from the rocky beds of the neighbouring district. There are not more than thirty families residing at this place, and the whole of them are Mohammedans, with the exception of our host, Eesa. The occupation of all is agriculture and the pasturage of cattle. I saw here the mode practised in this country for churning milk into butter : the milk is placed in a goat's skin, which is filled as full as possible and then tied at the mouth, after which it is rolled or shaken on the ground by a woman who sits before it, this operation continuing for several hours on each skin, till the butter is formed from the milk, when the bag or skin is untied, and the two parts separated from each other. The mode is simple enough, it must be admitted, but not so effectual as that pursued in England; and from the bad taste given by the skin, as well as from the butter not being sufficiently washed after the first separation, so as to rid it of all the milky particles that remain, it is often bitter and sour at the same time, and becomes rancid in a very few days after being made. So inveterate, however, are the prejudices of all ignorant people, both abroad and at home, that when I described the method used in England, and pointed out its advantages, they contended that their own was far superior.

In our evening circle round the fire of dried dung, which still continued to be used for want of wood, we had a Moosa or Moses, an Ibrahim or Abraham, a Daood or David, a Suliman or Solomon, an Eesa or Jesus, with several Mohammeds or Mahomets : and, to complete the remarkable association of names, the two women who waited on us were called Miriam, or Mary, and Martha, the well remembered favorites of Christ. * There is no

* St. John, c. xi. v. 1 to 5.

country on earth, perhaps, where the names of distinguished prophets are more frequently given to their respective followers than in this. Among the Mohammedans, the name of Mohammed is more common than any other. Among the Christians, Eesa or Jesus, and Abd-el-Messeeah, or the Slave of the Messiah, are also frequently found: and other sects follow the same example; though, among the many scriptural names used by all the various sects in England, I never remember to have heard of that of Jesus, which is perhaps thought too sacred. In India too, it is a common practice for the respective worshippers of the Indian gods to bear the names of their favourite deities; and even in England, as well as all other parts of the world, the Jews adhere to the names of their principal prophets and leaders, and are proud of being thus distinguished from other sects. Christians however too frequently, and with great inconsistency, call them by their great prophet's name, "Moses," as a term of obloquy and reproach; as if the authenticity of his divine mission and holy inspiration were not as essential a part of the religion of Christianity, as the authenticity of the divine mission of Christ; as if it were possible to cast reflections of ridicule on the name of any one of the prophets whose mission Christ came to confirm, without, at the same time, reflecting on the authority from which all inspiration equally emanated, and by undermining the respect due to the earliest, abate much of that paid to the latest of the messengers of heaven; since no doctrine of Scripture is more clear than this, that each succeeding prophet came to support and confirm the predictions and precepts of his predecessor. There would be no *inconsistency*, indeed, in the Jews reflecting odium on the name of Jesus, since their very existence as Jews is founded on their believing Christ to be an impostor: but there is the greatest possible inconsistency in Christians using the names of the Jewish prophets for the purpose of ridicule, inasmuch as they themselves believe them to be as truly commissioned from heaven as the most devout and orthodox among the Jews can do. If this practice were confined to the lower orders of people, with whom the names of the Father, the

Son, and the Holy Ghost, are treated with much less respect in their ordinary oaths, than that of Beelzebub, the prince of devils, it would not be worth an observation ; since, in the sweeping and indiscriminate habit of swearing, which distinguishes the English from most other nations of the globe, no sacredness of any name or epithet could secure it from profanation. But, as the practice of ridiculing the Jews, by the strange method of associating a feeling of contempt and odium with the names of their most distinguished prophets, prevails in better informed circles, and is to be found in our Plays, Songs, Novels, and other branches of literature, it is, perhaps, worth adverting to. At all events, as one great object to be attained by noting the manners of other nations is to condemn what is faulty, and recommend to the imitation of our countrymen what is praiseworthy, it is not wholly out of place to note, for the purpose of contrasting our absurd practice with the more sensible and tolerant behaviour of men of opposite religions in the East, who, whether Christians or Mohammedans, respect the Jewish names, and honour them by their adoption, as belonging to a religion on which each of their own is built; and despise the Jews for that only for which they can with any consistency be despised, namely, not for being of the faith of Moses or the seed of Abraham, but, for *not* being also of the number of those who yield equal faith to the missions of Jesus and Mohammed.

To return to the narrative after this digression : I was glad to profit, on this as on all other occasions, by the opportunity which a varied party generally presents for gleaning some useful information out of the vast mass of useless and uninteresting conversation that too frequently prevailed. From one of our party, I learnt that he had been to the eastward of the Haurān, as far as Lezhoof, or Lejhoof, a country of the Wahabees, bordering on the district of Nedjed. He described it as about fifteen days' journey to the eastward of Assalt. The road leading to it was through a country peopled by different tribes of Arabs, who are sometimes at peace but more frequently at war with each other. It was thirty

years since he had made this journey, and the occasion of it was a trading expedition, accompanying a caravan of cheap merchandize for sale into the desert, bringing back principally Arab horses and camels in return. The sect of the Wahabees were but then beginning to spread themselves; and at that time communication was practicable from Belkah all the way to Nedjed, and from thence to Baghdad; but at this moment, when the Wahabees were so powerful, and the whole desert in commotion, he thought such a journey would be imminently dangerous if not quite impracticable, so that I had reason to congratulate myself in not having persevered in my attempt to the eastward from Assalt, from which I might never have returned in safety if I had proceeded much farther. The old man, who informed me of his having made the journey alluded to, about thirty years ago, described the country generally from recollection, as being in many places highly fertile, and containing an abundance of water in small streams, with corn fields and date groves, as in the land of Egypt, which he had also seen. I should consider this picture highly charged: though to be peopled at all it must possess *some* of the means of existence in water and soil: but my companions considered Daood (for that was his name) a man of veracity and good character, and had often heard from him the same account as he had now given me, so that the general features of his description might with some slight allowances be taken to be correct. It would be certainly worthy the attempt of some enterprising traveller to explore that part of Arabia, and fill up the blank which it now presents in our maps.

The adjoining district of Ledjah was familiarly known to all our party, and all confirmed the previous accounts that I had heard of its being full of ruined towns and cities, containing the remains of large edifices and innumerable inscriptions, like those at Bozra, Soeda, and Gunnawāt. Missema was the name of a town on the N.E. edge of the district, lying in the road from Damascus to Shukkah, Shuhubah, Hilheet, and Aiāt, on the eastern

hills; and other names were mentioned, which from their number and variety I could not retain with sufficient accuracy to enter among my notes at the time.

Towards the close of the evening, we had another scriptural name added to our party in the person of an old sheikh named Aioobe, or Job, who, hearing of our assembly, came to join it; and, being a communicative old man, added to the pleasure as well as to the number of our party.

Wednesday, March 21. — We left Mahadjee at day-light, going to the N.N.E., and at sun-rise passed the bed of a stream called Wādi-el-Harrām, which was now dry: and close by it on the right, observed a ruined heap, called Gussawah. In half an hour from hence we passed the small village of Toobbery, leaving it on our right about a quarter of a mile; and at the same time saw the large town of Ikteeby, about four miles on our left. In half an hour more we came in a line with Gheryeh, a town with two castles, which lay about half a mile on our left; and at the same time we had on our right the town of Gherbt-el-Wāli, three miles off, and Busseer and El Ghoffy, about one mile distant, all within the stony district of Ledjah; all large, and all deserted, and without inhabitants.

Half an hour beyond this, we crossed the bed of Wādi Rammān, which we found dry, and the channel bending to the northward. Continuing to ride along its bank for half an hour more, we reached the town of Sunnymein. This place contains a bridge of seven arches, a large building with columns, a manufacture of mill-stones from the rocky bed of the neighbourhood, a considerable number of houses, and six towers seen on passing. As we neither alighted nor even halted at the place, but pursued our way without delay, I obtained no further particulars of this town beyond those here noted.

In a quarter of an hour after passing Sunnymein, going now about N.E., we came to Deedy, a small place which we left on our

right; and about a furlong beyond this, we had on our left the town of Ghebt el Ghazāly. There was a paved road here; and an hour beyond this, we had the town of Deer el Bukt one mile on our left, and Mothebein two miles on our right. In an hour from Deer el Bukt we reached what is considered the boundary of the Haurān, and entered on a stony tract of country not unlike that of Ledjah, so often spoken of before. On a hill to the left was a tower, called Kassr-ibn-Gowash, with a tank or reservoir of water near, for the ablutions of pilgrims, and a niche facing the Kāba at Mecca, for prayers; this place lying in the Derb-el-Hadj, or high road of the caravans that take the pilgrims to Arabia. To the south of this station, the inhabitants are called Haurāni; to the west of this, they are called Jeddoori; to the east of this, they are called Druzi, and Lejāhi; and to the north of this, Shāmi, from Sham, the only name by which Damascus is known here. To the east of the reservoir, about 200 yards, is a small town called Garhib, and from thence the district of Ledjah extends itself away to the eastward.

The range of hills near to this is called Sub-et-Pharaoon, but they were no longer of the black porous stone before described, of which we had gradually lost sight as we approached the northern boundary of the Haurān. In an hour after leaving the tower and tank at that boundary, and proceeding in a northerly direction, we passed a place called Shukhub, which lay on a hill to the left, and appeared to be a station enclosed for defence. Near this, we passed through a pretty large party of Bedouin Arabs, which we learnt were the greater portion of a tribe coming from the eastward, and proceeding farther on, to take up an encampment for a season in the western plains.

From hence we proceeded in a N.W. direction for about three hours, over a stony ground with patches of light soil, when we came to a large caravanserai, built of black stone, and called Khan Denoon, near to which on the east was a small village, built of sun-dried bricks formed of a light-coloured earth, and present-

ing a remarkable contrast to each other. In an hour from thence we came to a place called Kissāwee, seated in a valley named Wādi-el-Ajam, and crossed the stream there. The town, though built of sun-dried bricks of a light colour, presented, chiefly from its situation, an interesting appearance, particularly after many of those we had lately seen. We passed over a bridge paved with stone and through a small bazār, both at this place; and after going for another hour up earthy hills, in a N.W. direction, we came suddenly in sight of Damascus, seated on a beautifully wooded and extremely fertile plain, the prospect of which delighted me so much, that I rode for a full hour unconscious of any thing but the beauty of the scene.

On entering Damascus from the S.E. quarter, I was charmed beyond expression with the verdant and delightful appearance of the olive grounds, fruitful gardens, and running streams through which this city is approached. A remarkable peculiarity of the buildings in this quarter is that almost every separate edifice appears to have a high and pointed dome of brick-work, which being of the same light-coloured earth used in the bricks of the buildings, resembles at a distance a number of large straw bee-hives. We entered the city through the Bab-el-Ullah, or the Gate of God, so called from its leading to Jerusalem and Mecca — both holy cities, and both places of pilgrimage, the last only to the Mohammedans, but the first to all the several classes of Jews, Christians, and Moslems, by each of whom it is held in high estimation, and called by all, El-Khods-el-Shereef, the Holy and the Noble.

We passed up through the city in a N.W. direction, by a street leading from the Bab-el-Ullah, at least a mile in length, and equal in breadth to any of the great thoroughfares in London. To avoid notice, and prevent too narrow a scrutiny into our faces, which the inhabitants of bigotted towns and cities like this are too much disposed to exercise on strangers coming among them, we drew over our faces the keffeah of the Bedouins, after the fashion

used by the Desert Arabs when they advance to the attack in battle to conceal their features, or in cold weather for warmth, or among strangers to whom they do not wish to be known, so that nothing remained visible except the eyes — while we scarcely turned our regards on either side, but contented ourselves with returning the salutations of the faith with which all passengers are greeted on their entry into a town or city, whatever be the object of their journey.

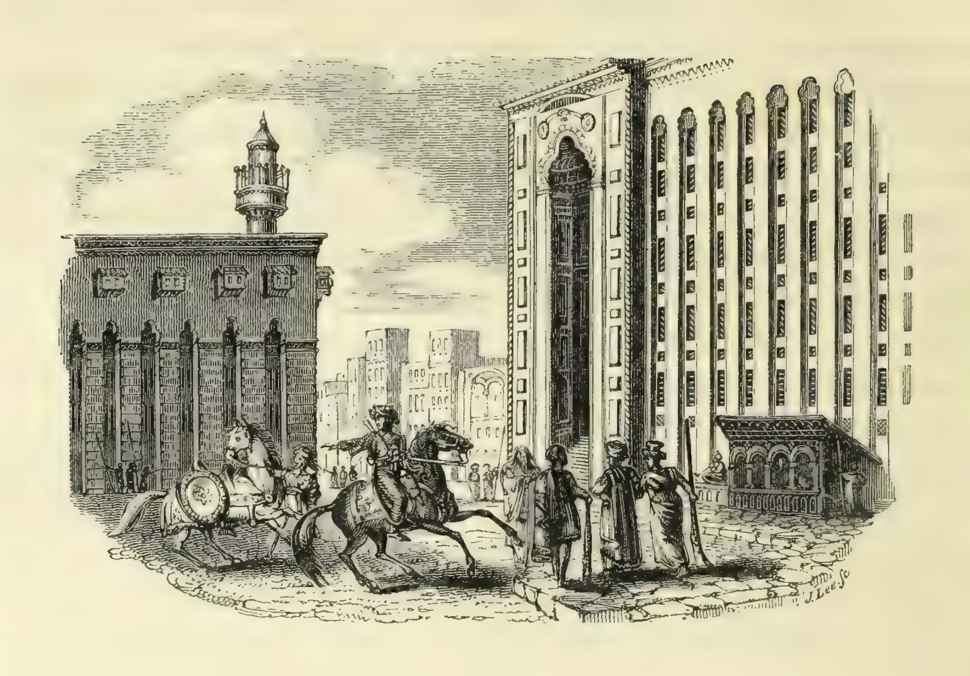
The street through which we passed was paved in the centre, upon a raised level, forming an excellent road for beasts of burden, camels, and horses, and would easily admit the passage of six or eight abreast. Below this raised road, was an unpaved space on each side, and within this again a pavement of smaller stones, nearly as broad as the central raised way, for foot passengers, along the fronts of the dwellings, shops, and other edifices that lined the street. Had the buildings been at all correspondent to the length and breadth of this fine road, the effect of the whole would have been excellent; but these were, in general, poor and mean, and totally destitute of uniformity, whether in size, style, or material. Among the principal edifices I noticed several mosques, some of modern, and others apparently of a pretty old date. The shops were all open, and many manufactories of cotton, silk, stuff, and leather, were carried on at each side of the street in the open air. Notwithstanding my disappointment at the general inferiority of the buildings of this fine street to the expectation I had formed of them, I was nevertheless much pleased at the cleanliness of every thing we saw, and the apparent health and beauty of the people of all classes that we met in our way, as well as the richness and gaiety of apparel, among the young and old, the rich and poor, in proportion to their several ages and ranks; the oldest and the poorest among them, however, being much better dressed than the ordinary class of people in any Arab or Turkish town that I had yet seen. There was a degree of order and tranquillity also visible in every part of the street, even that most thickly crowded with people, which was

pleasing to witness, and gave a very favourable impression as to the sober and orderly habits of the inhabitants.

After more than half an hour's continued ride through this single street, which led us nearly into the centre of the city, we turned off to the westward, and went for upwards of half an hour more through narrow passages and covered bazārs, forming a perfect labyrinth, until we reached the convent of the Catholic Christians, at which we arrived about sun-set. Notwithstanding the poverty of my dress, being still habited as a Bedouin Arab, and though unfurnished with any letter of introduction, from not anticipating the necessity which had forced me into this route, I received a very kind and hospitable reception. The president, a native of Spain, and one of the fattest and in every respect most jolly-looking friars that I had ever seen, had received letters, however, from his brethren at the convents of Jerusalem and Nazareth, in which the names of Mr. Bankes and myself, as English travellers, who had been there, were mentioned with great respect, and in consequence of which it was probable that either of us passing this way would be treated with more than usual attention.

While a supper of fresh fish was preparing, a suit of clean garments was brought to me from one of the Christian merchants residing near the convent, and I enjoyed a pleasure not to be described in throwing off clothes that had never been changed for thirty days, though sleeping almost constantly on the bare ground. Neither was my pleasure less in devouring with a zest almost unknown before, the fresh fish, soft bread, and excellent wine of Lebanon set before me for my evening repast. An excellent apartment was given up to my exclusive use, containing a good bed, a sofa, table, chairs, and drawers, with a dressing-room and closet adjoining, and a window opening into a paved court below, in which was a fine clear fountain and several orange trees, besides a passage leading to an open terrace, whereon I might uninterruptedly enjoy the morning and evening air. I had scarcely ever before enjoyed so sudden and complete a transition from all the

sufferings and privations of a barbarous and almost savage mode of life to the pleasures and abundance of a civilized and social state of existence. I was, indeed, so deeply impressed with the feeling of enjoyment, that it absorbed all other considerations, except the wish that I could surround myself with those friends who were dearest to me in the world, and live with them in peace and retirement at Damascus for ever.



CHAP. XV.

STAY AT DAMASCUS.

Damascus, Thursday, March 22. — At daylight I was accompanied to an excellent bath by one of the servants of the convent, and remained there in the delightful enjoyment which it afforded until nearly noon. This bath is called the Bath of Musk, and belongs to the family of Ahmed Bey, a family that has furnished more Pashas to different provinces of the state than any other throughout all Turkey, whether in Europe or Asia. As that family is now much poorer than formerly, notwithstanding the lucrative employment of so many of its members, while at the same time they endeavour to maintain such a show of grandeur as they think necessary for the maintenance of their dignity, great funds are still required for their disbursements as before, and to

raise these, a number of the palaces, gardens, and baths, belonging to the family, and once appropriated solely to their use, are now opened (as I learnt) to the public, of which the bath alluded to is an instance, and from this source a considerable annual sum is raised. From the great expense and care bestowed on its first construction, it is justly deemed one of the finest baths of the city; and though those of Cairo are renowned for their costliness and convenience, I thought this much superior to any that I had seen in the capital of Egypt.

On my return to the convent, I was visited by several Christian merchants, all Syrians by birth, and mostly natives of Damascus; accompanied by Doctor Chaboçeau, an old French gentleman nearly eighty years of age, now quite deaf, with his interpreter, Ibrahim, equally as old and as deaf as his master. The venerable physician had been more than fifty years in the East, or the Levant as it is generally called, including Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus, yet during all this time he had acquired no one language of the country, speaking only French, and understanding Italian but imperfectly. This indifference, incapacity, or aversion of the French to the acquisition of foreign languages, is every where remarked, and wherever they are placed in foreign countries, they are of all Europeans the slowest in acquiring either the language, the manners, or the habits of feeling prevalent among those by whom they are surrounded, retaining their nationalities, unaltered, after even years of exile and seclusion.

M. Chaboçeau's behaviour to me was full of urbanity and kindness, and during this our first interview he entertained me with many anecdotes of the several European travellers who had passed this way during his long residence in Syria, particularly of Mr. Browne, the Darfour discoverer; Pedro Nuñes, or Ali Bey-el-Abassy, the Spaniard who had traversed Barbary; Doctor Seetzen, and Mr. Burckhardt; all of whom he had known personally. He had seen the celebrated Abyssinian Bruce at Cairo, and passed some days with Mr. Volney, at Acre; and, though he

praised the work of the latter on Egypt (as all must be constrained to do who read it), he added, that he had seen but little of Syria for himself, but that all he had written respecting this country was acquired by correspondence, or the visits of persons acquainted with its localities, whom he met with from time to time during his stay at a Maronite convent in Lebanon, where he remained almost all the time that he resided in Syria, and where, indeed, his volume on Syria and Egypt was written.

On enquiring if any news had been received of Mr. Bankes, I learnt that he had been, for the last twenty days, with Lady Hester Stanhope, at the convent of Mar Eleeas, near Seyda, the ancient Sidon, and that it was thought he would visit Bālbeck and Palmyra from thence, and take Damascus in his route of return to the sea-coast. The portion of my effects which I had thought it imprudent to take with me in my attempt to force a passage to the eastward from Karak, such as a watch, a sword, the notes of my voyage from Egypt to Syria and journey in Palestine, with my letter of credit on Mr. Barker, and other papers, were left with Mr. Bankes at Nazareth, to be taken by him to Damascus or Aleppo, as circumstances might direct; because, in the event of my being forced back, which had really happened, all those things would still be of use to me. Finding myself thus, in a large city, without money or credit, and therefore fettered in all my movements, for there was no proceeding further in any direction without a supply, I despatched a messenger on foot to Seyda, with a letter to Mr. Bankes, informing him of my being here, and desiring my baggage, papers, and effects, to be sent over to me without delay; directing the letter on the outside to be opened by Lady Hester Stanhope, in the event of Mr. Bankes having left her residence before it reached. The messenger departed soon after noon, under a promise of returning in five days; and the sum stipulated to be paid him for this was twenty piastres, or little more than three Spanish dollars.

My evening was passed in company with the friars of the convent, who had a small room for assembling in at night, in the

same manner as at Jerusalem. The conversation was almost wholly engrossed by a recapitulation of the miseries which they conceived themselves doomed to suffer in this exile from their country and their home; as well as in recounting the various acts of cruelty and ill-treatment to which they were constantly exposed from the brutality and infidelity of the Turks. All these evils, however, were greatly exaggerated, for the purpose, apparently, of impressing me with a belief that their life was one of great suffering and mortification; but in their estimate, as is too often the case with the great mass of mankind, they had entirely overlooked the comforts and even luxuries which they enjoyed, and which rendered their condition superior to that of millions, even among the intelligent, the industrious, and the deserving of their fellow creatures. They had, without rent or taxes, except such as were paid by their flock, a large and commodious house, with excellent apartments, gardens, courts, terraces, and fountains; a heavenly climate, an abundance of the necessaries of life, undisturbed tranquillity, and great respect and veneration from all those with whom they held communion, who were persons of their own faith, and both numerous and respectable. The friars were all Spaniards, and were fully as uninformed on all general subjects as their brethren at Jerusalem. This, indeed, appeared to me the true cause of their unhappiness; for, had they possessed only sufficient knowledge to inspire a taste for acquiring more, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which a man's happiness might be more complete than in an establishment of this description. It is necessary, however, to suppose that his religious duties are performed with the heart as well as the tongue; for if these are regarded as a task, rather than a voluntary offering, their frequent repetition must be irksome in the extreme; and it is not impossible but that this may have its share in the formation of the mass of suffering, by which they delight to picture to others that they are borne down and oppressed. Like the people of Assalt and the Haurān, they dwelt with great delight on the anticipated partition of the Turkish

empire, and thought it a reproach to the princes of Christendom, that the sanctuaries of the Holy Land should remain so long in the hands of these unbelieving monsters.

It was some time after sun-set when strangers were announced at the convent door; and, much to my surprise and satisfaction, it was my former companion, Mr. Bankes, with his servant and Albanian dragoman, a second interpreter for Arabic from Lady Hester Stanhope, a muleteer and four mules, just arrived from her ladyship's residence at Mar Eleeas. Our meeting was really a happy one, and we continued up very late, in recounting to each other what had befallen each, since our separation at Nazareth. Not having any means of being informed as to my movements (the communication between the country I had lately traversed and that on the coast being but rarely practicable), and not expecting to find me here, Mr. Bankes had not brought over my effects consigned to his care, but had left them with Lady Hester Stanhope, who had kindly taken charge of them, to be retained or sent forward as circumstances and events might subsequently require. Mr. Bankes's excursions since we separated had been interesting. From Nazareth he went to Nablous; and on his way between these, visited the ruins of Sebasta, which Dr. Clarke had unaccountably overlooked, and taken another place (Sanhoor) for its remains.*

* Mr. Bankes had with him the seventeenth number of the Quarterly Review, which contained a critique on that portion of Dr. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land. It had, I believe, been sent to him, or was brought by him from Egypt; and I remember our both reading it at Jerusalem, and again at Nazareth. It was from this copy of the Quarterly Review that I gained my knowledge of its criticisms on Dr. Clarke and D'Anville, the inaccuracy of which I had occasion to point out more than once in the course of the Travels in Palestine already published. On the present occasion, however, I remember Mr. Bankes to have been severe in his strictures on what he called the "stupidity" of Dr. Clarke, in supposing the remains of Sebasta to be at Sanhoor (which the Reviewers, with still greater stupidity, call "the town and Norman fortress of Santoni," and "which," they say, "our author, *with great probability*, identifies with the ancient Sebaste"†), while such considerable remains still exist, and where even the ancient name is still retained in the Subusta of the Arabs. Mr. Bankes,

† Quarterly Review, vol. ix. p. 197.

From Sanhoor Mr. Bankes went down to Beisan, on the western bank of the Jordan, and saw there many columns of marble, and the remains of a small and ordinary theatre much ruined. His stay with Lady Hester Stanhope had been agreeable, and he had visited many curious places in the neighbourhood of her residence, under the guidance of her physician, Dr. Meryon. Though we were both extremely fatigued, and needed, as much as we desired, repose, this mutual interest, in which we seemed equally to participate, kept us up until past midnight, and even then we parted reluctantly to rest.

Damascus, Friday, March 23. — We remained within the convent the whole of the day to repose; and it was passed in my reading to Mr. Bankes the rough notes of my journeys since our separation, and in comparing the inscriptions which I had copied in the Haurān with those which had been copied by Mr. Burckhardt, and of which he had given some copies to Mr. Bankes. We found that I possessed several which he did not, and *vice versa*, as well as that in those of which we both had copies there were some that agreed in every letter, and others which differed but slightly in a few characters only.

After reading my notes on the journey I had made through Belkah, Adjeloon, and the Haurān, Mr. Bankes was so much pleased with the account I had there given of the several objects met with in the way, that he formed a resolution to go from hence to Bozrah, and, if possible, to proceed from thence to Assalt and Ammān, and then to return a second time to Jerusalem to pass the holy week. I was pleased at this determination of Mr. Bankes, and

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at the same time, concurred with me in the opinion, that nothing could be more preposterous than the idea of Reviewers setting themselves up as judges, to decide, in their closets at home, upon questions of local position, which could only be determined by evidence on the spot; and condemned, most heartily, the arrogance of professed critics in general, and the assumed infallibility of the Quarterly Reviewers in particular. I had no idea then, however, that this same Mr. Bankes would ever join the very persons, and pursue the very practice, which he here so justly condemned.

said all I could to encourage him to its accomplishment, as no good drawings had yet been taken of many interesting monuments there; and no one was more capable of executing them with accuracy, if he would devote the time necessary for such a task, than Mr. Bankes would be. Through many parts of the country that he had traversed, he had done nothing more than make a few sketches for drawings, as he had found it impossible to make these and write notes too, without a greater sacrifice of time than he was willing to make in these countries; so that his written materials were very scanty indeed, and he trusted much to his memory to connect together the links which he conceived every sketch of a particular place would form in the chain of his progressive journey. He lamented this, however, as a defect, which it would be very desirable to remove; and, as he professed himself to have no higher object in view than that of laying before the world a good account of the countries east of the Jordan, which up to the present period remained almost a blank, admitting, at the same time, the many obstacles which operated against his collecting accurate information from the natives of the country, from his ignorance of the Arabic language, he made to me the following proposition: — That we should cordially unite our efforts during our respective journies through the country, to collect as many materials for publication as might be safely practicable, each in his own way; and as he had already read and approved of my notes, he consented to give all his drawings to be united with them, and to add such other illustrations as he might subsequently be able to offer, to render the work more complete. To this I readily assented; and here the first *idea* of publication, as far as I was concerned, certainly originated; for up to this period I had no thought beyond the collection of such remarks as occurred to me in passing through the country, for my own information, and the committing them to paper for preservation, that they might contribute, in an equal degree, to the pleasure of those few who were dear enough to me to make their happiness an object of equal importance with my own.

I had kept very full and copious journals of my voyages and travels for years before this, for no other purpose than that described, so that the long-continued practice had rendered it familiar to me, and made the habit so agreeable, that I should have followed it up with as much zeal for the private ends alluded to, as I could have done in the hope of popular distinction ; my desire to increase the happiness of the individuals on whom my dearest and most frequent thoughts were bent, being a more powerful stimulant than even the applause of the world, without their gratitude being included in it. When the idea of publication, and the putting forth my name to the censure or approbation of professed critics, was thus presented to me for the first time, I shrunk from the notion of it, even while I assented, as if in dread of a power that I naturally magnified, because then entirely unacquainted with its utter inefficiency to inflict permanent pain, unless founded on just views and equitable decisions. With a desire, however, to ensure the greatest possible accuracy and completeness in any work to which I should be a contributor, I suggested the great advantages which it would bring to the work itself, to invite others to co-operate with us also, so that no department of enquiry might be left unexplored ; and that all who possessed any information on the subjects which ought to be noticed in a Book on the countries east of the Jordan, might contribute their share to its completion. The name of Mr. Burckhardt, then in Egypt, and then the joint friend of both, immediately suggested itself as one of the most probable and most efficient aids that could be gained to this undertaking ; and accordingly a letter was addressed to him by Mr. Bankes, making the proposition to him in our joint names. As, however, my desire to be assured of success in this joint labour, and my wish to lessen and divide, as much as possible, the responsibility which would attach to the written materials of the Book, became the stronger the more I considered the subject, I distinctly intimated to Mr. Bankes, that my co-operation in such a joint publication must depend on the assent of Mr. Burckhardt to the scheme. In his

own department, that of the drawings, he was secure enough, as every indulgence would be granted in case of any alleged imperfection in these, whether as to their fidelity, numbers, or excellence of execution, each being complete within itself, and drawings being always acceptable, whether few or many. With regard to the written materials of any publication, however, the same degree of indulgence is rarely if ever exercised; — where there is one critic to analyse a drawing, there are twenty to scrutinize a description in words; and imperfections in narrative, erroneous quotations of authorities, or inconclusive reasonings, are handled with far less mercy than false proportions in perspective, or an undue predominance of light or shade in a picture. It appeared to me, therefore, as in the highest degree essential, to obtain Mr. Burckhardt's assistance in this department, for which we both knew he had abundant materials, and I made it a condition with Mr. Bankes, that the final ratification of this proposed union should depend on the consent of all the parties; or, in other words, that if Mr. Burckhardt, from any cause, declined to enter into the scheme, I could not, alone, pledge myself to carry it through. When I urged to Mr. Bankes the necessary imperfection of my notes, and the time as well as care it would require to put them in a fit state for publication, he assured me that I estimated too highly the importance of perfection in a Book of Travels, and rated at too low a standard the state of my own materials, which he said he had read with considerable pleasure even in their present form, and added that his advice would be to publish them in nearly the same state in which they now stood in my note books.

The writing the letter to Mr. Burckhardt, and these friendly altercations, in which I had reason to be much flattered by the voluntary and unsought testimony paid to the value of what I had hitherto regarded as materials for my family correspondence only, kept us up till long past midnight, though we had been nearly the whole of the day engaged as described. *

* A note on this subject will be found among the papers at the end of this volume.

Damascus, Saturday, March 24.—We were waited on this morning by a soldier of Aleppo, called Abu Adoor, who brought with him a written recommendation from Mr. Rikhter, a Russian traveller, who had recently gone into Nubia, and visited Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, from whence this soldier had accompanied him to Palmyra. As he professed to be perfectly acquainted with all the localities of Damascus and its environs, and offered to attend us in our excursions, we engaged him for this service, and determined to profit by this occasion to see some part of the city at least to-day.

After an early breakfast, we left the convent on foot, and as our faces were not yet known to any of the Moslems of Damascus, we directed our course first to the Great Mosque, where, when we had arrived, we shook off our slippers and walked boldly through. By the aid of our beards, white turbans, and a certain conformity to Turkish or Arabic movements only to be acquired by habit, we passed undiscovered, and without even being regarded, as mere strangers generally are, though known to be of the same faith. This mosque is situated to the north of the Catholic convent, and stands on an elevated position, nearly in the centre of the city. On approaching its entrance we ascended a flight of steps leading up to the door, at the foot of which is a fountain that sends forth a column of clear water to the height of from ten to fifteen feet. The square court in front of this building is magnificent from its extent; and the interior of the mosque itself, from its vast dimensions, produces a most imposing effect. Its form is that of an oblong square, composed of three long aisles running parallel to each other, and divided by rows of fine Corinthian columns. On the outside, it is seen that these three aisles have each a separate pent roof, that the large dome rises from the centre of the central roof, and that at the end of each of these is a mināreh or minaret. The outer court has, on three of its sides, a portico or colonnade of Syrian granite pillars, mostly of a fine grain and reddish colour, but we did not observe the columns of verd-antique which are said to be

in that front of the mosque which faces towards the court, though it was very possible for them to exist, and yet to have escaped our observation as we passed.

It appears from the best authorities that this mosque was a Christian cathedral; and this opinion is supported by the style of the architecture, which is of the Corinthian order throughout every part of the edifice. It is thought by some writers to have been built by the Emperor Heraclius, and dedicated to Zachariah; by others it is considered to have been the work of the bishops of this see, and by them dedicated to St. John of Damascus; while the Turks call it the Mosque of St. John the Baptist, and think it was built by the Khalif Valid, in the 86th year of the Hejira, from some of the Arabic historians mentioning that he embellished it about that period. The mosque, at the time of our passing through it, was full of people, though these were not worshippers, nor was it at either of the usual hours of public prayer.* Some of the parties were assembled to smoke, others to play at chess, and some apparently to drive bargains of trade, but certainly none to pray. It was indeed a living picture of what we might believe the temple at Jerusalem to have been, when those " who sold oxen, and sheep,

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* Benjamin of Tudela visited Damascus in the 9th century, and at that time it appears that infidels were strictly prohibited, as now, from entering the mosques. It was, perhaps, from his being unable to enter these buildings and inspect them for himself, that he gives such extravagant accounts of them in his book. The Great Mosque was considered in his day to have been anciently the Royal Palace of Ben Hadad, and its magnificence was highly extolled. Damascus was then called the commencement of the kingdom of Noraldin (probably Noor-ed-deen), King of the Togarman (the Togarmah of Ezekiel), commonly called Turks. †

† Togarmah traded in horsemen, horses, and mules, with Tyre, on the coast. (Ezekiel, xxvii. 14.) These were no doubt the race at present called Turcomans, who still carry on the same occupation of breeding and selling horses, and hiring themselves out as horsemen, and are scattered over all the country north of Syria, along the fertile plains at the feet of Mount Taurus, ranging to the eastward into the heart of Asia. I have noticed this, because the most learned commentators appear to be at a loss where to fix the country of the Togarmah. Bochart thinks it is Cappadocia; Michaelis, Armenia and Media, where the kings of Persia bred their horses, and where the tribute was paid in them. See Newcombe, who cites the Greek scholiast in Ezekiel, xxxviii. 6. The Chaldee renders it by Germania. The objection to Armenia is, that in every other passage this is rendered by Ararat. (2 Kings, xix. 37. — Isaiah, xxxvii. 38. — Jeremiah, li. 27.) — *Vincent.*

and doves, and the changers of money sitting there," were driven out by Jesus with a scourge of cords, and their tables overturned. It was, in short, a place of public resort and thoroughfare, a "house of merchandise," as the temple of the Jews had become in the days of the Messiah.*

On leaving the mosque, we came out into a crowded bazār, which accounted for the building itself being used as a convenient resort for those who wished to converse apart on the subject of business, thus answering the convenient purpose of a promenade and an exchange. In order to show that this may also exist in Christian countries, without implying any extraordinary irreverence to religion, it may be sufficient to advert to the assignations which take place in the Catholic cathedrals of the continent of Europe, and the sauntering gossip of idle visitors to Westminster Abbey, in our own country; to say nothing of the appropriation of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem to worse purposes than either, at the time of its most solemn celebrations, for which we have the most unexceptionable authority.† They all tend to prove, that in every country there is a strange mixture of profit and pleasure with religion, and that edifices set apart for the solemn worship of the Deity, into which no one should enter but with feelings of the purest devotion, are frequently the scenes of indulgence, to some, of the worst passions of human nature — hypocrisy, fraud, and mental and physical prostitution.

Among the minārehs of the city we noticed one of considerable height and grandeur, covered on the outside with a rich green

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* Luke, ii. 13—16.

† We went to take our last leave of the Holy Sepulchre, this being the last time that it was to be opened this festival. Upon this finishing day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admittance for all people, without demanding any fee of entrance, as at other times, calling it a day of charity. By this promiscuous licence they let in, not only the poor, but, as I was told, the lewd and vicious also, who come hither to get convenient opportunity for prostitutions, profaning the holy places in such a manner (as it is said) that they were not worse defiled when the heathens here celebrated their Aphrodisia.—*Maundrell's Travels.*

colour, which looked like enamel, or the foil that is sometimes worn on theatrical dresses ; and from its reflecting the rays of the sun, which shone in full blaze upon it at the moment of its attracting our notice, it produced a splendid effect.

We went after this to the mosque of the dervishes, which is at the extremity of the city, and were shown at this place a pleasant garden, in which these religious fanatics dance themselves into a temporary intoxication or madness, for which they select the most holy of the days of the week, Friday. The veneration in which these double impostors are held, who first delude themselves and then their followers, is of itself sufficient to stamp the character of the present race of Mohammedans, if no other proof of their extreme ignorance and barbarism existed. It remains only because of that ignorance being general, and it can only be eradicated by making knowledge take its place: so that those who cry out against the too general diffusion of information among the lower orders of our countrymen at home, and deplore the growing intelligence of the age, may see to what an odious state of debasement and degradation man may descend, when knowledge is withheld from him, and to what a mass of misery and crime their pretended regard for "social order" necessarily tends. The mosque of the dervishes is a large, regular, and handsome edifice. It has two of the loftiest and finest minārehs, or towers, anywhere to be seen in Damascus. Besides the principal dome, which is very large, a line of smaller ones is carried round three sides of the open court in front of the building, after the same manner as those in the great mosque at Mecca, of which it appears to be a close imitation. The domes are all of the low or flattened kind, and, as well as the pointed summits of the minārehs, all covered with lead. The architecture is not Saracen, or Arabic, as seen in the principal mosques of Cairo, but Turkish, as seen in most of the principal buildings at Smyrna and Constantinople. The execution is, however, in a pleasing style and good proportions, and the whole kept in a perfect state of repair. From its agreeable situation, and being sur-

rounded by gardens, trees, and water, it forms one of the most charming spots among the many that Damascus furnishes; but it was impossible to admire its beauties, and think of the worse than useless, the pernicious, institution to which it was originally applied, without a sigh of regret for the blindness and ignorance which could alone have so perverted the best gifts of bountiful nature. It was some consolation to learn, that now and then a clear head and a benevolent heart sprung up even among the Turks, to do some good amidst the mass of evil which characterises the laws, institutions, and manners of that race. An instance of this, which we now beheld, struck us with more force from its proximity to the seat of folly and superstition just described, for the mosque being shut, we were taken by our attendant to the court adjoining it, where we were shown a large manufactory of silk, carried on within the precincts of the buildings, and constituting, as we were informed, a purely charitable institution, founded by Sultan Sulimān. We could not gather from our guide, who was both uninformed, and backward to communicate freely even the little that he did know, what was the supposed amount of the funds, nor the mode in which they were applied for the relief of charitable objects attached to or dependant on this foundation; but we learnt this at least, that the productive labour of making silk goods for charitable purposes was carried on during six days of the week with little intermission, and that the seventh only was occupied by the dancing or whirling dervishes for the exhibition of their frenzied freaks of folly. It would be a great relief to suffering humanity, if the same proportion between the useful and the useless occupation of time prevailed over the whole earth; we might then hope to see a more equal distribution of the bounties of nature, which are more than sufficient for all, and would give every nation abundance, if its population were usefully employed for six days in the week, giving the seventh only to recreation and repose.

Our next excursion, after leaving the mosque of the dervishes, was to a small suburb, named Salheyah, lying at the foot of the

mountains which bound Damascus on the W. and W.N.W. This suburb, or town, is situated at a distance of about two miles from the limits of the city, to which, however, it may be said to be connected by a public road, with a broad paved way in the centre for horses, and a raised causeway on each side for the accommodation of foot passengers. This road leads through one continued succession of gardens on each side, with clean and limpid streams, forming altogether one of the most interesting walks that could be desired. This place becomes one of general resort for pleasure on the last day of every week, when it is crowded with visitors on their way to and from Salheyah, where it is usual for persons of every age and condition to repair in holiday trim whenever their health and circumstances admit.

Numbers of Turkish females, enveloped in white muslin robes, with large head-dresses, covered by the ample folds of their outer garment, sat in parties by the way side, some smoking, others engaged in loud and merry conversation, with satirical remarks on the odd or curious among the passengers who crowded by, and others amusing themselves and their children, who surrounded them in groupes, and evidently enjoyed the scene as heartily as their mothers. Among the women, I noticed only two who wore the upper garment of yellowish white silk with broad red border, so common to the female dress of Nablous, at which place it is manufactured. With these exceptions, the dress here was universally an ample robe of snow-white muslin, with veils of a dark gauze, of striped and flowered patterns, the colours chiefly brown and yellow. Most of the females wore their veils down ; some, however, had their faces wholly uncovered, and others partially so: the chief pleasure of all appeared to consist in seeing and being seen. From the prevailing practice, throughout almost every part of Turkey and Arabia, and particularly in large towns, of the respectable females going into public always veiled, and none but women of loose character showing their faces to the world, I had conceived that those who sat unveiled by the way side were of the

latter description * ; but we were informed that such was the severity of the government against this class, that spies and informers were paid by the state for their detection ; and when any were found, they were generally put to death without a hearing or a trial. This last, indeed, is a part of justice almost unknown in Turkey, where accusation is too often considered proof, and men and women are deprived of existence on the slightest pretexts, whenever their death may be desired to gratify the caprice or revenge of some remorseless tyrant. It is impossible to imagine, much less detail, all the horrid evils to which this abominable system, of government by will, exposes mankind ; or sufficiently to express one's astonishment at the ignorance and stupidity of men (for courage is rarely wanting) who patiently submit to any government but that which is established and regulated by fixed and equitable laws. One-tenth part of the exertions made by the people to depose one tyrant and set up another, in times of tumult and commotion, which occur almost every year in some part or other of the Turkish dominions, would accomplish an entire revolution in their favour. Ignorance is the true cause, and its removal the only effectual remedy.

The men of the city were mounted, some on horses richly caparisoned, others on fine mules and asses that trotted with a vigour and activity which these animals never exhibit in the West ; some were sauntering on foot as if to prolong the distance of their way, and others reposing on the banks that skirted the road, either smoking, playing at chess, touching the Arnaout guitar to their songs, or employed in some diversion that proved how generally and effectually all parties had abandoned themselves to the sense of luxury and pleasure, in all the various modes in which they had the means of enjoying it. Nothing was wanting to render this one

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* It is worthy of remark, that, in the early ages of the world, honest women exposed themselves openly to the gaze of mankind, and harlots only covered themselves. See Genesis, xxxviii. 15. in the story of Judah and Tamar.

of the happiest scenes that human beings could witness, except the removal of that sense of insecurity which must necessarily be felt by all who live under a confirmed despotism, where no man can be assured that his wife, his children, his possessions, or even his existence, shall be exempt from violation for even an hour beyond the present ; as the rising sun may behold him in full possession of happiness, and the setting sun go down upon his misery, and see him stripped of all that rendered life desirable or worth preserving.

It was about noon when we reached the town of Salheyah, and ascending the hill above it towards a Sheikh's tomb, or some similar monument, called Kubt-el-Nasr, we enjoyed from thence a prospect that was truly enchanting. Having, unfortunately, neglected to take with us either a compass, a pencil, or even paper, no sketch was made of the view, which would have so well rewarded the trouble. The inhabitants of Damascus believe that the Garden of Eden, or the Paradise of our first parents, was in the plain below ; and they still show to strangers, at a place called El-Roobby, four streams, which they consider to be the four rivers described by Moses as issuing from thence. Tradition preserves an anecdote, which is assigned to Mohammed, the Arabian prophet, though probably belonging to some later personage, but sufficiently indicative of the high estimation in which the local beauty of the country around Damascus is held. It is said that the Prophet, arriving at a spot called El-Koddem, about two miles south of the city, was so impressed with the luxuriant and enchanting view before him, that he turned back from entering it, declaring that there was only one paradise for man, and leaving the print of his foot on the spot where he resolved to leave this earthly paradise in pursuit of the heavenly one, over which spot a mosque is said to be built to commemorate this event. Others mention a similar sentiment expressed by a certain saint as he caught the first view of Damascus from the summit of this hill on the west, from which the view is more commanding and magnificent. But whether both,

or either of these anecdotes be true or not, their existence, as traditionary stories, proves at least how appropriately they are considered by the people of the spot to express the super-eminent beauty of their place of abode; and in this all strangers who have a relish for the charms of landscape must cordially concur.

From this point of view the city of Damascus appeared to extend its greatest length from north to south, being broader at the northern, and tapering gradually away towards the southern end. Its extreme length appeared to be about three miles, and its extreme breadth about two. It stands on the western edge of a fine plain, and a level site, having a chain of hills pressing close upon it on the north-west, and the plain extending away beyond the range of vision to the east. The buildings of the city being constructed chiefly of stone below and light yellow bricks above, while the principal public edifices are painted in the gayest colours, the aspect of the whole is light and airy in the extreme. The castle, with its outer court and massive walls, and the great mosque already described, both of which are nearly in the centre of the city, look imposing by their magnitude, as seen from hence; and the light and tapering minarets that rise in every quarter of the town, give a peculiar character of elegance to the whole. The gardens that surround the city on the north; the fine olive grounds and long avenues of trees to the south; the numerous villages pressing the skirts of the town on the east, and the great suburb of Salheyah, with the thronged public way that leads to it on the west; added to the sombre but rich and thickly-planted cypresses, the slender poplars, the corn grounds, and the rivers and streams which so abundantly water the whole, give to this charming spot a character becoming a scene in fairy-land, and render it a fit object for the descriptive powers of an Arabian tale. *

* Pliny says, that the Syrians were excellent gardeners, and took such pains and were so ingenious in the laying out of their grounds, as to give rise to a Greek proverb to that effect.—*Nat. Hist.* b. xx. c. 51.

Not far from the spot at which we halted to enjoy this enchanting view, was an extensive cemetery, at which we noticed the custom so prevalent among eastern nations of visiting the tombs of their deceased friends. These were formed with great care, and finished with extraordinary neatness: and at the foot of each grave, was enclosed a small earthen vessel, in which was planted a sprig of myrtle, regularly watered every day by the mourning friend who visited it. Throughout the whole of this extensive place of burial, we did not observe a single grave to which this token of respect and sorrow was not attached; and, scattered among the tombs in different quarters of the cemetery, we saw from twenty to thirty parties of females, sitting near the honoured remains of some recently lost and deeply regretted relative or friend, and either watering their myrtle plants, or strewing flowers over the green turf that closed upon their heads.* This interesting office of friends or lovers sorrowing for the dead, is consigned entirely to females; as if from a conviction that their hearts are more susceptible of those tender feelings which the duties of such an office necessarily implies, and their breasts fitter abodes for that

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* The custom of decorating graves was once universally prevalent in England, as well as among nations of the highest antiquity. There is an admirable paper on this subject, under the head of "Rural Funerals," in the Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, from which the following passage may be here appropriately introduced: — "The natural effect of sorrow over the dead is to refine and elevate the mind; and we have a proof of it in the purity of sentiment and the unaffected elegance of thought which pervaded the whole of these funeral observances. Thus it was an especial precaution, that none but sweet-scented evergreens and flowers should be employed. The intention seems to have been to soften the horrors of the tomb, to beguile the mind from brooding over the disgraces of perishing mortality, and to associate the memory of the deceased with the most delicate and beautiful objects in nature. There is a dismal process going on in the grave, ere dust can return to its kindred dust, which the imagination shrinks from contemplating; and we seek still to think of the form we have loved, with those refined associations which it awakened when blooming before us in youth and beauty. 'Lay her i' the earth,' says Laertes of his virgin sister;

> "'And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
> May violets spring!'"

pure and affectionate sorrow which is indulged for the loss of those who are dear to us, than the sterner bosoms of men. It is a great advance from savage life to know and to acknowledge this; and where such an admission of the superior purity and fidelity of the female heart and character exists, their ultimate advancement to that rank which their sex should hold in social life cannot be altogether hopeless. For this, as for most other blessings, increased knowledge is the most effectual security; when this shall take the place of ignorance, the domestic slavery of women, which now disgraces the East, will disappear as certainly as that abominable slavery of men which for so many years disgraced the name of Christians in the West.

We prolonged our stay at Salheyah, and in its neighbourhood, until near sunset, and in our return home saw near the gate of one of the pasha's palaces a large oriental plane-tree, of at least fifteen feet in diameter, and about one hundred feet in height, with rich and exuberant foliage, forming altogether the noblest object of the vegetable world that I had ever beheld. In our way we halted at a coffee house in the horse-bazār, where we saw some of the most beautiful Arab horses, mares, and colts exhibiting to purchasers, smoked a nargeel, and chatted with some of the Bedouins who had brought them in from the Desert for sale. We reached the convent in time for the evening meal, and sat up late, recapitulating the agreeable objects we had seen, and the pleasing impressions we had mutually experienced during our excursion of the day.



CHAP. XVI.

EXAMINATION OF THE INTERIOR OF DAMASCUS.

Damascus, Sunday, March 25. — Desirous of resuming or continuing the task of visiting the principal parts of the city, and making the best use of my short stay here until I could receive my baggage and papers from Seyda, where they had been left by Mr. Bankes, we quitted the convent, after an early breakfast, and, under the guidance of the person who attended us in our ramble of yesterday, proceeded in search of other objects deemed equally deserving a stranger's attention.

Our first visit was to the office of a celebrated Jew, named Māllim Yusef, the brother of Māllim Haim, the great Jew at Acre; each of these men directing all the financial operations of the re-

spective governments under which they lived.* We found the Jew sitting in a small and mean apartment, in the court of the palace, surrounded by a number of writers, all apparently of his own religion. Mr. Bankes had brought letters to him from Lady Hester Stanhope, which procured us a good reception. After a few minutes' conversation, and the serving of coffee, we expressed a wish to be permitted to see the palace of the pasha, the castle, the armoury, and any other public building that might be deemed worthy of a stranger's attention, which, after some hesitation, arising from the peculiar circumstances of the government at the present moment, was at last acceded to.

As no regularly appointed pasha had yet replaced the late governor of Damascus, who had recently died on his route of return from the pilgrimage of Mecca, the administration of affairs was vested in the hands of his kihyah bey, or prime minister. A message was therefore sent in to an inner apartment of the palace, stating the nature of our visit, and the request we had preferred; when the bearer of it soon returned, and invited us in the name of his master, to "the presence." We readily followed him, and found the venerable Turk seated in a small but richly furnished apartment, guarded and attended by at least fifty handsome officers, all armed with sabres and dirks, and all superbly dressed. We were desired to seat ourselves on the sofa beside these chiefs, before whom stood in groups an equal number of armed attendants, and were treated with great respect and attention.

* It is worthy of remark, that Damascus was considered by some of the older writers as the original city of the Jews; and, indeed, we have it mentioned as the birth-place of Eliezer, the steward of the household of Abram, before he was promised to be the father of the whole race, and of Israel, whose children they were to be called. The author, who describes it as the original city of the Jews, calls it also "the most noble of the cities of Syria," which it still continues to be. He adds, that the Syrian kings boasted their descent in a right line from Queen Semiramis; and says, that the name of Damascus was given to the city by one of its earliest kings, who was himself so called, and in honour of whom the Syrians afterwards worshipped the sepulchre of his wife Arathes (probably Aradus on the coast), as a temple, and esteemed her a goddess in the height of their most religious devotions.

The rich Jew, Māllim Yusef, who conducted us to the presence of the kihyah bey, seated himself with the greatest possible humility on the floor beneath us, at the feet of his superiors who occupied the sofa, first kneeling, and then sitting back while kneeling, on the heels and soles of his feet, with these and his hands completely covered, in an attitude and with an air of the most abject and unqualified humiliation. Mr. Bankes was dressed as a Turkish effendi, or private and unmilitary person : I still continued to wear the less showy garments of the Christian merchant, with which I had replaced my Bedouin garb. The rich Jew was dressed in the most costly garments, including Cashmere shawls, Russian furs, Indian silks, and English broad-cloth : all, however, being of dark colours, since none but the orthodox Mohammedans are allowed to wear either green, red, yellow, azure, or white, in any of their garments, which are therefore, however costly in material, almost restricted to dark browns, blacks, and blues. Among the party was also a Moslem dervish, with a patchwork and party-coloured bonnet of a sugar loaf shape, and his body scarcely half covered with rags and tattered garments ; his naked limbs obtruding themselves most offensively, and his general appearance being indecent and disgusting. It was impossible not to be struck forcibly with the different modes of reception and treatment adopted towards us, more particularly as contrasted with our real and apparent conditions. The Jew, who was by far the wealthiest and the most powerful of all present, who lived in the most splendid house in Damascus, and fed from his table more than a hundred poor families every day, who literally managed the great machine of government, and had influence enough, both here and at Constantinople, to procure the removal of the present bey from his post if he desired it, was obliged to kneel in the presence of those who could not have carried on the affairs of government without his aid, while the dervish, contemptible alike for his ignorance and arrogant assumption of superiority, was admitted to the seat of honour, and, with ourselves, who were of a faith as far removed

from their own as the Jew's, was served with coffee, sherbet, and perfumes, and treated by the attendants with all the marks of submission and respect.

After a short conversation on general subjects, in which political news and exchange of compliments had the largest share, two cawasses, or soldiers, with silver sticks, were ordered to attend us around the palace, and we accordingly withdrew. On the intelligence of the late pasha's death first reaching Damascus, the treasury, and all the apartments of his residence which were thought to contain any valuable articles, were instantly secured with bolts and bars, and placed under lock and seal, in which state of security they still remained, this being assigned to us as a reason why the apartments best worth seeing were not at present accessible. We were, therefore, shown only a few of the rooms of the palace, and all of these fell far short of our expectations, having nothing of magnificence in their appearance. Many of them, indeed, were so mean as to force comparisons of a ludicrous nature, and present the image of a barber's shop, a tailor's board, &c. This was particularly the case with one small apartment which was said to be a favourite one of the late pasha, in which he generally took his evening coffee, though such a place would be appropriated to no higher use than a scullery in any decent house in England. The choice of such a place was probably, however, not in conformity with the natural taste of this Turkish chief, but from an affectation of simplicity in public, which is by no means uncommon with those who indulge in the greatest luxuries and sensualities in private, and who are withal the most inexorable of tyrants, as evinced, among others, in the character of the late pasha of Acre, surnamed Jezzar, or the butcher, from his bloody cruelty, who nevertheless assumed in public the simplicity of a patriarch or a hermit.

From seeing the lower apartments of the palace, we were taken to a flight of wooden stairs, which we ascended, and came to a long gallery at the top, from which we were shown through

the windows the interior of a fine room, the embellishments of which were really handsome. The marble pavement, the gilded and enamelled friezes, cornices, and ceilings, the pointed arched recesses, the curious and costly mosaic of the inlaid doors, were all extremely beautiful; and this splendour of the pasha's retirement might well compensate for his public appearance of humility. We learnt that this was the principal apartment in which he received and passed his leisure hours with the ladies of his harem; a word which to an English ear conveys an idea of indulgence in voluptuous pleasures, and is calculated to give the most erroneous notions of Turkish life, the harem being no doubt as often the scene of cruel and ferocious violence as of consenting love. We learnt that there were now in the palace a number of the pasha's wives and concubines, under charge of a bearded old man, who was pointed out to us, and not in the keeping of eunuchs, as is almost universally the case. They would remain here, we were told, closely immured and jealously guarded in their confinement, until a person deputed from Constantinople should arrive to take them to the Grand Signor, or Sultan of Stamboul, who has alone the power of adding them to the innumerable victims of his own imperial harem, or disposing of them as may suit his pleasure in marriage to his favourite officers. The reflections suggested by this communication, formed a powerful drawback from the pleasure we derived from the gay and happy scene of yesterday, while it confirmed my impression of the dreadful insecurity of life and liberty under a despotism so unlimited as this.

Our next visit was to the armoury, in the great court before the palace. We saw here thirty brass field-pieces, six-pounders, of Turkish foundry and well mounted, being ranged in front of the armoury, and ready for immediate service. Within these were some few heaps of shot and shells, and a number of large jars filled with tar; several closed palanquins or tachterevans, which are borne between two camels, and used for the conveyance of the pasha's ladies, whenever he may need their attendance in any

journey or excursion, and particularly for the pilgrimage to Mecca. There were also about fifty large and very old blunderbusses, capable of carrying a ball of about a pound weight, and furnished with a swivel just before the match-lock, so as to admit of its being fastened to a saddle and fired from a dromedary's back, or from the ground, as occasion might require. This place might be called the magazine of the Hadj, rather than the general armoury, as all these articles, we were told, were kept exclusively for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and put in requisition on the departure of the annual caravan.

From hence we went to the castle, which is not far distant from the magazine described. It is a large edifice, constructed in nearly the same style as the great castle at Bozrah, and surrounded with a broad and deep ditch of rustic masonry. It appears to be a work of great antiquity, and to have undergone many alterations, additions, and repairs, at different periods. The stones of the oldest parts of this building, near its foundation, are of an extraordinarily large size. The rustic masonry is the only feature of Roman architecture that it possesses, as the arches of the interior are chiefly of the pointed form, like those of Adjeloon and Assalt. These castles, instead of elucidating the history of the pointed arch, and defining the line which separates the eastern from the western style of architecture, or serving to mark the distinction between the Roman, the Saracen, and the Gothic orders of building, offer perpetual contradictions, and make the subject more difficult and obscure. In the same edifice we had seen the round, the flattened, and the pointed arch, rustic masonry on the exterior front, and fine smooth masonry in the interior walls; yet all apparently of the same age, and, in many instances, certainly all coeval with the original construction of the work in which they appeared.

At the castle of Athlete, on the sea-coast of Palestine, Mr. Bankes acknowledged to me that he had seen sufficient of these mixed features to create strong doubts in his mind as to the accu-

racy of the system he had hitherto adopted, for his guidance in distinguishing the Roman from the Saracenic works of the country. At Assalt, my own opinions were in the same manner shaken. At Adjeloon, where I saw the fan or shell niche of Roman shape and design united with the pointed arch of the Saracen form, my previous notions were quite unsettled. At Bozrah, the fine Doric theatre and the sharp vaulted passages seen in the same building, gave my opinions on this subject an entirely different turn from that which they had at first taken. And, lastly, this castle of Damascus had again raised fresh doubts as to the accuracy of either of the systems successively adopted. There appeared, at last, to be a choice between two hypotheses only; first, that the pointed arch was as frequently used by the Romans in their buildings in this country, as the semicircular one, and that the castles enumerated were all of Roman origin; or, secondly, that the rounded arch, the rustic masonry, and the shell or fan-topped niche, the most peculiar features of Roman work, were used by the Saracens who succeeded them in their possessions, and that these were all Mohammedan castles, erected after the expulsion of the Romans and Greeks of the Lower Empire from the country. The first of these alternatives seemed to me, however, the most probably accurate of the two; and as the pointed arch is found in some of the oldest of the buildings in the Haurān, constructed wholly of stone, it may have been found existing in these works of the country when the Romans first came into it, and have been subsequently used by them in other and larger works of ornament or defence.

That the early Greeks were unacquainted with the principle of constructing the arch, though they had carried architecture to a higher pitch of excellence than any other nation that preceded them, seems to be generally maintained and admitted. It is also asserted and believed, that neither the Indians nor the Egyptians were acquainted with this refinement in building. In Egypt, however, the monuments of which country are more ancient probably than that of any other on the face of the globe, the *form* of

the Roman arch was well known; and at the remains of Abydos, or El Araba Medfoun, on the western bank of the Nile, are several arched passages cut out in stone, and sculptured with hieroglyphics executed with infinite labour and care. Among the ruins of Thebes, also, on the western side of the Nile, sun-dried brick buildings have been found to contain *constructed* arches, (I think of the pointed form,) the antiquity of which is very uncertain. They may, indeed, be referred to an age coeval with Thebes itself, as well as to any later period; since a pyramid of the same material (sun-dried brick) exists near Dashour and Sakkara*; a boundary wall of the same material near the cataracts of the Nile at Assouam; city walls at Babylon in Mesopotamia, at Eliethas in Upper Egypt, and at Tānis in Lower Egypt; besides private dwellings at Abu-ke-sheid in the desert of Suez; at Bubastis in the Sharkieh, and other places decidedly Egyptian, and unquestionably of the earliest ages. The sun-dried brick buildings at Thebes may be as old as any of these, and the arches still remaining in them be therefore of very high antiquity; so also the round

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* The buildings of brick were not only as ancient as those of stone, but would seem, from the expressions attributed to an Egyptian king on erecting a pyramid of this material, to have been in higher estimation. The following is the passage of Herodotus in which this may be seen: —

"After Mycerinus, as the priests informed me, Asychis reigned in Egypt; he erected the east entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greatest and most magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned vestibules, is elegantly adorned with figures well carved and other ornaments of buildings, but this is superior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked and injured from the extreme want of money, an ordinance passed, that any one might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge: by this law, the sepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged, he could neither be buried with his family, nor in any other vault, nor was he suffered to inter one of his descendants. † This prince, desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, left, as a monument of his fame, a pyramid of brick, with this inscription on a piece of marble: 'Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stone; I am as much superior to them, as Jove is to the rest of the deities: I am formed of bricks, which were made of mud adhering to poles drawn from the bottom of the lake.' — This was the most memorable of this king's actions." — *Euterpe*, cxxxvi.

† The laws of England allow the arrest of a person's dead body till his debts are paid; this mentioned by Herodotus is the first example perhaps on record of such a custom.

and pointed arches found in the oldest buildings of the Haurān, supporting the roofs of stone, may be of an antiquity long anterior to the first conquests of the Romans in the East. In these buildings are seen arched windows, the arch scooped out of one solid stone, with square, circular, and diagonal apertures cut out of the masses used in the masonry of the front, at the same time that *constructed* arches built of several separate stones are found on the inside of the same edifice. All these are certainly coeval with the stone ceilings and stone doors of the same buildings, and are to be found in the most ancient structures now existing in the Haurān. The arch, whether of the rounded or pointed form, as found existing in these buildings, may, therefore, be carried back to the earliest period at which these fertile plains were first peopled by a race dwelling in houses; and this we know to have been as early as the time of Job, or even before, as, in his day, his sons and daughters feasted luxuriously in *houses;* while the Chaldeans and Sabeans, who, like the present inhabitants of the neighbouring desert, the Bedouin Arabs, fell upon the inhabitants of the plains, and carried off their camels and flocks, smiting those who resisted with the edge of the sword *, probably lived as their successors at this moment do, in *tents.* Wherever, indeed, the cultivators of the soil were fixed, as in these towns of the Haurān, and led a settled life, as distinguished from the wanderers of the desert, their habitations must always have been of stone, from the great abundance of that material, and the total want of wood; and buildings so constructed, of low and massive proportions, with large and solid blocks, united with careful and excellent workmanship, would endure as long as the pyramids of Memphis, or the most ancient structures now existing in any part of the globe.

It is not, however, to be necessarily inferred from this, that the Romans borrowed their form of the arch, or the principle of its

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* See the first chapter of the book of Job, which is generally considered to be the most ancient of all the books of Scripture; where many coincidences will strike the reader, between the present state of the Haurān, and the ancient picture of the "Land of Uz."

construction, from the East, since these might both have existed in this quarter at an early period, and yet have been discovered in Italy also at a much later date, without any knowledge of its existence elsewhere : and it will readily be admitted, that while such discoveries as those of the polar attraction, mariner's compass, gunpowder, and the art of printing, were made by the Chinese in the East, and European nations in the West, without interchange or communication between these countries, the more simple discovery of the principle of the arch in building might have been made by two separate nations, and used by each without the one having necessarily borrowed it from the other.

To return from this digression to the description of the castle of Damascus, the mixed architecture of which suggested the observations by which the narrative has been interrupted ; we saw within the gate of entrance some large brass guns dismounted, and on the walls above nearly twenty pieces of different calibre, in a most neglected state ; but we could learn nothing of the ancient balista, which has been reported to be here, though we made many enquiries after it. The interior of the castle presented a confused heap, in which were mingled together, strong works of defence, ruined palaces retaining marks of ancient splendour and rich ornaments of the most florid Arabesque, with remains of fountains, aqueducts, and gardens attached; besides dark passages, gloomy dungeons, secret stairs, and a labyrinth of various objects through which it would be impossible to penetrate without a guide who was intimately acquainted with all the localities of the place.

From the summit of this extensive edifice, we commanded a fine panorama of all the central parts of the city, including the pasha's residence, the principal mosques, and many of the large streets which were laid open to our view. The gardens to the north of the town, and Salheyah to the west, gave an additional charm to the picture, and would alone have rewarded the trouble of our ascent thus far, even had we met with no other objects of interest in our way. On descending to leave the castle, we were

followed by a number of the officers and dependants attached to the fortress, who were all importunate for their expected fees, and though we did not give to any one the full amount of his demand, it required several Spanish dollars to pay them all.

From the castle we went through the city towards its eastern gate, and in our way were shown some of the few remaining portions of the old wall of enclosure, when Damascus was one of the strong walled cities of the patriarchal age. The buildings have so increased, however, since that period, that the number of houses beyond these walls is certainly double the number of those within their precincts. It will be remembered that Damascus is one of the very earliest cities of which the Scriptures make mention, being coeval with Babel, Nineveh, Sodom, Gomorrah, Haran, and Ur of the Chaldees, the first cities that existed after the flood; it is named also as the birth place of Eliezer, the steward of Abram's house, before the covenant, by which God is represented to have given him the whole of this country, from the river of Egypt to the Great River, the river Euphrates.* History makes no mention of any subsequent destruction of this city, as it does of Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, and Sidon, which were denounced by the prophets; so that it is likely to contain some remains of the very highest antiquity, and no where more probably than in these broken portions of its original walls. We were not surprised, therefore, to find these fragments presenting, at the lowest base, a masonry apparently more ancient than either Roman or Saracen. The blocks of stone, of which the foundations were composed, are often of a square form, which is unusual in any but the most ancient structures, and sometimes the height of the blocks exceeds their length, which is still more rarely seen: they are also of a large size, frequently measuring ten feet in length, or breadth, or height, as the greatest dimension may happen to be; they have all a smooth surface, and are closely united without the aid of cement. Above this portion of the most ancient masonry which forms the foundation, and ascends but a

* See Genesis, xv. 18.

little way from the base, is seen a continuation of, or rather an addition to, the old work, by a portion of wall raised upon the original base, and executed in the rustic masonry of Roman times; while this again is repaired and raised upon by patches of Mohammedan masonry, which is easily seen to be of modern date, from the inferiority in the size of the materials, as well as in their strength of union, and neatness of execution, in all of which they are not to be compared to the earlier portions of the structure.

The eastern gateway appeared to be entirely of Roman architecture, having pilasters of the Doric order on each side. Beyond this gate we visited some beautiful gardens, and near them several extensive cemeteries, in which the graves were formed and preserved with a degree of neatness and care, that evinced how universal was the respect and attention shown to these mansions of the dead. Every separate tomb that we remarked, had a sprig of myrtle planted at its foot, where the earthen vase that contained the plant was built in with the enclosure; and this was watered daily by some female relative of the deceased, who visited the grave every day, and of whom there were not less than fifty now scattered singly, and in groups, over different parts of this moving yet agreeable scene.

This formed the last portion of our excursion to-day; and returning through the city by a different route from any we had yet followed, we paid a short visit to Monsieur Chaboçeau, dined together at the convent, and passed a most agreeable evening in recapitulating and comparing the various impressions produced on our minds by the different objects we had seen during the day.

Damascus, Monday, March 26.—We went out this morning to see the bazārs of the city, and were occupied during the whole of the day in traversing them in every direction, occasionally reposing on the bench of some coffee-house, in the streets through which we passed, on our way from one bazār to another.

The narrowest streets of Damascus are wider than the generality of those at Cairo, and will conveniently admit of a laden camel marching in the centre, with room for a foot passenger to move in safety on each side. The greater number of the streets, indeed, would allow two laden camels to pass each other without incommoding those on foot; and many are as wide as the great street by which we first traversed Damascus, on entering it from the southward, as before described.

The bazārs are appropriated each to the sale of its separate class of articles, which is usual, indeed, throughout the Turkish dominions. Those in which the more valuable commodities are vended, are generally roofed in, with apertures left to admit light and air, by which means they are kept warm and dry in winter, and shady and cool in summer, considerations of importance to places so constantly thronged, as are these resorts of purchase and sale. The bazārs appeared to us to be all well furnished with the articles of commerce in general requisition here, and the traders seemed to be more wealthy and respectable than the same class of persons in Egypt.

The shops are seldom opened before ten o'clock in the forenoon, and rarely continue open longer than two o'clock in the afternoon, making their period of business, therefore, only four hours in the day. The persons who attend in them to serve the customers, under the eye of the master, are well dressed, obliging, and polite; and generally succeed, by their complimentary mode of address and agreeable manners, in inducing their visitors to purchase more of them than they at first intended. On the whole, there is perhaps no part of a modern Turkish or Arabian city, where the pictures of the Arabian tales pass so frequently and completely before the view as in a crowded bazār; and to an observant spectator, it is one of the most agreeable and entertaining rambles that he can take.

In Damascus, all kinds of Indian commodities, but particularly spices, cotton manufactures, coarse and fine muslins, chintzes, and

gold stuffs, are in great demand, and considerable quantities of them are sold at high prices. These come from India by the Persian Gulf, Bussora, Baghdad, and Aleppo, and are consequently burthened with all the heavy expences of land carriage through such a circuitous route. It is here, among other great cities of the Levant, including Constantinople, Smyrna, and the whole of Asia Minor, that a vast field would be found for the consumption of Indian commodities, if they could be brought to their respective markets at a less cost, and rendered available to all classes, instead of being confined, as they now are by their heavy prices, to the opulent only. It is certain that every article, the produce of China, India, and the Eastern seas, would be supplied at a much easier rate by the way of the Red Sea and Egypt to all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, than by any other route ; they could be even brought round the Cape of Good Hope to the coast of Syria, at much less cost than by the tedious carriage of the overland journey, when risk, delay, and other considerations, all acting as so much additional charge, are taken into the estimate. The Red Sea, however, would be more expeditious and less expensive than any other channel ; and all that is wanting for this to be chosen, is the assurance of easy transit-duties in Egypt, and certainty of protection. The Pasha of that fertile province, by this simple guarantee, secured on such pledges as should induce a perfect reliance thereon, might do more in ten years to enrich his country, and to make it the resort of merchants from every part of Asia and Africa at least, as well as the eastern parts of Europe, than all the Soudans or Beys that ever reigned on the banks of the Nile have yet been able to effect for that admirably situated and highly interesting region. In the hands of the English, as a connecting link between India and Great Britain, we should soon find Egypt a magazine for all the productions of the East and the West ; from which the cheap manufactures of our own country, and the rich natural productions of our Oriental possessions, would be distributed over every part of the globe now subject to Turkish

dominion, and all those that border on its extensive limits ; while a new stimulus would be given to industry throughout these provinces, where many new articles would be produced as commodities of barter and return. Under a despotism so liable to perpetual change as the government of Turkey, in every part of that disjointed empire, such a state of things could never be realised ; though in Egypt, if the reign of Mohammed Ali be continued in the spirit by which that chief professes to be actuated at present, and his independence be established and declared, the progressive introduction of Europeans into his councils may do much towards the accomplishment of so important an object, and Egypt become again as celebrated for its commerce with surrounding countries as it was in the days of its ancient prosperity.

The few manufactures of England that have yet found their way into the bazārs of Damascus, are much sought after, and held in very high esteem, particularly light woollen cloths of gay colours, printed cottons and chintzes, and silk and cotton shawls made in imitation of those of Cashmere. As these are not imported direct from England to Syria, but come through the markets of Malta, Smyrna, the Greek Islands, and Alexandria, at each of which places the prices become enhanced by new charges, they sell here at exorbitantly high rates, and would very handsomely repay the adventurer of a small ship freighted with such a cargo, to be landed at some port on the coast. To these, however, might be added a considerable number of other articles, which, from the cheap rate at which they could be furnished from England, would only need be known, to be in great demand.

The greater supply of wearing apparel for the fashionable persons of both sexes at Damascus, is brought from Constantinople, ready made. These are mostly new, but a large quantity of clothes that have been previously worn, are also brought from the Turkish capital for the bazārs of this city, and distributed indeed over the greater part of the empire. It is this practice of selling the apparel of those who have died of various diseases, and transporting them

from one city to another in boxes and bales, without their undergoing any cleansing or even airing, after they are taken from the chambers of the dead, which facilitates so much the rapid spread of plague and pestilence from one quarter of the Turkish dominions to the other. The garments of those who are known to have died of the plague, are no more exempt from such sale and transport than the garments of one who may have died of mere old age; and no restrictions whatever exist in any town of Turkey, as to the free ingress and egress of all persons and commodities from one town to another. Such restrictions, of the nature of the quarantine laws of Europe, are held by them as opposed to the principal tenet of their religion, a blind confidence in predestination; and they are almost the only professors of that belief, who conform in practice to the natural dictates of such a creed, by suffering the destined course of events to flow on, without daring to offer their feeble opposition to what they believe Omnipotence itself to have decreed. Hence it is that that dreadful scourge of humanity, the plague, no sooner appears in Constantinople or Cairo, where the matter of infection always exists, being simply checked or rendered dormant by extreme heat at the latter, and extreme cold at the former of these capitals, and is restored to activity and vigour by the temperate seasons in each place, than it spreads itself over every part of the country with which these cities carry on a commerce; and by the wearing apparel of those dying of the disease in the capitals being constantly conveyed into the provinces for sale, thousands fall victims to this malady, whose lives might no doubt be saved under the common precautions which would be taken, if these cities were in the hands of Europeans.

Among other various manufactures to be found in the bazārs of Damascus are very superb caparisons for horses, of which the Turks, and indeed all the Eastern nations, are extremely fond. The best of these are considered to be made in Roomeleea, by which the people here generally understand European Turkey; a number of fine bridles, martingales, and silver and embossed breast-

pieces, come also from Persia. The fire-arms are chiefly of French and German manufacture, but got up in a more highly ornamented style than would be pleasing to European taste, being expressly prepared for this market. Those who are the most choice, however, in the selection of their arms, prefer to have the barrels of their muskets and pistols made of the old wavy iron found in the ancient sword blades of the country, with French or German ornaments, but with English locks. The sabre blades are almost all of the old Persian or Damascus manufacture, the art of making them being no longer known or practised in this city; so that they continue to enhance in price as they grow older and scarcer, for there is no modern sword that can compare with them in temper and quality. They are mounted in various ways, according to the taste of the wearer, but generally in what is called the Mamlouk style; and this is done at Damascus in a better manner than even at Cairo, where they pride themselves on their superiority in this kind of workmanship.

The silk seen in the bazārs of Damascus is principally of Chinese and Indian manufacture; the furs come from Russia, Georgia, Circassia, and Armenia; the velvet from Italy; copper from Asia Minor; lead, tin, and iron from England, through Smyrna; and various other articles of an inferior kind from Germany and France.

The domestic manufactures of Damascus are very few, and consist chiefly in silk stuffs, plain, coloured, and embroidered with gold; fabrics of plain cotton, and cotton and silk mixed, all for home consumption, and mostly of broad striped or wavy patterns for the caftans of the Turkish dress. They are as well made as they could be of the same materials in any part of Europe, England and France, perhaps, excepted; and, as far as I could learn, the manufactory was neither slow, intricate, nor expensive. They are worn by persons of the highest rank in the city, while their moderate price and great durability render them also in great request among the middle ranks of society.

Besides the roofed bazārs, in which the articles enumerated

are generally found, there are also open bazārs in which household furniture and wearing apparel, both old and new, are sold by public auction. On each side of these bazārs are always a number of brokers and other purchasers seated on benches that range along the street, who smoke their pipes and take their coffee as if their only object in assembling was ease and pleasure. The auctioneer, who is also the crier, takes the article to be sold, and elevating it in his arms, when portable, walks along the whole of the range, repeating the last offer in a loud voice; and as he goes only once the length of the bazār with each article, the highest price offered during his walk is the one at which it must be sold. The sale is not so expeditious as by the method pursued in Europe; but it is more advantageous to the owner of the goods, from the increased probability of obtaining good prices; and this, indeed, is evinced by the fact that articles are seldom or ever sold for half their market price, as is the case in many of the hurried auctions in England.

Some of the finest buildings in Damascus are the khans or caravanserais, appropriated to the reception of goods brought in caravans from various quarters by wholesale merchants, who supply them to the retail dealers. In the course of our ramble to-day we visited several of these, and were much pleased with them all, but were particularly struck with the beauty of one that was superior to every other. The architecture of this was in the finest style of the Saracen order, and might be considered as a specimen of one of the best works of that age in Damascus. It consisted of a spacious court, the entrance to which, from the street, was by a superb gateway of the pointed arch, vaulted and highly ornamented with sculpture. The court was paved throughout with broad flat stones, smoothly polished and admirably joined together; and in the centre of this stood a large fountain sending forth cooling and agreeable streams; the whole being crowned with a cluster of lofty domes. The masonry of this pile was formed of alternate layers of black and white stone, one of the peculiar features of Saracenic and

Turkish taste ; the ornaments were profusely rich ; and the distribution of light through the domes so well managed that no corner throughout the whole of the building appeared obscure. We were so charmed with this fine specimen of the best days of Saracen architecture that we remained in it for a considerable time, and closed there our excursion for the day.

On our return to the convent at sunset, we found the messenger, despatched on the 22d instant, returned from Seyda, with a letter from Lady Hester Stanhope, addressed to me. On the face of the letter despatched by me to Mr. Bankes, relating to my baggage, I had written on the outside requesting that it might be opened at Seyda, in the event of Mr. Bankes having left that place before its arrival, which was accordingly done ; and this letter of Lady Hester Stanhope was in reply to that. The substance of this was to state that my baggage still remained at Seyda, from which there was no safe opportunity of forwarding it immediately, and adding, as a further reason, if that were needed, that it was, in its present state, so badly secured as to endanger the loss of half of it if sent. It was accompanied with a repetition or confirmation of her ladyship's verbal assurance, through Mr. Bankes, founded apparently on his favourable representation of my character, that I should find a welcome reception as her ladyship's guest, in the event of my desiring to avail myself of her hospitality or friendly advice. With that prompt benevolence which has won for her a name that is honoured and revered throughout every part of the country in which she resides, her ladyship adverted to the inconvenience I was likely to suffer from the want of my papers and baggage, and not knowing whether Mr. Bankes would be at Damascus when this reached me, as he had left Seyda with the intention of proceeding in another direction, but had been obliged to change his route, the letter contained a note of credit for a sum sufficient to meet my present wants, addressed with a letter of explanation to Māllim Yuseff, the rich Jew here, informing me at the same time that Mr. Barker would leave Aleppo in May, and offering me

every assistance I could need to facilitate my communications with that gentleman. This act of unasked kindness from a lady of distinction to a perfect stranger, under circumstances of this peculiar nature, and in the heart not only of a foreign, but almost a hostile country, made a deep impression on my mind, and made me rejoice that I could consider such a being my countrywoman.

To-day, however, before going out to see the bazār, I had conversed with Mr. Chaboçeau on the subject of supplying me with money; and assuring him that, though meeting with many interruptions and disasters in my route, I had still with me, among my baggage at Seyda, a letter of credit on Mr. Barker, the British consul at Aleppo, for whatever sum might be necessary to defray the expences of my journey to India, which I expected to arrive from thence, in the course of a few days at furthest: he furnished me with one thousand piastres, or about 40*l.* sterling, for a bill drawn by me on Mr. Barker, which I hoped would be sufficient for the remainder of my journey to Aleppo. This was, therefore, sent off to Mr. Barker with a letter of advice from me, and a copy of the letter of credit, which was deemed all that was necessary; as the original would be better kept to present him when we met. Mr. Bankes had also offered me the use of his credit, if I needed money at Damascus, but I had accepted from him only about a hundred piastres, sufficient to discharge my guide without incurring further expence by delaying him. This was repaid to Mr. Bankes immediately on my thus procuring funds of my own, as I was desirous of not intruding on his resources, being aware that we were each equally liable to suffer the same inconveniencies, from failure of supplies, in a country where no precaution is sufficient to exempt even the richest from sometimes wanting accommodation in this respect.

Mr. Bankes having made up his mind, as to the plan which he had formed, and which, for the reasons before stated, I had encouraged, of his going into the Haurān, we could not hope to proceed from hence to Aleppo in company, as he desired. Added to this,

we learnt that the route from hence to Aleppo direct was far less safe than that by the coast, and was therefore seldom followed but by caravans, which were slow in their progress, and set out only about once a month. My baggage being still at Seyda, where I could join it with less delay than it could be sent to me, was also a consideration, which, added to those already enumerated, induced me to determine on proceeding to that place, and from thence along the coast to Latakeea and Aleppo. These resolutions being mutually debated on and approved, we proposed waiting together on Māllim Yuseff, the Jew, in the morning, for our respective passports, or firmans, and leaving Damascus on the following day, Mr. Bankes for the Haurān, and myself for the Syrian coast.



CHAP. XVII.

VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF DAMASCUS.

Damascus, Tuesday, March 27. — The duties of the government being now more pressing than usual, from the powers of the late pasha being exercised by his kihya bey, or lieutenant; and more deliberation being used by a *locum tenens* than would be thought necessary in one holding the full powers of a pasha by appointment from the sultan; the chief financier, and secret director of most of the affairs of the pashalic, Māllim Yuseff, was required to attend at the palace from sunrise to sunset. It had been intimated to us, therefore, that if we desired to see him in private at his own residence, our visit must be before the sun was up; we had accordingly arranged for a very early visit, in which Dr. Chaboçeau had kindly offered to accompany us, and came

himself, old as he was, to rouse us from our beds even before the day had dawned.

On arriving at the minister's house, which stood in the midst of the quarter exclusively inhabited by the Jews of Damascus, and not far from that of the Christians in which the convent was situated, we were struck with the extreme poverty and meanness of its exterior, although we were aware that this could be only an affectation of humility, to conceal the wealth of the interior, and render it less liable to excite envy in times of tranquillity, so as to escape pillage in times of commotion. We entered the outer enclosure through a small door, which led to a mean and narrow passage, carried along the side of a dead wall, built of earth-dried brick, and without a single aperture to admit either air or light. At the end of this passage was an humble seat, with a dirty carpet and four old cushions that indicated nothing but rags and poverty within. Here we were obliged to wait until the ill-dressed porter, who sat on the seat described, went in and announced our names, condition, and the purport of our visit to the Jew, when a servant of the house was sent out to conduct us to his presence.

Although we had prepared ourselves for the sight of a spacious and commodious house, well furnished with whatever could contribute to the comfort of its inmates, we were greatly surprised at finding not merely this, but a gorgeous display of wealth and luxury, which, concealed as it was from the vulgar gaze by the circumvallation of mud through which we had entered it, seemed to us still too hazardous for any man to possess, even in private, considering that his office, his religion, and the character of the people among whom he lived, all contributed to make him an object of envy and jealousy; while his wealth would be sure to inflame the cupidity of those who might select him as their victim merely to possess it among themselves. At the opening of the inner door leading from the mean passage and waiting-place before spoken of, we found ourselves transported in a moment into a spacious open court, paved with coloured marbles, arranged in various devices of mosaic work,

cooled by refreshing fountains, and shadowed by citron and orange trees, producing altogether a most luxurious, soothing, and pleasurable impression.

We were received with great politeness by the master of the house, and took our seats beside him in a rich divan, formed beneath an arched recess of this splendid court; and presently after our being seated, we were surrounded by a crowd of servants, to the number of twelve or fifteen at least, each preparing and presenting something for our pleasure or accommodation. We were served with long pipes made of the stem of the jasmin steeped in rose water, and mounted with the richest amber, globe nargeels, with gold embossings on their surface, exquisite candies and preserves from silver dishes, and coffee from beautifully coloured china cups with enamelled stands.

After some general conversation, and a few remarks on the subject of our visit, which were lost amidst the admiration that the sight of this magnificent house had inspired, we were conducted over the whole of the building, the master himself preceding us as our guide, and the servants following. We noticed that as they passed through the doors, they touched with apparent reverence, sometimes a piece of wood, and sometimes a hollow case of tin, which were alternately suspended at that postern of the door which received the lock, and not at that which held the hinges; and as the master apologized to us for the unfurnished state of some of the rooms, by saying that they had been stripped of their ornaments during the late passover, and had not been refitted since, it struck me as highly probable that this ceremony of touching the mark suspended at the lintels or posterns of the doors might have some reference to the mark by which the Israelites were to be distinguished from the Egyptians, in the smiting of their first born; particularly as it is said in the record of this event, that this should be observed as an ordinance among the children of Israel and their descendants for ever.* A fear of being thought to exercise an

* See Exodus, xii. 21—28.

intrusive or ill-timed curiosity prevented me from making direct inquiries on this subject, and I hoped also for another opportunity, in which it might be done with less risk of being misconstrued.

After wandering for nearly an hour through a number of spacious and splendid apartments, courts, terraces, and galleries, we descended again to the divan to take coffee and refreshments. In the course of our conversation here, we learnt that this house had been built by the father of our present entertainer; and we were assured that during the latter half of his life, or about twenty-five years, there were employed at least fifty workmen of different descriptions, every day excepting holidays, in its construction and embellishment. Long as this period of time may seem for fifty men to be employed on any one building, we were disposed to think it probable, from the multiplicity of minute ornament displayed in every part of it. The pavements were all of variously coloured marbles, ingeniously and carefully arranged; the surbasements of the walls were in mosaic work of the same materials; the friezes, which were from three to six feet in depth, were formed of a series of pointed arch and concave niches, radiated at the top, and gilded, painted, and adorned in such a manner as to appear imposing from a little distance, though not bearing a close examination, being evidently intended for effect from below. The ceilings were as so many broad canopies of gold and brilliant colours, to which were rich additions of sculpture and enamel in fanciful designs. From these hung in many parts the dropping ornament so peculiar to Turkish architecture, which Mr. Bankes considered to resemble the stalactites of caverns, and thought they were meant to represent them; an opinion which appeared to me quite as well founded as many others that assign particular objects of nature as the models for architectural ornament, in which they no doubt had their origin. In the walls were deep niches or recesses, the backs of which were inlaid with mosaic work in marble; and in the centre of almost every apartment was a small but beautiful fountain, so constructed as that by varying some of the

works about it, the form of its streams might be varied every day. The whole of this princely mansion was, indeed, as suited to the abode of pleasure as the most luxurious sensualist could desire, and as gorgeous in its decorations as the most ambitious lover of display could wish.

Our necessary passports being promised to us during the day, we took our leave of Māllim Yuseff at an early hour, and having nothing more important to engage our attention till these should be ready, we were led by the venerable companion of our visit, Mons. Chaboçeau, to call at some of the dwellings of the principal Christian merchants in Damascus, for the purpose of seeing the style and manner in which their abodes were fitted up. The first on whom we waited was a person who had entertained successively various English travellers, during their stay here, among whom Lady Hester Stanhope and Mr. Bruce were named; but whether he felt hurt at our not having come to his residence instead of putting up at the convent, or from whatever other cause a jealousy might have been excited, we could not imagine; yet, certain it was, that he received us both in the coldest possible manner, and with a sullenness that could have arisen from no other cause than a most unfavourable impression, or some supposed offence, of which, however, we were each equally unconscious. His residence appeared to be extremely beautiful and well furnished: but we saw only the room in which he received us, from his not pressing us, and our not asking, to see any other part of it. Notwithstanding the evident ill-humour of our receiver, he yet condescended, though one of the wealthiest merchants in the place, to fill and light our pipes himself, in conformity with the affected humility of Asiatic manners, and when coffee was prepared, to present it to us with his own hands. Even Mr. Bankes's Albanian servant, who was seated at the foot of the sofa on which we reclined, was equally honoured with the merchant's attentions, while he stood before us to receive the cups after we had emptied them. We thought this a very remarkable trait of manners, as belonging

to what is considered hospitality and humility in the East, where a combination of these qualities seems to be taken for the perfection of good-breeding: though in the present instance it was performed with a mortification that was but slightly concealed.

Mr. Bankes had had an opportunity of seeing the palace of Ahmed Bey, to which he had paid a visit alone, without my knowing it until now, when he communicated it to me, in order to say that he thought its interior to be richer and more highly finished than even that of the rich Jew, though the courts he thought were very inferior. He added, that this bey had lately lost a beautiful Georgian wife whom he fondly loved, and soon afterwards a favourite son, who was killed by a fall from the terrace of his dwelling. He was, therefore, now confined to his house and scarcely saw any but his most intimate friends, indulging his sorrows, and rather feeding than endeavouring to overcome his grief; disrobing himself of all ornaments, and wearing also the plainest robes of deep blue, which betokens mourning among the Turks. This amiable trait of domestic affection in a Turkish bey deserves to be recorded, from its being rarely in the power of a faithful narrator to dwell upon the private or the public virtues of this class, though their vices meet him in every direction and at every step.

In all the principal buildings that we had yet seen in Damascus, whether mosques, palaces, or private dwellings, the zigzag or saw-edged intersection of the stones used in the architraves of doorways and other parts of the edifice, formed a very striking and constantly repeated peculiarity of this style of Arabian architecture. The pointed arch niches were sometimes crowned with single, at others with double, and at others again with treble tops, the radiations ascending from a point at the bottom of the arch to the top in some instances, and in other descending from a point at the top of the arch to the bottom. Inlaid work of coloured marble was also seen in various patterns of the Arabesque; and the dropping ornaments thought to represent the stalactites of caverns was also seen in almost every niche.

In the afternoon we went to a very favorite spot of the Damascenes, called, I believe, El Mezey, or more generally known by the name of the place of separation of the waters. It is situated at a short distance to the west of the city, and not far from the suburb of Salheyah. Part of our way to this place lay through a road with tombs on each side of it, which was compared by Mr. Bankes to the entry into Rome by the Appian way, where tombs are similarly placed on each side, at short distances from each other. We found at the spot we had come to visit, many parties of Turks enjoying the delicious freshness of the air in this delightful retreat, and certainly nothing could be more romantically beautiful than the picture which the whole scene presented. The waters of the rivers Fege and Barrady, which join near the source of the former, come here from the north-west united in one stream, when, arriving at this deep bed between two lofty and close-approaching hills, they divide into four separate streams, and diverge off to the eastward and southward, for the supply of the numerous fountains in the city. The natural tendency of men to enhance, by every artificial charm, the value of that which nature has bestowed on the place of their birth or residence, causes the people of Damascus to believe implicitly that this was the place in which stood the garden of Eden, or the Paradise of our first parents ; and in conformity with this belief, they consider these four streams to be the four heads into which the river that went out of Eden to water the garden was parted, namely, Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates. *

There is an inextricable confusion in this part of the sacred topography, not to be reconciled by our most learned men ; as these rivers, from the description given of the lands through which they flowed, as well as their names, would seem to imply the Niger and the Nile, if Africa be meant by Ethiopia and the land of gold; or the Ganges and the Indus, if Ethiopia meant, as it sometimes did, the country of the Indians, though the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews of that day hardly extended so far ; and the two last

* See Genesis, ii. 8—14.

were undoubtedly the Tigris and Euphrates of the present day, all of which rivers, or indeed any four of them, could not have a common origin or source, according to the present conformation of the earth's surface at least, though this description, it must be admitted, applies to antediluvian times. The object of this remark, is, however, merely to show that on a subject so difficult of explanation, the Damascenes may be forgiven for entertaining so harmless a belief, as that their four branches diverging from one stream, are the four heads into which the one river of Eden was said to be parted, in order to water the garden, more particularly as these four streams actually perform that office, and flow over a plain which is not perhaps to be exceeded in beauty by any now on the surface of the globe. As these are the principal waters near Damascus, and are in universal esteem for their sweetness and purity, it is highly probable at least that they are those spoken of by Naaman the Syrian, who when desired by Elisha to go and wash himself seven times in the Jordan, in order to cleanse himself of a leprosy, exclaimed, " Are not Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters in Israel? may I not wash in them and be clean?" * And indeed so superior are these waters in every estimable quality of that element to the Jordan or any other river of Israel, that the rage in which the Syrian is said to have turned away at the proposition of washing in the latter to purify himself, when he could do this so much more readily and effectually in the former, was natural to one in his situation, and thus easily accounted for.

It is in the neighbourhood of this spot also, that the hill is situated on which Cain is said to have slain his brother Abel, as alluded to by Shakespeare *, and forming a consistent part of the tradition, which considers this to have been the Paradise of our first parents.

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* See 2 Kings, v. 8—12.

† See first part of Henry the Sixth, Act i. Scene 3. in a speech of the Duke of Gloster's.

At this place we noticed some artificial grottoes in the cliffs above, one of which had a square entrance hewn out with apparent care, and said to be painted on the inside. It is called Dikān el Sheikh, or the Hermit's shop, from its having niches within it resembling the shelves of a shop in a modern bazār. We did not ascend to examine it closely. On the side of the rock was a long inscription, in old Arabic characters, of the square form, but not Kufic; it was comprised within a square tablet, containing about twelve lines, and not at all mutilated. We had no opportunity of seeing it close enough to be copied, even had we proposed to do so; but Mr. Burckhardt, who remained some time at Damascus, is said to have procured an accurate copy, so as to render this of the less importance.

In so charming a spot, parties of Turks were always sure to be found; and at the present moment we saw many of them, some sleeping on their gay carpets spread out on the turf, others smoking and drinking coffee on the borders of the stream, and others engaged in a game which was carried on by throwing stones from one party to another on opposite cliffs, by certain rules, and others again devoutly engaged in prayer. There were about twenty horses, richly caparisoned, halting on the green bank, waiting for their riders, which gave great life and animation to the picture.

We returned from hence by a new route through the city, and passed a happy evening at the convent, recapitulating and re-enjoying the pleasures of the day.

Damascus, Wednesday, March 20.—The day of our separation again arrived, and we both expressed regret at the circumstances which impelled us to depart in different directions; though, had I been at liberty, I should have liked nothing better than making another visit to the Haurān, and seeing more of it in company with my friend. I did my utmost, however, to furnish Mr. Bankes with the best instructions that I could give him for his excursion there

alone, and supplied him also with such articles of my Bedouin dress and travelling apparatus as he needed, it being necessary to adopt that costume, and worn garments being less likely to excite particular observation than a complete outfit of new. Mr. Bankes had a soldier from the troops of Damascus, who was to accompany him in quality of guide as far as the residence of Sheikh Shibley of the eastern Druses, where he would receive guides and protection from that chief. His Albanian interpreter, Mohammed, was also to attend him in the dress of an Arab, making his party three in number. The time fixed for his departure was noon of the present day: all my morning, therefore, was passed entirely in assisting my friend; and when he mounted at the convent door, I certainly felt a sincere regret at parting again so soon from one who possessed and deserved my esteem, more particularly as from the fortunate accident of our unexpected meeting here, I had indulged the hope of our being able to prosecute the remainder of the journey from hence to Aleppo, in company with each other; such a union promising increased protection, increased information, and increased pleasure to each, without in any manner obstructing the views, or impeding the progress of either. *

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* Notwithstanding the events which have occurred, and the changes of sentiment which have taken place since the notes of this journey were written, I think it due to the fidelity which I have endeavoured to preserve throughout my narrative, and a just tribute to the superior claims of truth, to retain the exact expression of my original memoranda or diary in the instance just given above, vouching, as I do, for the entire sincerity of the feelings then and there expressed. I ventured to pursue the same line of conduct when speaking of my first interview and subsequent correspondence with Mr. Burckhardt, because it appeared to me that no subsequent change of his opinion or conduct, could justify my speaking of him at any particular period, with any other sentiments than those entertained and recorded by me at that moment. It would have been, at least in my opinion, a falsification of the narrative, to have substituted other opinions for those really entertained, when such opinions had no existence, and nothing had then occurred to occasion them. As my motives in that instance have been grossly misrepresented, I think it prudent to avoid the same imputation here, by explicitly avowing the reasons which induce me to think and act in the same manner on this occasion. Had I then possessed the experience that I now do, of the violence to which political hatred will drive the adversaries of one who values a conscientious discharge of

Being now left alone, I began to prepare for my own departure for the coast. The Bedouin dress in which I had arrived here, and which was as unfit for the city and the villages and towns of the west, as a good citizen's dress would have been for the plains and deserts of the East, were already appropriated to the use of my friend in the way described. The clothes which I now wore had been furnished to me by the kindness of a Christian merchant, as before mentioned; so that it became necessary for me to purchase others for my journey, and restore those I now possessed to their proper owner.

It was on this errand that I set out alone to range the few remaining hours of the afternoon through the bazārs of the city, and effect this task for myself. My purchases were all made at a cheap rate; the whole outfit of a good and respectable suit of Turkish clothes, with two changes of linen, a corresponding set of horse-furniture, carpet, cooking utensils, khordj or saddle-bags, and

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his duty to his fellow countrymen and fellow beings before all homage to worldly greatness or deference to arbitrary power, I should then have taken the precaution that I now do, of bidding the reader to be aware that I could speak more evil of the individual I had named, than would be sufficient to counterbalance all the good it had been my pleasure to describe. But I remembered the common propensity of our nature to magnify the vices and diminish the virtues of others; that,

> " The evil that men do lives after them;
> " The good is oft interred with their bones:"

and that to counteract this disposition was a duty worthy of my regard. I had forgiven all, as I myself humbly hoped for forgiveness; and I was willing that the injuries of those who had striven to cover my name with obloquy, but had not succeeded because they had not truth on their side, should be " written in water," and their redeeming qualities " engraved in monumental brass." The ill judged zeal of others forced me at length to disclose, what nothing but a defence of my own reputation from unmerited infamy, which neither morality nor honour command us to bear in silence, could ever have wrung from me; and to the disappointed rage and ungovernable rancour of *The Quarterly Reviewers*, may those whose names are stained by such disclosures as I have felt it my duty to make, look for reparation; since their unmanly and dishonourable aspersions of me have alone brought to light, what else would have been still covered with the robe of charity and peace.

other little necessaries for the way, amounting to no more than five hundred piastres, or about 20l. sterling.

During my ramble I observed a man of large stature, but deformed proportions, walking through the public street without a single article of apparel; his head had been recently shaved, and he appeared wet all over as if just come out from a fountain or bath: he had a short thick neck, large head and projecting eyes, and his whole appearance was that of an idiot. I expressed my surprise at this, though aware that such scenes are not uncommon in Cairo and the towns of Upper Egypt; but it was so little a subject of wonder here, that scarcely any person regarded the naked wanderer, except to make way for him, and sometimes to salute him with respect as he passed. Several of the residents of the city afterwards assured me that the same outrages to decency were committed by these privileged saints (for so all idiots are considered) in Syria as in Egypt, and that acts which the most savage nations generally conceal under the garb of night, were performed by these men in the public streets, and in the open day; while the passers by, instead of expressing their indignation at such a wanton insult to decorum and propriety, frequently offered up their prayers to Heaven for a blessing on the parties submitted to this violation; and from a superstitious veneration for all idiots, as persons under the peculiar care and guidance of the Divine hand, regarded those who were chosen for their pleasures as pre-eminently favoured by Divine Providence! Such a horrid and revolting remnant of savage manners, rendered more depraved than they even could have become in a state of nature alone, and reducing mankind to the level of the beasts of the field, painful as it must be to know that it exists and is tolerated in any part of the globe, ought to be recorded as a trait of eastern manners generally (for it extends over the greater part of the African and Asiatic world), and as an illustration of the depth of depravity to which the dignity of man may be reduced, by the influence of despotism and superstition com-

bined. Were men free to express their sentiments through the medium of public assemblies or the press, either on civil or religious topics, such an abomination would not exist in a city like Damascus, not even for a month. But where the tongue and the pen are equally restrained by the strong hand of arbitrary power, all parties sit down inactive and content with things as they are; while, from the mere habit of never venturing to express freely what they think, they gradually learn to lull every faculty with opiates, till at length they cease either to think or to feel at all. In this, as in almost every instance of depraved manners that exists, it may be received as certain, that increased information diffused among all ranks is the only effectual remedy that can be applied ; therefore, the enemies to the spread of education among the lower orders are the enemies of improvement or reform ; and the enemies of reform are at once the enemies of God and man : since the benevolent purposes of the former, and the virtuous happiness of the latter, can only be promoted and maintained by the progressive advancement of the world in knowledge and in truth.

Among other particulars that I learnt from my enquiries of the dealers in the bazār, I was told the fine cotton-thread, needles, pins, knives, scissors, and fine hardware of every kind of English manufacture, were in constant demand, as well as china and earthenware, whether of English or Indian origin ; and that large quantities of cochineal and indigo were consumed in colouring the fabrics of silk and cotton in this city, already described.

I halted at several of the best coffee-houses in my way, to repose, and had an opportunity of seeing a great variety of persons in each. These houses are all large, and conveniently suited to the manners of the people who frequent them. In these there are a great number of attendants, and as the only purpose for which passengers stop at them is to smoke and drink coffee, every visitor who enters is presented with a fresh nargeel, a pipe smoked through water contained in the polished shell of a cocoa-nut, from whence it derives its name, and a cup of coffee, whether he orders it or

not, the price of both seldom exceeding five paras of Turkish money, or about an English penny. Many of these coffee-houses are so spacious as to have benches on each side the street, extending for fifty yards in length, and large rooms of the same dimensions within them, with a large boiler of coffee always on the fire, and men constantly employed in roasting and pounding the berry, so as to have the beverage always fresh ; it being found that the only certain mode of retaining the pure flavour of the coffee is to roast, pound, and boil it all in quick succession, the roasted berries soon loosing their flavour if laid by for a day, and the pounded coffee becoming insipid, even in a few hours. The Arabs of the desert, who are from necessity economical in their use of this article, follow the same process, even if they require only two cups of the liquid, roasting a handful of berries on an iron plate, pounding them in a pestle and mortar while warm, and the instant the water boils, which it will generally do by the time the other preparations are completed, so that no time is lost, putting the pounded powder into it, and suffering it to boil, stirring it at the same time for about a minute or two, when it is poured out to drink. As this beverage is taken without sugar or milk, the slightest difference in the flavour is perceptible ; and long experience having shown this to be the best way of preserving it in perfection, it is perhaps worth mentioning in detail, particularly as the use of this article has become so general even in England. Nargeels for smoking are sometimes carried through the less frequented streets, and places where coffee-houses do not abound, and the bearers of them carrying their tobacco in a leathern bag, with a tin vessel of water, the tobacco being always wetted to cool it before the pipe is filled, and lighted charcoal in an iron pan, prepare it in a few seconds for the momentary use of a passenger, who takes half a dozen whiffs as he walks along, giving a para or a farthing for the pleasure, which their habit of incessant smoking renders a great luxury, after the privation of even half an hour.

In Damascus there are also many houses at which sherbets and other sweet drinks are prepared, cooled with the ice and snow brought down to the city from the summit of Jebel-el-Telj, or the snowy mountain, to the south-west of the town, and on the north of the lake of Tiberias. In these shops are a number of large vessels of brass and other mixed metals, with Arabic inscriptions, and various devices cut on them in high relief, and in a beautiful style of workmanship. These are appropriated to contain the iced drinks in large bodies ; and smaller ones of metal also are used to drink out of. Skins of iced water, sweetened and perfumed, are also carried through the streets on men's backs, and served to passengers in the street at a para for each draught, which forms an agreeable and a cheap refreshment, of which all classes but the most needy can partake.

In the course of this afternoon, indeed, I saw more than I could command time to record or describe, particularly as when I returned to the convent late and fatigued, I felt so much indisposed as to be obliged to retire to bed immediately.

Damascus, Thursday, March 29. — I was so ill in the morning as to be unable to rise from my bed, having passed a restless and painful night. Medical assistance being thought necessary, Doctor Chaboçeau was sent for, who attended without delay, and finding me in a high fever ordered immediate recourse to medicine. I was visited during the day by the president of the convent and other kind enquirers, but was no better at night than in the morning.

Friday, March 30. — In addition to the ordinary effects of violent fever, my mouth had become insufferably sore, as if under a strong course of calomel, though none had been administered ; and by noon it had grown much worse, covering the roof of the mouth, tongue, gums, and lips, with small and smarting blisters, so that I could scarcely speak, from excessive pain. Bleeding was prescribed, and an Arab barber-surgeon was sent for (these arts being

here still united, as in the early state of civilization in most countries), who performed the operation with great address, taking from me about fourteen ounces of blood, which was thick and almost of an inky colour. Towards night I felt extremely weak, but was much relieved from the violence of all the feverish symptoms, and more cheerful and composed both in mind and body.

Saturday, March 31. — In the morning I felt refreshed, from a good night's rest, and was enabled to leave my bed before noon; my head-ach being now but very slight, I ventured to write for a short time in the course of the day.

Sunday, April 1. — Though still too weak to leave the convent, I attended the service of the church attached to it, which was not far from my room. The church was small, and but meanly furnished, compared with the gorgeous decorations of Catholic places of worship in general. After the mass, a sermon was delivered in the Arabic language by a young Spaniard, whose appearance and complexion indicated an ardent, melancholy, and enthusiastic temperament. The subject of his discourse was the history and purpose of the crucifixion, in treating of which he used an eloquence that was peculiarly impressive. In dilating on the barbarities of those who committed this indignity on the Son of God, he wrought his hearers up to a pitch of the highest indignation; and when the fervour or the frenzy of his audience was at its acmé, he strengthened the effect of his climax by producing suddenly from beneath his robe a large crucifix, which he summoned all to behold, while he pointed to the bleeding wounds still streaming with the warm and crimson blood that Christ had shed for their salvation. Every eye was fixed, every feature was motionless, and every heart seemed dissolving away in tears. As a stroke of impassioned and effective oratory, it was one of the most impressive things that I had ever witnessed, and its reality and close connexion with time and place gave it a force that no words can describe. It reminded

me of the funeral oration of Mark Antony over the bleeding body of the murdered Cæsar; and the celebrated dagger scene of Burke in the English House of Commons; but as the subject was loftier, the speaker regarded as clothed with more sacred authority, and the auditors more unanimous in their feelings than could have been the case on either of these two occasions to which it bore a resemblance, the whole scene was more solemn and imposing. The church was at the same time suddenly filled with a corresponding gloom, by the closing up of some of the principal avenues through which it received the sun's rays from above; and a "dim religious light," which is so favourable to the indulgence of the kind of devotional ardour that it was the object of this combination to produce, reigned over all, and shut out the intrusive brilliance of the "gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful day." This powerful appeal to the passions of love, pity, sorrow, and revenge (for the detestation inculcated toward the murderers of Jesus and the unbelievers who still resisted the Catholic interpretation of his faith, was not in the spirit of him who exclaimed, even on the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,") was one of the most skilful efforts towards the union of fervid eloquence with theatric effect; and such as in the early ages no doubt stimulated the enterprise of the crusaders to take vengeance on those infidels who insulted the religion of Christ in the very cradle of its birth, and violated the sanctuaries which they deemed it their highest glory to rescue and defend. It was followed up by fine peals of music from the organ, and the hymns of choristers, who were chiefly children, of both sexes, and who sang in response to each other in the Arabic tongue also, in a manner resembling the songs sung in response by the boatmen on the Nile.

The service being at an end, I had soon an opportunity of discovering that the preacher had a sharp eye, as well as an eloquent tongue; and that the devotion among the audience was not so universal, as the sobs and tears of many at least that I myself heard and saw had led me to believe. In eastern churches the

women are generally separated from the men, and sit in a gallery enclosed with lattice work, to prevent the attention of the sexes being diverted from religious feelings to less holy passions; and this separation was observed here. It has often been remarked, and is no doubt true, that females are generally more ardent and more superstitious than males; and consequently their sex furnishes more frequent instances of exemplary piety and devotion than are to be found among our own. Notwithstanding this general truth, however, while all those who sat below exposed to public view had behaved during worship with the greatest decorum, a knot of merry and talkative women in the gallery above, whom the lattice work and "dim religious light" had concealed from all observation but that of the lynx-eyed preacher, had excited his extreme displeasure; and before they could disperse, he had quitted the pulpit, and was up among them, reproaching them in terms of unchristian bitterness for their levity and inattention. It was an illustration of the truth too frequently overlooked, that the best safeguard of decorum is publicity, and that nothing will so effectually secure an attention to propriety of action as the conviction that the eyes of the world are fixed on the actor to observe the minutest peculiarities. The decorum of our own public assemblies is chiefly preserved by this feeling; and the better half of the morality of mankind is maintained by no other cause. If any portion of an English congregation were rendered by any means invisible to the rest, their behaviour would be far less scrupulous than at present; and if any portion of mankind at large could effectually screen themselves from the prying eye of the world, and become invulnerable to the power of public opinion on their conduct, such portion could not fail in a short time to become more dissolute and abandoned than others. To increase the means, therefore, of securing such publicity, and to enforce on all classes the necessity of such responsibility, is to promote the cause of virtue by one of the most powerful of all human agents, the desire to live in the esteem of others.

When the president and the friars of the convent met together after service in the small room in which they generally assembled around their chief, their conversation was just as frivolous, and unconnected with the impressions by which they had been endeavouring to make others believe themselves affected during their hours of devotion, as is the conversation of our English clergy and the higher orders among their congregation when they meet to talk of news, fashions, and parties, in the church portico, and while waiting for their carriages indulge in satirical strictures on the dress, equipage, dinners, and even characters of those very persons whom they intend to visit, dine with, and flatter during the week.



CHAP. XVIII.

EXCURSIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF DAMASCUS.

Monday, April 2.—Although my mules and guide for the journey to Seyda had been engaged for several days, and I was impatient to proceed, I was still unable to do so, being to-day worse than yesterday, probably from my leaving my room too soon. The fever under which I suffered so severely, was considered by Doctor Chaboçeau as the effect of my fatigue, and exposure to the sun by day and cold by night, in my late journey; and the black colour of my blood was by him attributed to the wretched food on which I had subsisted for so many days in succession. It is said, also, that the water in the city of Damascus very generally affects the health of strangers who drink freely of it, in an

unmixed state, of which I had done, as water was almost my only beverage. The water of the river Barrady is considered to be unwholesome, and that of the river Feejy pure and excellent. Those who are choice in their drink, send servants, therefore, to fetch water from the last-named stream, at some distance from the town, before it unites with the former; the water that supplies the gardens and most of the houses in town coming from these rivers after they have joined their streams in one. There are, however, several springs in the heart of the city which produce excellent water, but these are only accessible to a few. From one of the principal of these, appropriately called "The Fountain of Health," Dr. Chaboçeau was supplied with the only water that he drank, and sent me sufficient for my use; it was very superior to that in common use, and in its pure taste, dark hue, and crystalline transparency, resembled the fine water of Madras.

From some of the best informed residents here, I learnt today that Damascus is thought to contain about 100,000 Mohammedan inhabitants, of whom all are native Syrian Arabs, excepting about 10,000 Turks, who are continually replaced by new families and settlers from Constantinople and the towns of Asiatic Turkey. Out of these, about 1,000 are soldiers, horse and foot, but principally the former, and these, with little more than 100 Albanians or Arnaoots, form the military force of the city; the remaining 9,000 are persons in the various offices of government, and merchants and traders in the bazārs. Besides these, which include the Mohammedan part of the population only, there are considered to be about 15,000 Jews, and 25,000 Christians, of whom there are estimated to be 10,000 of the Roman Catholic faith; 3,000 of the Schismatic Greek communion; and the rest are of the Syrian, Maronite, and Armenian churches. The mosques of the Mohammedans are exceedingly numerous, certainly not less than 100 at least, including large and small; the Jews have six synagogues; the Catholic Christians one convent, with a church included in it; the Greeks one place of worship, larger and richer

than the Catholics; the Armenians a convent and a church; the Syrians and the Maronites one each, the latter the largest of the two.

To all these there can hardly be less than 1,000 persons attached, including the ulema of the Mohammedans, the rabbis of the Jews, and the priests of all the Christian sects: whose sole business is professedly to promote the spread of their several religions; for, with the exception of the Jews, all endeavour, with varied earnestness and varied success, to increase the number of their converts and proselytes. But though these priests are the most useless and unproductive of all the civil classes of society here, (for if they do not promote the increase of virtue and morality, which it is certain they do not, they are even worse than useless, and become a burthen on the people which cannot be too soon shaken off;) they receive probably a larger share of the wealth of the community, as the wages of consecrated idleness, than any similar number of persons in the whole city.

It would be worth the consideration of the people of this and of every other country, to enquire whether it would not be practicable to make every man, who receives a handsome allowance for inculcating the various modes of faith, by an implicit confidence, in which he pretends that his supporters can alone hope for happiness in the world to come, contribute also to fit men for the better performance of their duties to each other in this. If their sabbaths, for instance, were given to expounding the essential tenets and injunctions of their several religions, which in all cases are so few and simple as that "he who runs may read," instead of vexing the hearts and confounding the understandings of men with subtleties that no effort of reason can comprehend or explain, and which it is, therefore, a waste of time to go about to illustrate, they might then have six days of the week to give to the education of youth in matters of positive utility, and leave the miracles and mysteries on which they now delight to found all their claim to reverence, where they ought to remain, in that humility which

a sense of limited or finite capacity would always enjoin when we venture to approach what is confessedly incomprehensible.

If the other classes of society are commanded to use six days of labour, and enjoy the seventh as one of rest, there can be no good reason for the exemption of the priesthood from a rule which they themselves enjoin on others; still less for reversing it, as they do in this case, by having one day of labour and six of rest. If it be said that the nature of their studies requires all the time they can apply to them, to understand the several systems that they teach, it may be safely answered that such an argument would apply only to the Jewish and Hindoo religions, or similarly constituted ones, in which all devotion consists in a strict observance of an intricate ritual and innumerable ceremonies. It will not apply, however, to the Mohammedan, and indeed the priests of this religion do actually include within their duties, those of lawyers, judges, and instructors of youth: it would apply still less, however, to the Christian faith, which has its foundations so deeply laid in justice and equity, the doctrines of which are so simple, the ceremonies so few, and the precepts so intelligible to every capacity, that a bare repetition of them at fit times and seasons, illustrated by a life of corresponding purity, to give the weight of example to its beautiful injunctions, ought to be, and would be indeed sufficient, were the only object of its ministers to inculcate a firm belief of its truth, and induce men to conform their lives to its doctrines.

Were not an inspired religion made thus plain to the meanest capacity, it would be the height of injustice to punish those who could not comprehend it; and the idea that the Creator could be the author of subtleties which it required a large portion of the most learned men in all nations to expound to others, who, after all, without the same portion of learning and talent could never comprehend even the explanations offered; and that a belief in such difficult doctrines should be made the standard of happiness or misery in a future state of existence, is altogether so contrary

to the marks of wisdom and benevolence that every where surround us in his works, as to make every honest mind revolt from the consideration.

The Christian religion being, therefore, the most rational and simple of all the varied faiths that distract mankind, its teachers have less need of employing the greater portion of their time to its study than the teachers of any other system of belief; and as this religion is pre-eminently distinguished above all others by its encouragement to the progressive increase of useful knowledge, it is still more particularly incumbent on its professors to see that the priesthood assist in this, by applying such portion of their time as may not be required for the performance of their religious duties, in superintending the education of youth, for which their superior knowledge and the superior purity of their lives ought more especially to fit them. The whole body of the youth of both sexes, even of the most indigent classes, might be thus well-educated without expense to their parents, and it would be a wise law that should enforce this duty on all fathers, if the means of doing it without cost were open to them, for they would then be without excuse for neglecting it.

The priesthood of every country, whether maintained by the state or by the community, are expressly engaged and paid for the purpose of promoting the true interests of religion ; the true interests of religion are best promoted by the increase of morality, and the strengthening the securities of virtue and happiness ; the increase of useful knowledge, inculcated both by precept and example, is the only effectual mode of promoting those desirable ends; therefore, the priesthood of every country would be more usefully employed in diffusing instruction through every class of society, than by the most intense study of doctrines that are confessedly beyond their grasp, and can neither be comprehended nor explained, without that light which it has never yet been granted to them to bestow on others.

That popes, cardinals, bishops, and other dignitaries, who obtain thousands and tens of thousands from the public purse, for promoting the growth of true piety by leading idle and useless lives in foreign countries, or corrupt and mischievous ones in opposing every attempt at the spread of knowledge and improvement in their own, should be hostile to such an innovation as this, may be readily believed; but, if the interests of mankind at large are of more importance than the interests of any one particular portion of them, such a use of the priesthood would be generally regarded as most consistent with the dignity of their profession, acceptable to their Creator, and of incalculable benefit to their fellow-creatures.

There are many of the most learned and respectable of the Protestant clergy most usefully employed in the many public and private seminaries of our own country; and what a contrast do they offer to the unprincipled public lives of some, the debauched private lives of others, and the pernicious indolence and apathy of many more, in their own extensive body! Still further, what a contrast do they exhibit to the ambitious, arrogant, and lazy priesthood of the church of Rome, and all the various sects of professing Christians throughout the East! Inasmuch, however, as the small portion of the English clergy so employed are labouring more effectually in their vocation than those who are not, and are therefore more faithful servants of Him whose will they profess to study and obey: so it would be far more to the honour of their whole body, and infinitely more beneficial to the interests of the community, from whom they derive their subsistence, if *all* were so employed, from the highest dignitary of the church to the humblest parish curate.

If the sums now consumed by their body were divided, on some equitable scale of proportion, among the several ranks which it might still be necessary to maintain; and the promotion to such ranks were regulated by the claims of superior length of service, public virtue, distinguished talents, or private worth; such funds

would be fully adequate to maintain the whole church establishment of England in ease and respectability, elevating the most useful of them from the indigence in which many are now compelled to pass their days, and rear even a numerous family; and yet leave a large surplus to be applied to the maintenance of public schools in every part of Great Britain, for the gratuitous education of all children whose parents had not the means of defraying the expense; and still leaving a wide field open for the superior education, in more select establishments, or by private tutors, of such children as were destined for the higher walks of life.

To those who were truly and honestly disciples of Christ, and set his life before them as the pattern most worthy of their imitation, no objection could possibly be made to the increased labour, or the seeming humility, of such an occupation, for those who had heretofore wallowed in luxury, and while they helped to drain the wealth, assisted also to rule the councils of the nation. Such was not the pattern set them by their Divine Master, whose whole life was spent in teaching others and in doing good. Nor is it enough that his disciples should merely enjoin from their pulpits the observance of precepts which they exact from others, without making them the guide of their own lives and occupations: as Jesus himself has pronounced, that whosoever shall break the commandments that he is appointed to preach unto men, shall be the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall obey such commandments, and teach them also, shall be great indeed.* Since the servants, therefore, ought not to aspire to be above the master, every member of the Christian church who should object to assist in this great work of the public education of all the youth of the kingdom, and the consequent advancement of the rising generation in virtuous habits as well as principles, might conscientiously be considered as unworthy of his sacred trust, and be removed from that body to give place to some successor who should

* See the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew v.

be better qualified, by Christian piety and humility, to aid in this philanthropic work.

The arguments against the spread of information, and the education of the " lower orders" generally, are founded on such a mixture of blindness and wickedness, that they could never succeed in overturning an institution of this nature, if once commenced. No one would be hardy enough to declare that God created men of different ranks in society, making one a master and the other a slave from its birth ; all must admit that such distinctions are purely human, and have arisen from the multiplicity of events that are continually changing the condition of society in almost every quarter of the globe. Sometimes priority of birth, at others greater courage and strength, but more frequently than all, superior virtue and wisdom, have elevated some individuals so far above others among whom they lived, as to give them, by general consent, the character of leaders ; and from the earliest stages of civilization up to the advanced state of refinement in which we may be now said to live, in comparison with preceding ages, it is education that is the principal agent in constituting the superiority of one man above another. The proverbs, adages, and maxims of every age and country, founded on this belief, are too trite and numerous to be adduced, nor need they be referred to except to show the universality of such an impression. If one *man* is better than another because of his superior education, the natural propensities in each being considered the same ; then, one *nation* must be also better than another for the same reason : and if the same rule were extended to the world at large, it might be safely asserted, that the nearer a people can approach to the state in which every individual of every nation should be, that is, deeply impressed with moral principles and trained to moral habits, the more widely diffused would be the reign of justice, peace, and happiness throughout the earth, till the supposed " millenium of righteousness" might be almost realized.

That innumerable and perhaps insuperable obstacles exist to oppose a consummation so devoutly to be wished, no man could doubt. But this should quicken our zeal, instead of operating as a reason for despair ; and if every man would put the case to his own bosom, as regarding his immediate offspring, none but the most besotted would deny them the benefit of education if within their reach, from a fear of its pernicous tendency ; the practice of the whole world indeed, wherever education is known, proves that every father would wish his children to be well instructed, from a conviction that such instruction is calculated to make them more useful and honourable members of society.

If it be said that such a general diffusion of information tends to produce too great an equality among mankind, and to make the inferior ranks ambitious, insolent, and disorderly, such a tendency can be disproved by reason, and shown to be the very reverse of truth, by an appeal to the safest of all guides — experience. The untutored or natural disposition of the human heart is admitted to be evil, and one of its most constant propensities is to envy and to covet the superior possessions of others : it is therefore perpetually ambitious of acquiring more than it can command. Another striking feature of the natural state, is abject submission to the strong, and intolerable oppression of the weak : it is therefore insolent. And, lastly, the savage state, from its very precariousness of subsistence, and the constant successions of abundance and want, becomes improvident, sensual, and devoted to the enjoyment of the moment, in utter disregard of the future : it is therefore disorderly. In proportion as men and nations recede from this state of barbarism, they learn to be contented, mild, and prudent ; though unprincipled individuals continually form exceptions to this general rule. It is ignorance, however, which is the great bane of all, and the more effectually this is eradicated, the more orderly all ranks will necessarily become.

In Scotland, where the lower orders are generally instructed, they are more honest, industrious, and orderly than the same class

in any other country, America, perhaps, excepted, where the same cause produces the same effect. In Ireland, where the lower orders are grossly ignorant, there is a constant tendency to crimes and disorders of the most violent nature. In England, the well-educated among the lower orders bear with exemplary patience the constant pressure of an overpowering and disheartening demand on the produce of their labour for the support of extravagance in the state, and yield a ready obedience even to laws and mandates that they pronounce in public and in private to be pernicious and iniquitous ; yet, though thus justly dissatisfied, the moderation of their conduct is such as to keep the more turbulent in order by the mere force of good example ; while the manly fortitude with which they suffer, the forbearance which keeps them from violent measures, and the patient perseverance with which they try all methods before they resort to violent modes of redress for grievances that almost grind the poor to the dust, presents a triumphant proof of the commanding powers of education over the human mind, which should make every lover of his country rejoice in its superiority to almost all others on this account.

In Turkey, where education is almost unknown, an unpopular sultan is secretly dispatched by the Janissaries ; an unpopular vizier is strangled by the bow-string ; and an unpopular pasha in the provinces is cut off by poison or the dagger, without even asking him to change his ministers or reform his administration. In this country, too, the lowest individuals in the community may aspire, and often indeed succeed, to the principal posts of honour, when they act the part of the very tyrant they have succeeded in deposing, till their turn comes to give place to another.* The whole history of the country is, indeed, a series of plots, assassin-

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* "Despotic princes delight to show their power by raising a man from the lowest ranks of a community to a station which commands the most extensive obedience. A sultan of Constantinople is said to have at once exalted a waterman who rowed him across the Hellespont to the rank of grand vizier." — *Macdiarmid on Subordination*, p. 70. 8vo. 1806.

ations, and disorders of the most turbulent and ungovernable nature; the only law by which they are guided being that of force; and the only mode by which they seek redress being by the exercise of the same agent.

Such are the blessed effects of ignorance in the lower orders! and such the state to which those who oppose education among the poor would reduce all their fellow-creatures below that class to which they happen to belong, for the furtherance of their own selfish and abominable ends!

To return to the subject which gave rise to this digression: I venture to offer it as my opinion, that the thousand priests of all the several religions existing in Damascus, who draw their subsistence from the people, give them nothing of any real value in return, being employed for the greater portion of their time in consulting their own idle gratifications; and in the few hours allotted to the service of the public, substituting incomprehensible mysteries, and unprofitable ceremonies, for simple and useful precepts, and plain illustrations of valuable truths. I consider also, that if these thousand priests were employed in superintending each one school for the education of the rising generation, on the six days of the week, such thousand schools, if only demonstrative knowledge suited to all religions were taught in them, would give the inhabitants of Damascus a vast stride in civilization in the course of one generation only, which would go on with increasing force in every succeeding age. I would further add, that the argument applied to Damascus would apply equally to every other city on the face of the globe; and its force would never be diminished, except a nation could be found that had arrived at the perfection of knowledge in every branch, and where nothing more remained to learn; which, for some centuries at least, if ever, is not likely to be the case.

I am far from supposing that a system of perfect equality ever could exist, or that such a state would be desirable even if it could be attained. Gradations in rank appear to be as indis-

pensable to good government, as division of labour is essential to perfection in the arts of life. But as a very large portion of the misery existing in every country arises from the imperfection of its institutions, and the ignorance which prevails on the subjects of legislation, politics, law, population, and political economy in general ; so the more extensively sound opinions on these subjects could be disseminated through all classes, combined with every other species of useful information, in the physical and natural sciences, and the arts of human industry in every branch, the more difficult it would be for any one to maintain such gross delusions as are now practised by those in power, and the more impossible it would become for bad governors, either through ignorance or fraud, to pursue measures favorable to their own individual interests, but at the same time destructive of the interests and happiness of the community.

The chances of ignorant or bad men rising to the possession of power being thus lessened, the chances of sudden revolutions to displace them would be lessened also. The lower orders, being better informed, would see, as the really well-informed in all countries already perceive, that place and power are far less enviable than they always appear through the magnifying mists of ignorance: they would also see the hopelessness of success without certain combinations, which they would have penetration enough to perceive that they could never command. The objects of ambition, and the motives to its indulgence, would be therefore greatly lessened; and it may be safely asserted, that in all countries, the security of a good government from sudden change by any revolution of the people is great in proportion to the general diffusion of information ; and that where ignorance is most prevalent, there every man's possessions from the throne to the cottage are in the greatest danger of forcible violation and destruction ; because, in truth, in such countries, all men are nearly equal in point of qualifications, and the barber of the vizier is often quite as well fitted to guide the helm of affairs as his master, and the eunuch of

the harem frequently wields all the energies, or rather all the impotence of the state: so that the lowest individual may aspire to be prime minister, and the highest officer of the realm is not secure of his place for a day.

In the divisions of labour, from the simplest process of agriculture up to the most intricate operation of art, the fitness of the individual for the task assigned him to perform, is the only rule that is or ought to be observed. It would be thought absurd, for instance, to let the ploughman abandon his field and perform the labour of the miller, or for either to quit their several branches and assume the duties of the baker, without being quite as well qualified to do the one as the other: and in the more intricate operations of art, the absurdity would be still more apparent, from the entire incapacity of the workmen in one branch to perform what is required from those in another. In government, whether legislative or executive, confessedly the most important of all the duties that men can undertake, this simple and obvious consideration of fitness is wholly overlooked, and particularly in countries where ignorance is general. In proportion, however, as the happiness or misery of mankind is more dependant on the nature of the institutions under which they live, than on any other single cause: so the science of government must be considered one in which it is, of all others, the most important to secure for its professors the requisite qualifications of wisdom and virtue.

Where universal ignorance exists, this truth is seldom or ever discovered; and where general ignorance only prevails, the few by whom it may be acknowledged, are unable to overcome the mass of prejudices and passions, which combine to resist its adoption as a rule of choice. If, however, only the majority of a nation were sufficiently well informed to see that such a rule would be the most effectual security for their liberties and enjoyments, it would be first openly and freely proclaimed, and then gradually adhered to in practice; while in a really well-educated community, where political knowledge should be as generally diffused as arithmetical

knowledge now is, it would be as rare to hear a man dispute this maxim of superior qualifications being the only fit standard by which to regulate appointments to offices of state, as to hear a man deny that twice eight and four times four were the same number, or any other simple proposition in arithmetic.

It has never been asserted, as far as I am aware, that any man can be too good a mathematician, be his condition in life what it may, nor indeed is it thought dangerous for superior information to be made the standard for appointments to professorships in every other science, excepting only that of government. In all other departments of human knowledge, men must acquire by study and application a due stock of information, and exhibit their superiority to others in its practical application, before they can be permitted by the common consent of mankind to take the lead in their particular department, whether it be the higher branches of mental exertion in moral and natural philosophy, or the lowest exhibitions of muscular flexibility and strength, in juggling, rope-dancing, and pugilism; while, in government, the most difficult of all the sciences to know and practise well, men are considered sufficiently qualified by birth or wealth; as if it were considered that nature, and not study, furnished the necessary qualifications to the privileged class; or as if money could purchase wisdom for those to whom nature had denied, or from whom indolence had withheld, it.

The Turks are now in possession of some of the fairest portions of the earth: but by the general prevalence of ignorance, and consequent misgovernment, there is probably no portion of the earth in which the productive powers of nature are turned to so unprofitable an account; none in which the inducements to exertion are less; and none in which life, liberty, and property, are so generally insecure. The cause being known, the remedy is simple; the gradual diffusion of such information, as shall tend to make the people, as well as their rulers, moral, wise, and free: for while the latter are debased and ignorant, the former are sure to be corrupt and oppressive. And if the application of this remedy

would advance the civilisation of Turkey, so it would, in a greater or less degree, improve every country on the globe, unless it could be shown that vice is superior to virtue, and ignorance to wisdom; or unless it could be proved that some nations should be exempt from its influence, as having already reached perfection.

Damascus, Tuesday, April 3.—Though I had felt much better yesterday, and remained out of bed for the greater part of the day, I found that I had considered myself well too soon, falling to-day into a relapse of fever, which was considered more dangerous than the first attack. I was accordingly obliged to keep my bed, and undergo a strong course of medicine. The weather was extremely severe, with a violent storm from the south-west, accompanied by hail, snow, rain, thunder, and lightning, which made a gloomy day.* My kind physician, Dr. Chaboçeau, as well as the president of the convent, were exceedingly attentive to me, the first paying me three, and the last more than a dozen visits in the course of the day. Both of them were evidently alarmed for my safety, and considered me as likely to be so too; as they were continually desiring me to compose myself, to have courage, and to hope for the best. Fortunately for my peace of mind, as well as for the tranquillity requisite to the state of my body, such injunctions were unnecessary, as my composure at the prospect of death was only

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* This climate, though generally temperate, and seldom disturbed by violent storms in any season, is nevertheless occasionally visited by them, when they are severe in proportion to their rarity. During the extended empire of the Persians under Darius, Damascus was one of their strong fortified cities towards their western frontier. While Alexander was in Syria, the governor of this place sent him letters, treacherously offering to deliver up the city to him. The messenger was interrupted by Parmenio, who went himself afterwards, with an officer and some soldiers sent to him by Alexander, to the city. In conveying away from thence the wives and children of Darius, with the rich spoils thus treacherously obtained, there was so severe a frost, accompanied with a storm of wind and a heavy fall of snow, that the followers of this train made no scruple of opening the treasures, and clothing themselves in the royal robes of gold which were found there, without any one daring to prevent them.— ROOKE's *Arrian*, vol. i. b. 3. c. 13. p. 395. 8vo.

occasionally disturbed by an anticipation of the pang that I should feel, if my existence terminated before I could secure the means of leaving some provision for those who would most severely suffer from my loss. In all other respects, such a prospect was wholly devoid of terrors; although there are few circumstances that could render death more painful, (divested of the hopes or fears of another state of existence, in which the immediate scene or place of expiration could have no influence, since these must depend on the state of the mind and heart at that serious and impressive moment,) than that of its sudden visitation in a strange country, without one beloved object near to receive the last breathings of the departing spirit.

Wednesday, *April* 4. — I passed a quiet and refreshing night, and was so much better in the morning, as to give cheerful countenances to my attendants, by the visible improvement which they perceived. I was allowed to leave my bed about noon for a little while, and to partake of a very light food called Mash, a kind of gruel made of a dark red seed grown in Egypt, and usually given to sick persons as one of the lightest and simplest kinds of diet.

In the course of the day, the president of the convent had been endeavouring to persuade me that the age of miracles was not past, and that these divine agents of conversion were as necessary to be exhibited to mankind in the present day, as at any former period. In illustration of his position, he brought to me a small modern engraving, representing the present reigning Pope, Pius the Seventh, lifted up from the earth, in divine ecstasy, and there suspended in the air by divine power, while officiating at a high mass in his pontifical robes before the altar on the day of Pentecost, in the year 1811. It is not stated in the inscription at the foot of the engraving, at what particular place this pretended event took place; but Rome is to be inferred, as the Pope seldom, if ever, officiates in his sacred functions, except in that city.

Much as I had seen of religious imposture and religious credulity in Palestine, I had seen nothing so bare-faced and palpable as this. The act of engraving and publishing such a print in Europe at the present day, sufficiently evinces how far priestly impudence will go in attempting to pass off the grossest delusions on mankind, for it is impossible that the originators of such a publication could have been ignorant of the fraud: and the veneration with which it is received and preserved among those for whose edification it is professedly intended, is a strong proof of the credulity of ignorance, and establishes beyond a doubt, (if further proof were required,) that under the sanction of religion, it is as easy to make the larger portion of mankind believe in miracles now, as it ever was in any preceding age of the world; as the modern legends of nearly all the African and Asiatic world, from the straits of Gibraltar to the extreme limits of Chinese Tartary, abundantly testify.

The cause is in all cases the same — a state of general ignorance, and a slavish subjection of the mind to fetters that forbid the exercise of its reasoning and inquisitive faculties. In proportion as men are restrained from the free exercise of their reason, and the free expression of their opinions on any one particular subject, so they are liable to fall into the grossest absurdities by making authority their blind guide: while, in proportion as the laws and institutions of nations admit of that freedom of thought and expression, so will their inhabitants rise above the superstitious prejudices, and gross absurdities, still tenaciously adhered to in less free and less intelligent communities. The greater part of the eastern world is in the former state, and the greater part of the western in the latter; and so truly does experience confirm the accuracy of theory in this respect, that it may be seen, even among the nations of the western world, that those in which the greatest religious and political freedom exist, as England and America, are proportionately superior in all that can enlighten and elevate mankind, to more enslaved countries, as Greece, Austria, and Italy.

If restrictions on the freedom of thought and expression in matters of science, such as condemned Galileo for the heresy of his astronomical discoveries, had been continued in full force from the earliest ages to the present time, either Newton would never have made his sublime discoveries, or would have pined in a dungeon for promulgating them; and every other branch of science would have been stationary, or, perhaps, retrograding. They have advanced only because it has been permitted to all men freely to expose their errors, and to use the most unlimited scrutiny in pursuing their researches, and freedom in discussing their most difficult points. Were this rational process also allowed with regard to religion, law, and politics, the world would see more rapid advances towards purity and perfection in each than it has ever yet beheld in the same space of time. Political economy, a science scarcely known a century ago, has, by the mere force of unrestrained investigation, become already so well and so generally understood, in England and America particularly, that no gross delusion in that branch of knowledge could long maintain its ground if submitted to the true test of its merit — free and full discussion.

If religion, law, and politics were exposed to the same fiery ordeal, we should soon see the pure gold of each separated from the dross; and it would be as difficult to practise delusions in these as in any other science. But while persecution, imprisonment, and death, are the rewards bestowed on those who venture with more zeal than others to scrutinise the dogmas of the one and the maxims of the other, it is not to be wondered at that the progress toward improvement should be so slow; or that the three great subjects which must have engaged the earliest attention of mankind, and almost the only ones of which we have any very ancient records, should be far less advanced, and less generally understood, than a science which may be said to have been brought into notice but yesterday. If equal freedom of investigation and discussion were admitted in all, we should see them all advance with nearly equal steps, proportioned to their comprehensibility and their relative

importance to the interests and happiness of mankind ; but while profit and honour are the rewards offered to those who unite to maintain existing errors as they are, whether among the Brahmins of India, the legislators of Turkey, or the politicians of Rome; and degradation, imprisonment, or death, await those who would either gradually deracinate, or lay at once " the axe to the root of the tree," which they conceive should be " hewn down and cast into the fire," it is in vain to hope for the same ardour in exposing, as will be exerted in defending, corrupt institutions, and the fruit they produce.

This, however, may at least be safely said, that every man who stretches forth his hand to interrupt, by any means, the free investigation of truth, must be hostile to the improvement of mankind, and should be regarded as an enemy of his species ; while, if no honours be reserved for those who exert themselves in that great cause, they should at least be shielded from those barbarous punishments now legally inflicted for daring to speak that truth, which religion, morals, and every dictate of justice and humanity alike command them to proclaim; the very existence of such punishments, for the exercise of one of the highest virtues of our nature, being a blot and a stain upon the reputation of the nations in which they are sanctioned and inflicted.

Among the communications made to me by visitors during my confinement, I learnt from Mr. Chaboçeau the following curious and illustrative fact, regarding the naked saint whom I had seen wandering in the bazār a few days since. Some persons in the confidence of the pasha having spoken to him on the subject of the violations of female chastity and of public decency committed by this venerated vagrant in the most sacred places and in open day, and pointed out the risk of having even his own females or their domestics seized for this man's pleasures if he should accidentally meet them when under the influence of such a disposition, he was induced to send some of his officers to bring the idiot to the palace; when, being persuaded, from his behaviour during examin-

ation, that there was as much of depravity as of imbecility in his character, he caused him to be whipped in his presence, and then banished him from the city.

This occurred just before the departure of the annual caravan of pilgrims for Mecca, which sets out from Damascus, as one of the gates to that holy city. The pasha of Damascus, for the time being, is always allowed the honour and the privilege of conducting this caravan in person, and from thence derives the title of Emir-el-Hadj, or the Prince of the Pilgrims; an honour which is seldom declined, for, besides the great reputation for sanctity which the holder of such a title ever after enjoys, he is considered by law as heir to the personal property of all those who die on their way to Mecca, during their residence in that city, or on their return home, a privilege that produces more wealth (from the great number of those who die, and the merchandise and beasts of burden taken with them on this double errand of devotion and gain) than the surplus revenues of his government at home.

As this privilege, however, confers no exemption from the common lot of humanity, the pasha himself fell a victim to the fatigues, bad climate, bad provisions, bad water, and other combined evils that often sweep off the youngest, the richest, and the most healthy in the way. The people of Damascus, on hearing this intelligence, accounted for his death in various modes; though, as unconditional predestinarians, it would seem idle to seek for any causes whatever beyond the limit of his days by superior destiny. Some of the more ignorant and superstitious among the devout dervishes and faqueers of the city contrived, however, to spread a very general impression, that the pasha lost his life as a punishment for having flogged and banished one of their sacred and privileged body, for so they considered the idiot in question; and this impression was so sedulously and so successfully cultivated, that by far the larger majority of the citizens adopted it as a religious truth; and, accordingly, the naked saint was called back to the city, where he was permitted to indulge his depraved propensities

without limit or restriction as to time, place, or condition; violating, it is even said, the sanctity of the Great Mosque, when women passed through it as a thoroughfare, and sometimes even when men were engaged there in prayer!

I cannot imagine a more effectual cure for those who labour under the malady of attachment to things as they are, and regard with jealousy, if not with horror, the very mention of innovations tending to root out all that is ancient and venerable in their customs and institutions, than that of a short residence among a people in which the blessed effects of such a disease (for so it may be truly called) are seen in full and constant operation; — where a reverence for ancient customs permits men to wander naked through the streets, and commit the most revolting acts of violence and indecency; and where a horror of innovation induced the priests and leaders of the army to murder their sovereign (Selim, at Constantinople), because he desired to give strength to his empire by the introduction of European discipline among his forces, and to diffuse information among his people by means of a printing press established in his capital. These are the necessary results of the principle of hostility to improvement among the lower orders, when pushed to its limits; and for evils not much inferior in wickedness and atrocity to these, are the enemies of reform justly responsible, in every country in which they exert their influence to oppose its progress.

In conversation with the friars of the convent, I learnt that they had a small tea tree in their garden, which had once produced excellent tea, proving, that, with proper cultivation, the soil and climate of Damascus were suited to the cultivation of that valuable plant. It had been lately neglected, however, and was now too old to produce leaves fit for use: I was desirous of learning how, by whom, and when it had been first brought here; but no one was able to answer any enquiries on these heads. The tobacco plant is also cultivated in the same garden, and furnishes all the

members of the convent with snuff, which they make for themselves, and consume in abundant quantities.

The oldest friar among them has been in Damascus, and attached to the convent, upwards of twenty-five years. There are only eight in number at present, and these are all Spaniards: the president, a fat, jolly, bon-vivant, being a native of Alicant, and the rest chiefly from other large cities of Spain. All of them study Arabic under teachers of the country, and most of them speak it tolerably, though their pronunciation is defective, from commencing the study late in life, and rarely using it as a language of ordinary conversation. They complain of the frequent and arbitrary exactions of the Turks, and say, that in consequence of this, they have been compelled to draw largely from the convent of Jerusalem, to which they are therefore much in debt. What they cannot otherwise raise for the payment of these exactions they sometimes succeed in borrowing from the most wealthy among their Christian communicants, to whom they pay from 13 to 15 per cent. per annum interest; though they can never raise more on a loan than the amount of houses, church plate, and other property bequeathed or given to the convent will cover as a security; and which are therefore mortgaged, or otherwise placed at the disposal of the lenders, as circumstances may require.

We heard to-day that the soldiers of the city, though few in number, had begun to be troublesome to the government and impertinent to the people, as there was yet no certain information as to the person who would be appointed from Constantinople to succeed to the vacant pashalick; and public affairs were, therefore, in a most unsettled state. It was said that there had already been several instances of their entering the houses of Christians and demanding aqua vitæ; that they had also grossly insulted the Christian women whom they met with in their dwellings; and committed many other irregularities. The friars thought of shutting up the convent to secure themselves from such intrusive

visitors; and, fortunately, every avenue to the establishment is well provided with strong doors, iron bolts, and locks in abundance.

In conversation with some of the resident merchants of the town, I learnt it was a common opinion here, that the Jews possessed the greatest secret influence at Damascus, from their wealth; that the Christians were the leading movers of the secret springs of government at Aleppo; and that the Turks enjoyed the fullest authority at Jerusalem, from their having mostly sojourners and foreigners in the city, who submitted more quietly to their despotism, knowing that it would be only for a season.

As a specimen of the tendency to exaggeration, so common to all classes of people in the East, I may mention that several Arab Christians of respectability affirmed to me, as a truth which they themselves believed, that at a village called Sydoniaia, or Sydonȳa, about a short day's journey to the northward of Damascus, there were "thallatha meeah oua sitte oua sitteen Deere, koolloo "kharaab," or "366 convents, all ruined and destroyed." The instances are innumerable in which this spirit of exaggeration,—the necessary consequence of general ignorance, — deceives even those who thus unintentionally mislead others. A little reflection would persuade any man, who thought on what he was about to utter, that such a number of convents in one village was highly improbable, and this, repeated or prolonged, would satisfy him that it could not be true; but, among a people who are as indolent as they are ignorant, and have neither the requisite knowledge to judge of probabilities, nor the requisite regard to truth to exercise any care in ascertaining the accuracy of what they say, more than half of what escapes, without intention to deceive, is positively false, and the slightest motive to misrepresentation is indulged without scruple.

In the course of the day, some medals and coins were brought to me for inspection by a Christian priest, a Syrian Arab by birth, but educated for the priesthood at Rome, where he had acquired a

taste for antiques. Among them were several good silver coins of the Ptolemies, many silver and copper ones of little value, and an English seal with a lion crest cut on cornelian *, which the possessor fondly imagined to be a genuine piece of antiquity! The best of the collection was a gold coin, weighing an ounce and a drachm, the metal of great fineness, and the coin as thick as an English copper penny-piece, of the year 1810. On one side was a fine female head of Arsinoë, with the tiara, and a cloth descending behind, uniting the costume of Greece and Egypt, and therefore highly appropriate to the subject. On the reverse, was a double cornucopia, with ears of wheat rising out of the horns, and clusters of grapes hanging over the sides of them. Around this side of it was the inscription, in fair characters, —

ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ

with this device ♈ at the foot, between the points of the horns of plenty. Two hundred piastres, or about 10*l.* sterling, was the price demanded for this, and it would have been well worth that sum to a collector, being in a very high state of preservation, the relief bold, and every line of the impression perfect; the appearance of the coin being more like one fresh from the mint than one of such undoubted antiquity. Having, however, predetermined to resist, as far as possible, every temptation of this or any other nature that might be attended with subsequent inconvenience or regret, I did not yield to the pressing importunities of the cognoscenti, who were astonished at my permitting such an opportunity of an excellent bargain to escape.

At the distance of a day's journey from Damascus, in a north-east direction, is a place called Mullool, inhabited by Syrian Christians, where there are said to be innumerable grottoes of

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* The cassidonie, or alabaster, is said to have been found about Thebes in Egypt, and Damascus in Syria. (*Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. 36. c. 8.) This would have been a fine material for statues and engraved stones; but none of these are now known here.

various sizes, hewn out of the rocks, and many of them ornamented.

At Ain-el-Feejy, which is six hours' journey to the north-west of Damascus, are the remains of some ancient buildings, and the commencement of an aqueduct, which is said to leave traces of continued fragments all the way from thence to Palmyra, or Tadmor, in the desert. These communications were made to me by persons professing to be well acquainted with the truth of them; but such authorities must always be considered as inferior to ocular inspection.

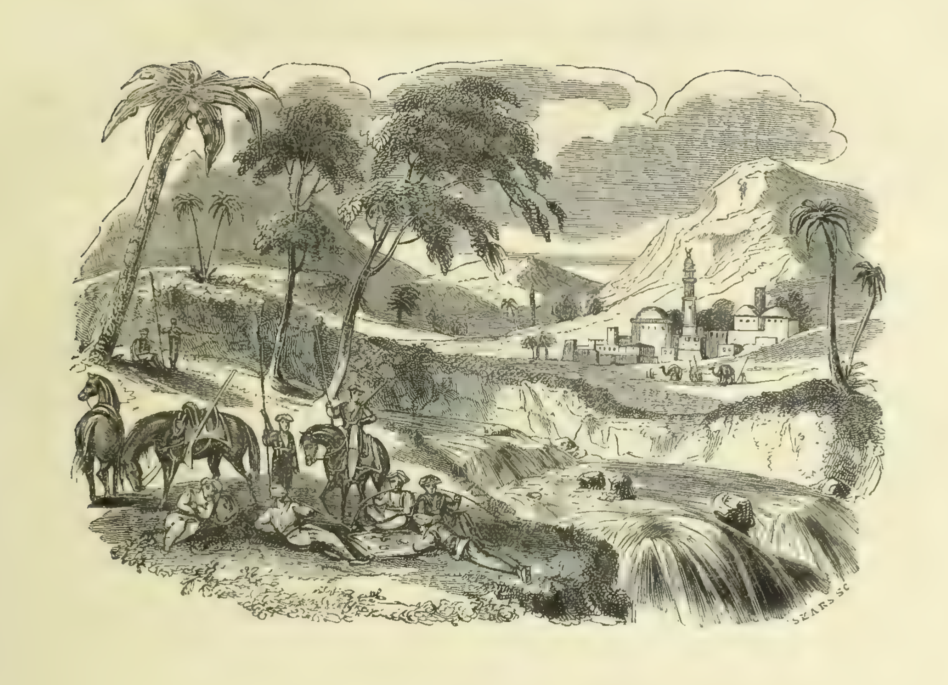
The inhabitants of Damascus, of all ranks and classes, are exceedingly polite in their outward behaviour towards each other; and where religious distinctions do not interfere, may be said to be civil, and even hospitable, to strangers; though there is no part of the Turkish dominions, probably, where an European, in the costume of his country, would be more liable to insult and interruption. The language, which is Arabic, with some local peculiarities of expression and pronunciation, abounds with lofty epithets and extravagant metaphor; and the most hyperbolical compliments are passed between persons even of inferior rank, and on the most ordinary occasions. Whether the habit of hearing it spoken, and endeavouring to acquire its peculiarities, had made these appear less harsh to me than at first, I know not; but it appeared to me to be much softer and more freed from the deep guttural sounds which characterise this tongue, than the same language spoken after the manner in use at Cairo; though here the Arabic of Egypt is considered to be much purer than that of Syria. Besides the more intricate differences in idiom and phraseology, the pronunciation of the same word is very different in Damascus and Cairo; and many of the names of the commonest articles in daily use are totally different, as, for instance, bread, which in Egypt is called *eash*, and in Syria *khobs*, with a hundred equally striking differences that might be collected by one taking the pains to observe and compare them.

In making enquiries, even into the present state of Damascus, a traveller must expect to find great obstacles to the acquisition of accurate information. Under so uncertain and irregular a government there are few records of any description preserved, and such few as may be kept, extend over a brief period only, and even then are not accessible, except to persons in office. A Turk would be unable to comprehend the motive of an enquirer who should desire to see an account of the exports and imports of the city, the amount of the revenue or disbursements of the state, or an estimate of the several classes of the population. He could form no idea of the utility of any branch of statistical information for the purposes of general science; and to talk to him of the value of these facts, as illustrations of political economy, would be to speak of a study quite unknown to him, and one that would no doubt appear more worthless, even if explained to him, than alchymy, astrology, or magic. The only purpose that he would think it probable such enquiries were designed to answer would be that of informing an enemy, whose cupidity might be excited by an acquaintance with the wealth of the country, and his means of invasion regulated by a knowledge of its strength. No registers of births, circumcisions, marriages, or deaths, are kept, and no data can, therefore, be acquired for judging of the state of the population. Every successive governor seems wholly engrossed by the desire of enriching his coffers, and securing a large fortune before he is compelled to give place to another, which he does by temporary expedients, utterly regardless of the future; and this feeling of living for the present only necessarily leads to that of living for self alone, so that the result is a general diffusion of improvidence and selfishness combined, which manifests itself in the conduct of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, produces the most benumbing effect on all the best feelings of the heart, and forms one the greatest obstacles that could be created to social happiness and progressive improvement.

This city of Damascus was built, peopled, and numbered among

the first civilized settlements of the world, soon after the epoch of the deluge, the earliest period of which we possess any history, and at least 3000 years before London existed as a city, or even England was known but as an island inhabited by barbarians. The distance between these cities is now, however, immense ; London being as much above Damascus in whatever can indicate superior knowledge, superior comfort, and all that can endear and embellish life, as Damascus is to the meanest kraal or village of the African Hottentots. Yet the natural situation of the latter has greater advantages than that of the former ; its climate, soil, and water are favourable to the richest productions of the earth ; and even in a commercial point of view, its central situation in the heart of Syria, with India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Arabia, all accessible by land, and the whole range of the Mediterranean open to any of the ports within less than a hundred miles on the coast, would be a source of great wealth to an active and enterprising people. What, then, has been the leading causes of the immense difference between the wealth and intelligence of London and those of Damascus ? is a question that naturally forces itself on an enquiring mind : and the answer necessarily is — "Education and Freedom," the two main springs of good government, of which it may be truly said, as Pope has done of self-love and social happiness ;—

> Man but for this no knowledge could attain,
> And but for that all knowledge would be vain ;
> Instruction points the way to true renown,
> But Liberty must win and wear the crown.
> The untutored savage may be just and brave,
> The deeply learn'd, a despot or a slave ;
> But Freedom and Instruction, both combined
> At once to nerve the heart and raise the mind,
> Will teach the Tyrant, trembling on his throne,
> This world was made for many, not for one,
> And purge the earth, till all be wise and free,
> As man still pants, and fondly hopes, to be.



CHAP. XIX.

JOURNEY FROM DAMASCUS, ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS, TO SIDON, ON THE SEA COAST.

Thursday, *April* 6, 1816.—I was still so weak, that it required some exertion for me to leave my bed, and dress. As Dr. Chaboçeau was of opinion that my getting to the sea air upon the coast would contribute more to my recovery than any thing else, I was determined to lose no time in accomplishing it by easy journies, and accordingly prepared for departure. A mule driver had been engaged at five piastres per day, and a servant to accompany me as far as Seyda, at two piastres per day. The clothes which had been lent me were returned to their owner, and others purchased for the journey, and my horse had been well fed, reposed, and newly caparisoned. I paid to my medical friend, a Spanish doubloon in gold, to the convent ten Spanish dollars, and to the servants five, so that all our arrangements being completed, we mounted about 10 o'clock.

In quitting Damascus we came out westerly by the paved road which leads to Salheyah, and had as much reason as before to admire the gaiety and cheerful appearance of every thing we saw. The gardens were even more beautiful, as the verdure of the ground was fresher; the fruit trees were full in blossom, and every shrub had begun to send forth its young buds of green.

From Salheyah we ascended the hill which presses close on its western edge, by a well-frequented but steep road. The pass of Roboeh and the village of Meze near it, where the waters of the Barrādy are thought to form the four rivers of Paradise, were below us on our left; while, from the summit of the hill itself, the view of all before us, on turning towards the plain of Damascus, was enchantingly beautiful. We halted in the narrow pass, which appears to have been cut through the rock near an open tomb of some Mohammedan saint on the top, to enjoy the extensive and delightful prospect; and, even after a full hour's stay there, we turned from it with regret.

From hence we went down over the N.W. side of the hill, going on a rugged road of limestone rock; and as a striking contrast to the verdant spring which we had just quitted in the plain below, all the mountains that intercepted the horizon like an amphitheatre, on every side were covered from the summit to the base with snow. It was nearly noon when we reached the small village of Dummar, peopled by Mohammedans, and seated on the N.E. of the Barrādy, at a short distance only from its banks. The view of the valley through which this stream runs from hence, south-easterly to Roboeh, presents a romantic picture, in its high cliffs on either side, and narrow green vale between, filled with verdure, trees, and water.

From Dummar we ascended gradually for nearly three hours in a N.W. direction, passing over a bare tract of land, in which were only a few spots cultivated with corn; and throughout all our way across it, we met not a single passenger. About three o'clock we turned down to the S.W., through a valley of considerable

depth, but narrow. On our right we had lofty and rugged hills of lime rock, and on our left perpendicular cliffs of puddingstone, with many detached masses of the same scattered at their feet. The whole of the space between the enclosing hills, about a mile in breadth, was thickly covered with vines.

At four we reached Beseemia, a small village in a most romantic situation, hemmed in by overhanging cliffs and rugged hills, with grottoes and large masses of severed rock all around; while the stream of the Barrādy, as broad and rapid as the Jordan at its fall, rushes through a thick and winding grove of poplars, watering fields, and meadows, and gardens in its way.

We followed from hence the course of the stream towards its source, going north-westerly for about an hour along its eastern bank, and I do not remember ever to have passed over a more delightful road, or one which presented so continued a series of romantic views as this.

It was about five o'clock when we reached the village of Feejy, so called from the river of that name which rises near it. We were furnished with a beurdee, or a passport, from the governor of Damascus to the sheikh, and hoped to have lodged at his village for the night. He professed his willingness to receive and entertain us, but declared that in all the village sufficient corn for our two animals could not be purchased at any price. We remonstrated and disputed for some time, but in vain, and were at last compelled to push on for another village a short distance off.

The inhabitants of Feejy, to the number perhaps of 500, are all Mohammedan. We found the men well dressed, and apparently much at their ease, and the females, both old and young, were all employed in spinning cotton at a wheel before their doors.

In about five minutes after our quitting the village, and going in a westerly direction, we came to the source of the waters called Ain-el-Feejy, and alighted there for a moment to observe it. The spring appears to issue from beneath an old arch, the roof or

highest part of which is but a few inches clear of the surface of the stream. The quantity discharged from this is considerable, and the water is of the purest transparency notwithstanding its being extremely agitated, as well as of the most excellent taste.

Immediately over the arch from out of which this large body of water springs, are the remains of an ancient building; and below by the side of the stream, the walls of another very similar one, both thought to have been temples. The lower one is about fifteen paces square within, consisting only of one apartment. It was entered by a gateway extending all the breadth of its front, excepting only the portals, which rise about two-thirds the height of the whole, and there terminate in a cornice exactly like the gates of the Egyptian temples. The stones of the building are very large, and the masonry solid and well executed, though certainly unlike Roman work. The gateway opens toward the south, and immediately opposite to it on entering, or in the centre of the interior face of the northern wall, is an oblong upright niche, as if for the reception of a statue. The spring of an arch is begun from the inner moulding, which runs round the whole of the interior on a level with the top of the portals of the gateway, and three layers of large stones still remain above it; but it appears from what remains never to have been wholly arched over.

The upper building, which is right above the arch from whence the water issues, is somewhat less than the lower one, being perhaps about twenty feet square, and of one apartment only. Here the portals of the gateway are carried up the whole of the height of the building; and on each side of the gateway, on the outer front, is a shallow square pilaster without a capital of any kind. It fronts the south, like the lower one, and has a still broader recess in the inner face of its northern wall, over which the rocky cliff above literally hangs. The base of the upper building is just on a level with the top of the lower one, which is distant from it about fifteen paces on the west. Between them both, and in the cliff beside the arch from whence the spring issues,

is a concave recess of excellent masonry, about fifteen feet high, and a proportionate breadth and depth, as if intended for a colossal statue of the river god. The stones are all large and of a coarse yellowish marble, and the workmanship is solid and good throughout; but the style is unlike Roman, and the general appearance very ancient.

The river Barrādy runs close by here to the eastward, between high and rocky hills, the strata of which lie in every direction, from nearly horizontal to quite perpendicular. The waters of the Ain-el-Feejy, which are thought to be of purer quality, rush down here to the southward and join those of the Barrādy at a few paces only from its own source, when they both run together through the romantic bed we had seen at intervals on our way, until they reach the pass at Roboeh, where they divide into what are called the four rivers of Paradise. We had seen nothing of the aqueduct supposed to have conveyed these waters to Palmyra, nor had received any information which might help us to understand whether these were the Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, which Naaman the Syrian thought better than all the waters of Israel, or not. (2 Kings v. 12.) On leaving Ain-el-Feejy, we followed the northern bank of the Barrādy to the westward, through an agreeable valley, and came in about an hour to Deer-el-Mukarrin, a small Muslim village, where all the people were set in uproar by our demand of corn, of which they possessed none. We continued our way, therefore, on the same course, and in half an hour reached El-Ekfaire-el-Feite, a similar village, and, like all those we had yet passed, on the northern bank of the stream, at a little distance from the water. We alighted here, as it was now past sunset, and though we had still to contend about our corn, we obtained at last shelter and food in a house better built and cleaner than usual, with a chimney in the corner and other conveniences. The females here were all fair, ruddy, and handsome, wearing a white cloth over the head and shoulders, with a black border and tassels hanging from the temples. They were un-

veiled, and wore each an open blue gown, with a scarlet apron descending from the waist to the feet in front, narrow and tightly girt with broad figured tape, looking altogether more interesting than the women of the country generally do.

Friday, April 7, 1816. — I felt almost unable to rise from my carpet, from weakness and fever: there was no alternative, however, but to proceed. We therefore took a breakfast of sour milk or lebben, and left El Ekfaire an hour after sunrise. Crossing the Barrādy just below this, we went up the hill to the southward, and came in half an hour to a ruined town called Deer Kanoon, where we observed some small pedestals and variegated marble shafts, large hewn stones, and broken pottery, probably the remains of some Christian settlement and church. From hence we saw to the N.W., about a mile distant, a large village called El Husseneey, on the southern bank of the stream, and standing on the side of a steep rocky mountain. An opening in the hills presented itself to the north of this, through which the Barrādy came, and its source was said to be near a village called Zebedery, three hours north of this.

Our road now became uninteresting in the extreme, constantly ascending over bare limestone mountains in a W.S.W. direction till we came to the snow. The weather was still cold, and the wind high. We then turned down S.W. for near two hours through a broad and irregular valley, in which were the ruins of a town called Demess. This brought us to Wādi Mesenoon, a narrow valley between two bare ranges of limestone and puddingstone rock, which we ascended in a westerly direction for about an hour, and then alighted at the spring of Mesenoon, which forms the stream of the valley. It goes only as far as Demess, and then loses itself in the earth. Near this are the remains of a large building, perhaps fifty feet square, with a doorway at the eastern, and the foundations of a wall before the western end. The stones are large and well hewn, but the whole is so destroyed

that nothing but a few feet of the base of the walls remain. There are no fragments by which its order can be determined, nor any sculpture visible; though it might have been, like those at Ain-el-Feejy, a temple to the god of the spring near which it stands. It is about thirty paces east of the spring. We had opened to our view from hence in a S.S.W. direction, distant less than a mile, a high and rugged mountain, now entirely covered with snow, called Jebel Annter. The ruin is called Khan-el-Mesenoon, from its being, perhaps, in the public road; it has no resemblance, however, to such a building.

We quitted this spot about eleven, and ascended in a W.S.W. direction, over deep snow, the hills which pressed on each side of us being sheeted over with unbroken snow, as if it had lain there for ages. In our way we met a small caravan of mules from Seyda, bearing chiefly the baggage of some Muggrebins, who accompanied it on their way to Damascus for the ensuing pilgrimage. Three or four female slaves of a jet black, but pretty features, rode on asses, and each had a large piece of snow in her hand, apparently to eat it, as if a delicacy. The male servants were on foot without shoes, and seemed to suffer dreadfully. We continually ascended for more than three hours, our progress being very slow, from the state of the road, our course from W. to W.S.W., when we gained the summit of the range of mountains we were now crossing, and opened a view of the Jebel-el-Druse to the N.W. of us. This range commences with the Jebel-el-Sheikh to the S.W., and ends in the Jebel Zebedeiny to the N.E., including a distance of from thirty to forty miles. It is called collectively Jebel-el-Wast by the Arabs, and is, apparently, the Anti-Libanus of the ancients. It is of limestone, generally, throughout.

About an hour after our leaving the spring at Mesenoon, we saw a small portion of deep red soil, with some scattered fragments of the black porous stone found in the Haurān and near Tiberias. It was near a pass with cliffs on each side, as if the mountain had been forcibly torn asunder.

From the summit of Jebel-el-Wast we turned down a gentle slope to the S.W., having the high Jebel-el-Sheikh, a pure sheet of white, in sight to the southward. In an hour we reached a circular lake, full of clear unfrozen water, about 150 yards in diameter, and apparently once banked round with masonry. Just above it to the N.W. is a ruined village, said to be very old, and called Keneisy, which name the lake also bears. We halted here to give our animals a moment's repose after their fatiguing passage over the mountain, and took ourselves some hasty refreshment. While here, I was somewhat surprised by the voice of the cuckoo, loud, distinct, and near, at the time that the ground was every where covered with deep snow. The Arabs called it Teer-el-Yaccoub, or the bird of Jacob, from supposing him to utter that name, the Arabic pronunciation of which the sound indeed closely resembles.

We left this spot about three, and descended in nearly a southerly direction over a barren and rocky tract, till we came in about an hour to the foot of the hill, into a plain cultivated with olives, corn, and vines, and called Wādi Ityne. We went through this in a S.W. direction, and came in another hour to the town of Kufr-el-Kook, built on the summit and sides of a round and gentle eminence, and inhabited by about 3000 Druses and Christians, under the government of a chief of the former, called Emir Mansoor. At the entrance of this town is a circular reservoir for water, banked round by a quay of masonry, and descended to by steps; and at the southern end of it, a few feet from the side, is a doric column still erect, with the capital and about a foot of the shaft above water. It seems as if originally placed there for a standard of measure. In the town itself are seen some vestiges of columns; and from the architrave of an ancient doorway, now used as the postern of a court-gate, on the left of the public road, and having sockets for the reception of the pivots of a folding-door, as if of stone, I copied the following: —

ЄΡΟΥϹ/Τ
ΒЄΛΙΑΒΟϹϹΧ
ΧωΜΟΥЄΥΙΞΑ . . .
ΜЄΝ . . ΟϹЄΠΟΗϹЄΝ.

From hence we ascended very gently in the same direction, through fine corn and vine lands, and in half an hour passed on the left, about a mile off, the town of Aihah. It is seated on the side of the mountain, and is perhaps a mile in length from north to south. Nearly in the centre of it rises a tall column apparently fifty feet in height, and of proportionate diameter. It is said to be the only one now left of a large edifice, which from the description given of it, I should conceive to be an ancient temple. It is said to be of nearly a square form, and built of immense stones, in the jointures of which not a needle could be made to enter; and that within the walls, now much ruined, are a considerable number of fallen columns, in size and design similar to the one now standing. We continued our way, as night was approaching, and at sunset came to the foot of the hill on which the town of Rasheyah is built.

The approach to this place resembles that to the town of Assalt, from the east, as it is seated on the side of a steep round hill, the houses rising in stages one above another, and above the whole is a large castle nearly on the brow of the hill. The town is thought to contain about 800 houses and from 4 to 5,000 inhabitants, one half of whom are Druses and the other half Christians, and the appearance of the numbers in the streets justified such an estimate. We ascended to the very summit, over steep and winding streets, and were lodged in the house of our mule driver, a Christian of the Greek communion, where we were accommodated to the best of their means.

Saturday, April 8, 1816. — As it was a festival of the Greeks, there was no moving to day before the morning service was ended, and weak and ill as I was, no excuse could save me from attending it in person. My servant, who was of the Catholic communion,

professed for the time being that of the Greek, to be on better terms with our guide; while at the same time that he piqued himself on his cunning and success, he sought every opportunity, when he addressed me, to abuse both the faith itself and the votaries of it. In this small place were two Greek churches and one Syrian one, but no mosques, as the Druses perform their service in great secrecy at home. The Greek church we visited was near the centre of the town, tolerably large and well built, and furnished with a number of gaudy pictures and lamps. There were not less, I should conceive, than 500 persons of both sexes attending the service, which was performed as usual with much ceremony, perfumes, and noise: and some parts of it in a way that seemed any thing but solemn and devout. From the fatigue of standing, and the faint heat of the crowd, I was obliged to quit the church in about half an hour, and return to the house. In passing the tower I had an opportunity of perceiving that it was very large, but altogether of Mohammedan structure. It is founded on a rock which has been hewn into wall in several places, and from its elevation completely commands every part of the town. It is the present residence of the Druse governor, Emir Effendi, and his immediate dependants.

The Druses here are said not to fast, though those in the mountains and plains of the Haurān rigidly observe the Ramadān. The women, Christian as well as Druse, all wear the horn upon the forehead. The young females generally put it on at the age of puberty, made of stiff paper or other cheap materials, and on the day of marriage one of silver is usually presented by the husband to the wife. It is a popular belief, among both Mohammedans, Christians, and all the other sects here, that the Druses pay adoration to the emblems of generation, which are enclosed in a small portable sanctuary, like the lingam and yoni of the Hindoos. It has been thought by some that this horn was originally worn in honor of the deity that presides over the secrets of the marriage bed; and as the history and tenets of the Druse religion are altoge-

ther so mysterious and obscure, it is by no means improbable. The shape of this emblem beneath the muslin veil with which it is always covered, might even suggest the origin here popularly ascribed to the usage of wearing it.

The town of Rasheyah, though standing itself on the point of a round hill, is seated at the foot of the great snowy mountain called Jebel-el-Telj and Jebel-el-Sheikh, the highest part of the mountain bearing from S.E. to S.W. and the base not a mile off. This mountain may be said to have its base on a range of high hills, and rising itself to a considerable height above them, its elevation from the sea is perhaps from 12,000 to 15,000 feet; its summit is all the year covered with snow, and at this moment it was sheeted over from top to bottom, the snow extending itself even to the town. Pococke has considered this mountain to be the Hermon most frequently referred to in the Scriptures, as the boundary of the promised land to the northward. His reasons are most satisfactory, and his explanation of the allusion to the dew of Hermon in the Psalms of David ingenious. It is frequently coupled with Lebanon, and spoken of in a way that can scarcely apply to the inferior Hermon near Mount Tabor. Solomon sings to his mistress, "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." Cant. iv. 8. I could not find the names still remaining, but wolves and other wild beasts are said to exist here, and leopards are reported to be common.

All the women and children that we saw here were pretty, and some even beautiful, their complexions fair, lips red, eyes black and penetrating, and none of their faces disfigured either with stains or uncouth ornaments of any kind.

About nine o'clock we quitted Rasheyah in a thick mist that enveloped all the hill, and went down to the westward into a deep valley called Wādi Ityne. This has for its eastern boundary the range of hills which still run southward, growing lower and

lower, like an extended point, from the great Jebel-el-Sheikh, and all called Jebel-el-Wast as far as Banias. Its western boundary is a range of lower hills called Jebel Arbel, going from about a day's journey south of this to near Bālbeck. The valley between these appears here to be about two miles wide, of unequal level, and well cultivated throughout. To the westward of Jebel Arbel we saw the lofty range of Libanus extending nearly north and south along the coast, and now covered with snow. It is generally called Jebel-el-Druse, from being inhabited chiefly by that people, but its old name of Lebanon is still familiar among the peasants. Between the range of Jebel Arbel on the east, and Jebel-el-Druse on the west, is the valley called the Bukhaah, and thought by Maundrel to be the plain of Aven mentioned with Damascus by the prophet Amos; c. i. v. 5. It varies in breadth from five to ten miles, growing wider as it goes to the northward, from the angle formed between the direction of the ranges of hills which enclose it; Libanus following the coast nearly north and south, and Arbel and Anti-Libanus taking a more easterly turn. In length it extends from a day's journey south of this to Bālbeck, till it loses itself in the plain of Homs and Hamah, mentioned also by Amos, c. vi. v. 2., and called Hamath the Great.

In half an hour after leaving Rasheyah, we passed a small village on our right called Akeby, peopled by Druses and Christians in equal numbers; in another half hour, we passed on the left the village of Beit Caefy; and in about the same space of time, another on our right called Beit Lyah, all small, and all peopled by Druses and Christians, who appear to live together here in great harmony.

Our course had been nearly S. W., which direction we continued to follow, with some trifling variations, and a little before noon we came to a stream, where we halted for a moment to water our horses. The rain was violent, and sometimes mixed with hail, which fell with great force, as the wind blew a perfect tempest. The stream comes down here from the westward through a narrow pass,

by high steep cliffs; and its spring, which is just above a small village called Kanāby, about an hour distant, on the side of the hill to the west, is called Nubbe Suffa. At the spring itself are said to be columns, and other vestiges, of a large ruined building; — probably a temple to the river god, as that custom seems to have prevailed much in Syria. It was at this stream that we first noticed the black porous stone which is found at the Lake of Tiberias, all through the valley of Jordan, and in the plains of the Haurān. It was here seen only sparingly, scattered among masses of lime-stone rock, and small siliceous stones, but it increased in quantity as we advanced to the southward.

It was about noon when we quitted this stream, and continuing our way in the direction of the valley to the S. W., in less than an hour we came opposite to a large village called Siffeeny, which we passed about two miles on our left. It is seated on a hill, enjoys a fine situation, is apparently well built, and is peopled by Druses and Christians. In half an hour from hence we passed by Eckfaire, a smaller village; and in less than that time, beyond it, were opposite to Mimiss, a much larger one; both about a mile or two on our left, and both peopled by Druses and Christians.

It was, perhaps, an hour from this, when we reached the source of a river called Nahr-el-Hheazbey. It rises in the bottom of the valley, and forms at once a large bason of beautifully clear water. Being confined by a dam or wall, rising in receding stages, like a flight of very steep and narrow steps, it overflows, and falls in a wide sheet over this sloping and unequal surface, so as to form a pretty cascade. At the distance of a few yards only below the source, it has a two arched bridge thrown over it, and is there rapid in its course. The town of Hheazbey, which gives name to this stream, is just above it on a hill to the east. It is of a considerable size, and in it is seen the minaret of a mosque, built by the Mohammedans when there were a portion of Moslems among the population. It is now, however, deserted, as the inhabitants are wholly Druses and Christians.

In half an hour from hence, following nearly the course of the stream, we passed close to a ruined khan, called Khan-el-Hheazbey, at which there is a public bazār, held every Tuesday, and visited by people of the surrounding country, from Damascus to Nazareth.

A few minutes beyond this, or, as my guide measured the distance, in about the time that one might smoke a half-filled pipe of tobacco, we saw on the left a small village, called Abu Kummhe, or the Father of Corn, though not having either the reputation or the appearance of producing more grain than the neighbouring towns. In half an hour from this, while riding on the brow of the western range of hills which hemmed in this valley, we saw, at the foot of the eastern range, the small village of Ferdeese, about three miles distant, seated in the most beautiful hollow that could be seen, and surrounded by waving fields of green, and thickly planted vines and olives. It was somewhat less than an hour from hence, that we saw, on the right of our road, the large village of Kou Kubba, standing high on the brow of the western hills; and just before sun-set we came to a round isolated hill, in form resembling the Mount of Tabor, in the Plain of Esdraelon, but inferior in size to that mountain. It was exceedingly steep, and its sides were covered with Sindian trees, of which we saw none in any other part of the road.

The valley of Wādi Ityne, through which we had come from Rasheyah to this place, has a general direction of N. N. E. and S. S. W., and varies in its breadth from two to three miles. Its level is often interrupted by small hillocks; but it is well cultivated throughout with corn, vines, and olives, and is full of villages peopled wholly by Druses and Christians in nearly equal numbers. The valley ends here by the meeting of the two ranges of hills together.

We ascended on the west side of this round mount, covered with trees, and soon after sun-set reached the town of Hibl, where we halted at the khan appropriated to public use.

As I passed for a Turk from Damascus, a good supper, fire-wood, and corn for our animals, were all brought at my command, and the most respectful attentions were paid us by the sheikh who furnished all these. I thought it singular that this was the first place at which we had seen coffee since leaving Damascus, an article so universally in use among the Arabs of all classes, that I hardly ever remember to have made two halts in succession without drinking it, or having it prepared and offered to me at least. The night was really dreadful, and our situation being an elevated one, the storms of wind and rain and hail that blew shook the house, and sometimes threatened to unroof it.

Sunday, April 9th, 1816.—The storm still reigned at day-light, and the thermometer in the open air stood at 36°. We were detained for nearly three hours by our guide's attendance on the morning service of the church, and left the town about nine o'clock. In size it is scarcely inferior to Rasheyah, and it is seated, like it, on the summit of a high round hill. From the door of the khan in which we lodged, we saw to the southward the extensive valley of the Jordan, which begins from here under the name of Wādi Sezibān, or Stezibān, and continues all the way to be so called, even to the Dead Sea, though the part south of the Lake of Tiberias is more frequently called El Ghore. We could see from hence, distinctly, the Lake Samochinites, now called Bahr-el-Houly, bearing about S. S. W., and distant, perhaps, 15 miles, seeming but little inferior to the Bahr-el-Tabareehah, Lake of Tiberias, in extent.

We descended from Hibl on the west side of the hill, and entered the Wādi Stezibān. We continued on a southerly course, passing, in about an hour, the village of Gheryeby, and in half an hour more, that of Meary, both on the left of the road. They are small, and peopled only by Christians, the Druses ending at Hibl, or extending no further southward than that town.

We came now into an uninteresting country ; the soil was very

scanty, and cultivation scarcely seen. The black porous stone became now the basis of the plain, and lay scattered in detached masses and short ridges on its surface. A few trees, like the English ash, were also seen, but neither vines, olives, nor corn; and the tract seemed to be possessed by Arabs, as we passed several clusters of tents pitched without that regard to order usually seen, and apparently very mean and poor. They were said to belong to the Turcomāns, a race of people who come from the northern parts of Syria, about Aleppo, and elsewhere; who speak Turkish and Arabic equally well, as they live on the frontiers of the two languages; and who come down into the south of Syria to profit by the early spring. They have here a worse character than the true Arab Bedouins, though that may be from their being thought intruders, or strangers, among them.

We descended gradually over this inclined sloping plane, and about noon passed a small village called El Ghadjar, which we left at least a mile on our right. It is seen at a great distance off, from its standing on a rising mound; and from its having, amidst its humble dwellings, a large sheikh's tomb, which is white-washed in the usual way, and makes a conspicuous figure. This village is inhabited solely by a people called Nesseary, whose religion seems very little understood by their neighbours, as they are said, by some, to worship the sun, and by others, to adore the pudenda muliebris. The same stories are related of them as of the Ismaylees, namely, that at their yearly feast they all meet together, persons of both sexes, old and young, and that the room being darkened, promiscuous intercourse takes place, without regard to age or kindred. They have, however, the reputation of being honest and friendly to both Christians and Moslems.

We now crossed the river Hheazbey, which we had kept in sight almost from its source to this place, where it is as broad, as deep, and as rapid as the Jordan near Jericho; and going easterly for about an hour, we came in sight of a large ruined castle on a hill to the eastward of us, called Khallet-el-Banias. We met here a

caravan of at least fifty mules, all laden with myrtle for the supply of families who consume it in strewing with this plant the graves of their deceased friends in the cemeteries of Damascus; and it was said, that one so charged generally left this neighbourhood for that city every month; besides which, many others went from different parts of the country in which myrtle grew. The lading of each mule was estimated to be worth fifty piastres, so that those affectionate duties to the dead must be expensive to the poorer classes.

Crossing a small stream which descended from the N. E., called Nahr-el-Banias, and going up over a rising ground in nearly that direction on the eastern side of the stream, we soon came to the entrance of the town itself.

The name of Jebel-el-Wast, which is applied to the Anti-Libanus of the ancients, extends even to the southward of Jebel-el-Sheikh as far as Banias. From thence, southerly, to the eastern shore of the Lake of Tiberias, is an even range of hill, called Jebel-Jowalān, which, with the portion of Jebel-el-Wast from Hibl thus far, forms the eastern boundary of the Wādi Stezibān. The western boundary, which is also a range of hills of no considerable height or marked form, is called Jebel Jowaleen. The valley itself extends, perhaps, 30 miles, from its commencement at Hibl to its interruption at the north end of the Lake of Tiberias, where the water occupies all the breadth of the plain. To the northward of the Bahr-el-Houly it varies in breadth from five to ten miles, and to the southward of Banias it seems well cultivated throughout.

On entering Banias we saw two grey granite shafts, each in one piece, with several scattered pedestals, and large blocks of stone; and soon afterwards we passed over a bridge, the lower part of which seemed of Roman work; but the upper part of the arch and the pavement were modern repairs. A full and rapid stream ran beneath it among tall rushes and other weeds. There were portions of a large building of rustic masonry close by this on the right, most decidedly Roman; but whether a temple, as has been

conjectured, I should think extremely doubtful. The rustic masonry was chiefly used by them in castles, baths, and works of strength and utility, while their religious buildings were chiefly of smooth work, both within and without; and no columns, altars, or other decisive features, remain among the ruins of this building, to induce a belief of its being a temple, while several portions of aqueducts, strong walls, &c. near, lead rather to a belief of its being some other kind of edifice. Beyond it, to the east, in the modern town, the remains of another rustic building, called El Bourge, were pointed out, but we did not examine this near enough to decide whether it was a temple or not. Sheikh Ibrahim had mentioned to me the existence of two temples at Banias; but whether these were they or not, I could not learn.

We turned aside from the bridge, and went up on the left to see the source of the stream. In our way we passed a perpendicular cliff, where the facing of the rock was very curiously and carefully carved over with diagonal lines, for the length of a hundred, and the depth of about six feet. It was executed with so much regularity and care, and the lines were so deep and well cut, that it was evidently intended as an ornament; but as there was no building near, nor excavation in the cliff itself, we were quite at a loss to conceive its meaning.

Beyond this, to the eastward, we came, in a few minutes, to the source of the stream, which here issues copiously out of the living rock in many places, and, in others, forces its way up through a bed of loose stones, forming altogether an ample basin of beautifully transparent water, and of excellent taste.

Just over the spring, in the northern cliff which overhangs it, is a large cavern in the rock; and high above that, an open building with pillars, and a dome like the sepulchre of some Mohammedan saint. Under this belief, the Moslems forbid Christians to visit it, though these assert it to be the tomb of a Mar Georgis, or St. George, though not the famous one who slew the dragon. We noted, from below, the capital of a Corinthian pillar used on

one of the columns, and this coupled with the remains of a large smooth work building, and the fountain of the waters below, of which a portion of the wall containing a hollow niche on the inside is still perfect, gives reason to believe that there might have been a temple here immediately over the spring. A little to the right, or on the east of the large cavern spoken of in the cliff, are several fan-topped niches cut in the solid rock, with inscriptions near them. The first of these, which is, perhaps, five feet high by two and a half wide, is over an arched recess, excavated also in the rock about six feet deep, ten wide, and twelve high, with a plain concave niche at its end. The pilasters which support the arch of the fan-topped niche above are fluted, but are without capitals ; and underneath the niche itself is this inscription :

Γ . . . . ΝΔЄΘЄΑΝΑΝЄΜΗΚЄ . . . . .
ΦΙΔЄΥ . . . ΧꙌΔΙΟΠΑΝΙΩ
ΟΥΙΚΤꙌΡΑ . . . . ΡΗΤΗЄΛΥϹΙ
. . . . ΜΑΧΟΙΟΤΟΝΟΙΟ.

The second of these niches has fluted pilasters supporting the arch, with a large space beneath it cut like the square pedestal of a column ; and within the niche itself a small pedestal, as if for a statue. The top commences with the scroll of the fan, or shell, but is then continued upwards in diagonal cross lines, like the facing of the rocky cliff before described. The third of the niches has fluted pilasters supporting its arch, with the regular fan-top within, and on each side of it is a tablet for inscriptions, though letters appear to have been cut only on one, and these are almost illegible. It was with considerable difficulty that I could make out the following :

ΠΑΝΓ . . . . ΙΜΦΑΙϹ
. . . . . ΑΙΗϹΓΟΝꙌΝ . . . ΝΟΛ . . . . ΙЄΟΗ
Κ . . . Ν . . . ΨΧΝ . . . ΙΟΟ . . . ΙΙΦΝ.

There are three lines more, of which I could make out still less, as they seemed purposely defaced. Beyond this is a large plain recess,

now nearly buried in the earth; and all these are progressively lower than each other in the order they are described.

While occupied in copying the inscriptions, we were visited by some Mohammedans from the town, who insisted on my being a Muggrebin magician, come to raise treasures, and threatened to take us all by force to the Sheikh, for having come here without his permission. These men prevented our going into the town to examine it more minutely.

Banias, as is well known, was anciently called Paneade, which name it nearly now retains. The outline of its history is given by Pococke. It was afterwards called Cæsarea, in honour of Cæsar; and Philippi, in honour of Philip the tetrarch, who chiefly embellished it, as well as to distinguish it from the Cæsarea Palestina, on the coast between Accho, or Ptolemais, and Joppa. In the time of its flourishing state it seems to have given name to all the district about it, as it is said in the Gospel: "And Jesus went out, and his disciples, into the towns of Cæsarea Philippi: and by the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, Whom do men say that I am?" Mark viii. 27.

The present town is small, and meanly built, having no place of worship in it; and the inhabitants, who are about 500 in number, are Mohammedans and Metouāli, governed by a Moslem Sheikh, The Metouāli, as far as I could yet learn, are themselves a sect of Mohammedans, who admit the Koran, and perform the same prayers and ablutions as the rest; but pay some marks of respect to Hussein and Ali, and have particular opinions on the succession of the caliphs, like the Mohammedans of Persia.

The situation is agreeable and healthy, being on the western side of the range of hills which bound the Wādi Stezibān on the east. The ruined castle on the summit of the hill above is said to be Saracen, but we did not go up to it. The Bahr-el-Houly, or Lake of Samochonites, cannot be seen from hence, owing to the intervention of a point of land.

We quitted Banias about three o'clock, and going west for a little more than a mile, came to a small elevation in the plain, with a flat space on the top, like an artificial mound. It is called Tel-el-Cadi; and in the centre of it the springs of the Jordan rise, rushing out of five or six places, rendered difficult of access from rushes, trees, &c. These springs are called by the Arabs Nubb-el-Etheari. They form, even here, a pretty large basin, and go in a single stream to the southward, passing by a place where there is a white tomb, called Seedy Yooda Ibn Yacoob, and keeping near the foot of the eastern range of hills. This tomb is, perhaps, a mile to the south of the springs here described; and two miles to the southward of that, the water of Banias, which keeps always east of the Jordan thus far, here joins it, and they both go together into the Bahr-el-Houly, which is said to be six hours, though it looks not more than ten miles from hence. *

In the course of our way we neither saw nor heard of any villages under the names of Ghor or Dan, though these are said to exist; the former giving its name to the whole of the valley between Judea and the eastern mountains, and the latter being the

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* Banias is described by Benjamin of Tudela, under the name of Belinos, anciently called Dan. Close to this city, he says, the sources of the Jordan gush out of a cave, and after running three miles, the stream joins another current, which descends to the extremity of Moab. (This is the stream which springs up from Tal Cadi, and which the people of the country call the Shereeah or Jordan, from Ghor, the name of the valley, and Dan, the old name of the city near.) They show, he continues, before this cave, the altar of an idol, erected by a certain Michée, and which was adored in these days by the inhabitants of Dan. This is exactly the description of Banias, and its river springing from the hollow of the rock, with niches for statues, &c. Not far from thence, he says, is a place where Jeroboam, the son of Naban, erected an altar and set up again the golden calf.

Mr. Seetzen says, in a letter from Acre, June 16, 1806, inserted in *L'Ambigu*, No. 253. "Les anciens avoient donné le nom de Source du Jordain à la source de la rivière de Baniass, et elle parait mériter ce nom sous le rapport de sa beauté; mais dans le fait, il parait que cette préférence est due à la source de la rivière de Hasbény, qui prend son origine à une demi-lieue à l'ouest de Hasbéia, et qui forme la branche la plus longue du Jordain. La source de Tal Kady, que les habitans du pays prennent pour celle du Jordain, est celle qui mérite le moins de porter ce nom."

place principally inhabited by the Jewish tribe of that name; both together, Ghor-Dan, giving the name of Jordan to the river. The black porous stone, coated like onions, and appearing in detached and rounded masses, still continued to fill the plain; and the thorny tree seen on the banks of the Jordan near Jericho, and supposed to have furnished the crown with which the Jews wounded and mocked the Messiah, are also prevalent here: though there are also small irrigated spots, in which a species of reddish rice is cultivated by the Arabs encamping near the stream.

We went up in a N. W. direction from hence, and in an hour crossed the river Hheazbhāni, over a bridge of three arches, the stream being there both broad and deep, with steep rocky banks on each side. The river goes from hence southerly into a small lake, called Birket Jehouly, about five miles to the south of this; and from thence it continues on to the Bahr-el-Houly, a much larger lake, not mixing its waters with those of the Jordan until then.

Ascending from hence for about an hour more, in nearly the same direction, we reached a large village, called Metully, altogether inhabited by Druses. I was so exhausted and ill on my arrival here, that I was unable to take food, or to do any thing but lie down on a carpet hastily spread for me near the hearth, round which the family that received us were seated; and my sufferings, which were extreme, from fever and fatigue combined, were soon lost in sleep.

Monday, April 10. — I was still weak and ill, when morning came: but it was necessary to make a last effort in order to get to Seyda, where medical aid, as well as shelter and proper sustenance, could alone be obtained. The only facts that I learnt here which I subsequently remembered, were the positions of the two lakes before named. Birket Jehouly, bearing from hence S. ½ W. distant from eight to ten miles, and Birket-el-Houly bearing south about fifteen miles.

We left Metully at sun-rise, going rather more slowly than usual, proceeding in a N.W. direction, and in half an hour after setting out, we passed a place called Merj Aioon, seated on a hill to the right of our path. In half an hour more we passed a small village called Kufr Kully, and half an hour beyond that, a place called Houra.

Being now on a higher level than that from which we had come up, we commenced our descent from hence, the course of our track being changed from N. W. to N., and proceeding in that direction for about an hour, we came to Nahr-el-Thāny. This is a stream which comes from Bālbeck, through the valley called the Bekāh; we crossed it by a bridge of two arches, the stream being here about 100 feet wide, and the water deep and rapid in its course. Near this, on the hill above, was a ruined castle, called Khallet-el-Belled-el-Shakiff, and at the bridge was a caphār, or place of collecting tolls, though no application whatever is made of these to the repair of the roads. All these places were inhabited by a distinct class of Syrian Arabs, called Metouāli.

In going along the bank of this stream we ascended in a N.W. direction, having the southern extremities of the mountainous ridge called Jebel Libanein, or Mount Lebanon, in view to the north, and in appearance much resembling the mountains of Adjeloon. In an hour from the bridge last passed, we crossed another stream called Nahr-el-Jermak, which joins that of El-Thāny, and both go together into the sea, one hour's journey to the north of Soor. In half an hour from hence, we passed the village of Jermak, on our right; and met a small caravan of traders from the plains of the Haurān, their camels laden with rice, and black porous millstones for grinding, before described as cut and prepared for use by the people of that district.

We remarked that about this spot we first began to lose all traces of the black porous store. We learnt also, from those best acquainted with the country, that the chain of mountains called Jebel-el-Wast reaches as far as Banias. From thence a branch of

the same chain extends southerly to Tiberias, and is there called Jebel Jowellān. This is the eastern boundary of Wādi Stezibān; the western one is called Jebel-el-Belled Bushāra. The Wādi or valley, is perhaps about thirty miles long, and seven or eight miles broad.

We halted near the stream of El Jermak, near the village of the same name, to refresh; I was now however so weak as to be almost unable to dismount, and was with great difficulty taken off my horse, and again replaced on my seat.

After a hasty refreshment from the stock of provisions in our possession, we again ascended over a stony tract, and then went on upon a level plain, going now in a westerly direction, and in half an hour we came to a place called Haboash, famous among the people of the country for the excellence of its figs. In half an hour more we came to Deer-el-Zaharāny, and in an hour beyond this, to a place called Zifteeah, seated on a hill to the left of our route.

From hence we descended again to a lower level, going in a N. W. direction, and crossing the stream of Nahr Zaharāny in about an hour afterwards. Its current was narrow, but extremely rapid. It comes from Lebanon, and goes to the coast, where it discharges itself into the sea, about three hours to the south of Seyda.

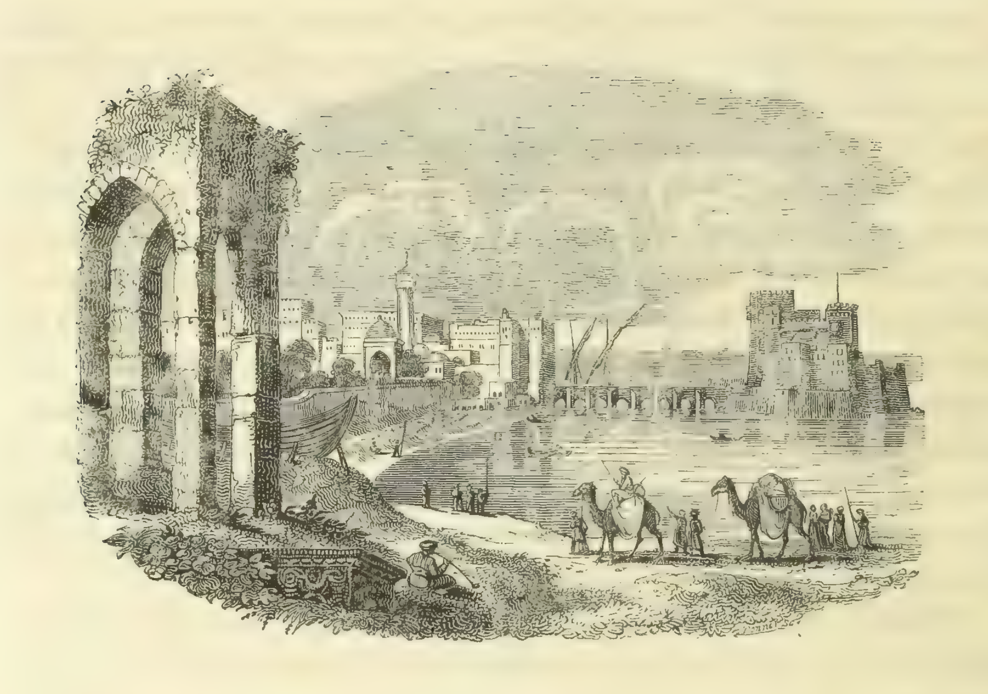
Our course now changed to N. N. W. and in an hour after passing the last named stream we came to another, called Nahr Derb-el-Seen, from a village of that name, situated a little to the eastward of it. The stream was small and shallow; though it was crossed by a bridge. In an hour afterwards, we came to a place called Ghazee, where we halted and fed our horses, while the Metouālis of the village were most of them at prayer.

My weakness and illness continued to increase as the night advanced; but there were no remedies to be had until we reached our journey's end. I accordingly continued, at a great sacrifice of personal ease, to proceed, leaving this village about eight o'clock.

In an hour after quitting it, we came again to the stream called Nahr Derb-el-Seen ; and at ten o'clock we reached the convent of Mar Elias in safety.

The lateness of the hour had induced me to suppose that I should only find the servants of the convent up ; and it was my wish to have entered its hospitable doors with as little noise and trouble as possible ; but at the instant of our arrival, the servants were ready to receive me, and almost before I was quite certain of this painful journey being at an end, I was hurried by them into the presence of their amiable and excellent mistress. The weak state of my health, the shattered condition of my frame, my disordered dress and appearance, and the suddenness of this unexpected interview, all contributed to increase my embarrassment, which was indeed extreme.

Lady Hester Stanhope received me, however, with an affability peculiarly her own ; bade me be seated on the sofa which surrounded the room after the Turkish fashion ; and in an instant, an abundant and delicious supper was placed on the table by the attendants, of which, though I had no natural appetite left, I readily partook, not having for a long period seen or tasted food in such perfection of cleanliness, as well as quality and flavour. A bed had been prepared for me ; accompanied with the highest luxury that a traveller in the East can possibly enjoy, a bath and clean linen before he sinks to sleep ; and my kind and princely entertainer perceiving my exhausted state, permitted me to suit my own inclination entirely by retiring at once to repose.



CHAP. XX.

STAY AT THE RESIDENCE OF LADY HESTER STANHOPE, IN THE CONVENT OF MAR ELIAS, NEAR SIDON.

I HAD the good fortune and happiness to remain under the hospitable roof of this distinguished lady for a period of nine days, during which I received the greatest possible kindness from every one in her service, as well as from her ladyship's own hands. I arrived at the convent in a state of extreme illness and exhaustion; in such a debilitated condition, indeed, as would have afforded little hope of recovery, had I continued in that state to be exposed to the privations which are almost inseparable from travelling in such a country as Syria. By the agreeable and invaluable relief which I found here, in the combinations of medical skill, nutritious diet, quiet shelter, and intelligent society, I recovered more rapidly than my most sanguine hopes had ventured to anticipate: and

when I quitted the convent to pursue my journey, I was as fresh and vigorous as on the day of my first setting out from Egypt. During the period of my stay there, I preserved no notes of what passed. The exertions of my mind having been already as much overstrained as those of my body, and contributing their full share to my illness, it was indispensable to my restoration to relax in the efforts of both; and I was surrounded by so many objects of welcome delight, that I very readily abandoned myself, during this period of my gradual recovery, to the mere enjoyment of existence, to breathing the pure and bracing morning air of the hills, basking in the sunny noon of the vales, inhaling the evening breeze, and enjoying the breakers of the sea on the borders of the coast till sun-set: all these being within the range of two or three miles at most from the convent itself. Books, conversation, and repose, filled up the remainder of the time: so that during the nine days of my stay here, with the exception of one visit to the town of Sidon, and one to the examination of some curious subterranean chambers in the vicinity, I literally did nothing but enjoy, and that intensely, the pleasures by which I was surrounded, and the rapidly progressive improvement of my health and strength. Some letters, addressed to friends in England from this distant spot, and now in my possession, with the several preparatory extracts from ancient writers, made for the purpose of guiding my enquiries before I set out on my journey, and these connected chiefly by the aid of recollection, have formed the only materials from which I have been able to draw up an account of what particularly attracted my attention during this short interval.

The town of Sidon, which is not more than five or six miles distant from the convent of Mar Elias, where Lady Hester Stanhope resides, was the first object of my examination as soon as I had acquired strength enough to venture out: and being accompanied in my visit to this place by her ladyship's physician, Dr. Meryon, whose intelligence and urbanity rendered him a valuable and agreeable companion, it was an excursion of pleasure rather

than of research. The very name of Sidon is so perpetually associated with that of Tyre, that they are always regarded as sister cities; and the traveller must enter each with nearly the same feelings of admiration for their former grandeur, and regret for their subsequent decay.* Renowned, however, as the Tyrians were, the Sidonians were regarded as their superiors, as well from the greater antiquity of their city†, as from its being especially distinguished by the epithet of "the great."‡ Among the extracts made to direct my enquiries in those parts of the East which it might fall to my lot to visit, and to which I had, for years past, directed my attention; there is one so interesting, as well as so much to the purpose, in proof of the ancient strength and splendour of Sidon, that it may be appropriately introduced into the body of the text.

In the history of the war of Artaxerxes Ochus, with the Phœnicians, Sidon is mentioned as one of the most powerful cities of that country: and at this place, indeed, the first flames of the war were kindled. The historian, after describing the importance of Tripolis, and its share in this affair, says,

"The kings, lords, lieutenants, and generals, then in Sidon, carrying themselves by their severe edicts rigorously and haughtily towards the Sidonians; the citizens being so abused and not being able longer to brook it, studied how to revolt from the Persians. Upon which, the rest of the Phœnicians, being wrought upon by the other to vindicate their liberty, sent messengers to Nectanetus, the king of Egypt, then at war with the Persians, to receive them as confederates, and so the whole nation prepared for war. And being that *Sidon then exceeded all the rest of the cities of Phœnicia*

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* Quintus Curtius, in recording Alexander's passage through Sidon, on his way from the Issus to Tyre, calls it a city famous for its antiquity and for the renown of its founder. Vol. i. b. 4. c. 1.

† By the Jewish Prophets, Tyre is sometimes called the daughter of Sidon: and in the very earliest of the books of Moses, it is said, perhaps figuratively, that Canaan begat Sidon, his first born (Gen. x. 15.), as if Sidon were one of the very first towns built in the land of Canaan, as well as called after Canaan's first born.

‡ Joshua xix. 28.

in wealth, and even private men, by the advantage of trade, were grown very rich, they built a great number of ships and raised a potent army of mercenaries, and both arms, darts, and provisions, and all other things necessary for war, were prepared; and that they might appear first in the war they spoiled and ruined the king's garden, cutting down all the trees where the Persian kings used to recreate and divert themselves. Then they burnt all the hay which the lord lieutenants had laid up for the horses. At last they seized upon the Persians who had so insulted them, and haled them to punishment. And in this manner began the war of the Persians with the Phœnicians.

" Mentor, the general of the Sidonians, having despatched Thessalion, a servant of his own, to Artaxerxes, offering to betray the city into his hands, the Persian monarch sent into Greece for auxiliaries, and was furnished by the Thebans with 1000 heavy armed men, and by the Argives with 3000. His own alacrity was so great, that before these had come up to their appointed stations, he had himself marched from Babylon, through Syria and Phœnicia, and was already encamped before Sidon. In the mean time, (says the historian) while the king spent a considerable time in making preparations, the Sidonians had been very active and diligent in providing themselves with arms and provisions; and, besides, had drawn a treble deep and broad trench, and a high wall round the city. They had likewise a brave body of tall, handsome, and stout men of the citizens, well exercised and trained up in a martial discipline out of the schools. *And this city went far beyond all the cities of Phœnicia for wealth and all other sumptuous ornaments, both for state and grandeur.* And that which was not the least, among the rest, they were furnished with 100 galleys of three and four oars on a bank.

" Mentor, their general, and Tennes, another commander, succeeded, however, in their treason; and after the entrapping of 100 of the first people of the city who went out as senators, and were all put to death by Artaxerxes, 500 other of the chief in-

habitants who had come out with olive branches in their hands as emblems of their mission of peace, were also treacherously murdered with darts. Even after this, the traitor Tennes persuaded the Egyptian mercenaries, who were commanded by Mentor, to let him and Artaxerxes within the walls, when, by this successful treachery, Sidon came again into the hands of the Persians. In the mean time (adds the historian) the Sidonians had burnt all their shipping before the king came, lest any of the inhabitants, consulting their own particular safety, should get away by sea. At length, when the Sidonians saw that the army was entered, and many thousands of men ranging here and there and dispersed all over the city, *they shut themselves up with their wives and children in their houses, and set them on fire, and so all were consumed together.* It is said, that there were above 40,000 (with household servants) that perished in these flames.

" After this destruction of the Sidonians, by which the whole city and inhabitants were consumed to ashes, *the king sold the rubbish and relics of the fire for many talents.* For, being that the city was very rich, there was sold a vast quantity of gold and silver melted down by the flames. Thus sad was the calamity under which the Sidonians suffered; the rest of the cities, being terrified with the destruction, presently surrendered themselves to the Persians."*

This description of Sidon, in its most flourishing days, and the recital of the sad calamity which effected its destruction then, was read by me with a deep and powerful interest on the spot. It had revived again at a subsequent period †: but so great are

* Diodorus Siculus, b. 8. c. 8.

† About the time when Demetrius returned from Greece into Syria, after his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries while at Athens, (A. C. 300) Ptolemy led a well-appointed army out of Egypt, and reduced all the cities of Cœlosyria to his obedience; but when he lay before Sidon there came a false rumour to his ear, that a battle had been fought, wherein Lysimachus and Seleuchus were routed and fled to Heraclea, and that Antigonus thereupon was hastening into Syria with his victorious

the mutations occasioned by time, that but for the identity of name and position, there would be scarcely any marks left by which to recognise even the site of the proud emporium here alluded to. The stranger who visits it in its present state, will look around in vain for any of those vestiges of its former grandeur, which the description of the ancient historians would lead him to expect; and which, indeed, are still to be seen in most of the other celebrated cities of the East; whether in Greece, Egypt, Syria, or Asia Minor: all wears now a modern aspect, and that too of the most ordinary kind.

The present town of Seyda extends along the sea-shore for a space of less than a mile in length, and is not more than half a mile in its general breadth from the water to its inner border; standing on a gradually ascending slope, from the sea to the more elevated ground behind, its appearance from without is more pleasing than many other towns of a better description in their interior. Towards the sea-side an old castle, said to have been built by the crusaders of France, and the ruins of another running out at the extremity of a ledge of rocks, with arches, tend to give the harbour a picturesque appearance, particularly when a few of the native vessels of the coast are seen behind this ledge, where they usually anchor, for shelter if bound to some other port, or for convenience while discharging and taking in their cargoes here.

The buildings of Seyda are not at all superior to the common order of Mohammedan edifices in the modern towns of Syria: the streets are extremely narrow, the mosques mean, the caravanserais small and incommodious, and the bazārs few and badly furnished with even the necessaries in general request.

The inhabitants are variously estimated, at from 5,000 to 10,000; perhaps the true number would be found to be between 7,000 and 8,000. The great majority of these are Mo-

army. Ptolemy, giving over light credit to this report, made a truce with the Sidonians for five months; and putting garrisons into other cities which he had taken in those parts, returned into Egypt. *Diod. Sic.* b. 20. c. 5.

hammedans, the Christians not exceeding 1000, and the Jews less than 500. These sects appear to live in tolerable harmony with each other; more so, at least, than in the interior of the country generally: and, indeed, throughout the East, the sea ports are remarkable for their more tolerant spirit than the inland towns; arising, most probably, from the perpetual intermixture with foreigners and strangers, and the more powerful influence of commercial transactions in bringing self-interest to soften down the conflicting passions of opposing faiths.

The climate all around Seyda is peculiarly mild and healthy, as well as agreeable*; and the inhabitants are considered to be more exempt from the common maladies of the country than those of the neighbouring towns, including even the sea-ports on the same line of coast. The environs of the town furnish, also, some agreeably diversified rides and views, so as to make it an attractive place of residence for those whose business may confine them to some part of Syria, or a pleasing abode for those whom health or pleasure may detain within its precincts for a temporary period.

The occupations of the inhabitants are various. The greatest numbers of the peasantry are engaged in the cultivation of the mulberry tree, for the sake of the silk, which is here produced in great abundance, and of a tolerably good quality. Some portion of the raw material is exported; a much larger portion is, however, worked up into various articles of wearing apparel, principally garments suited to the dress and habits of the middle classes in the neighbouring districts. The manufacture of glass appears to be unknown here: though this part of the country was once

* Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing Syria and Phœnicia, mentions Sidon amongst its most agreeable and healthy towns. "Après la Syrie vient ensuite la Phenice, appuyée au Mont Liban, pays charmant et gracieux, qui decorent de grandes et belles cités, parmi lesquels, on remarque, pour son agrément et sa salubrité, Tyr, Sidon, Beryte, qu' egalement Emesse et Damas anciennement baties." *French Translation. Lyons* 1778. Tom. i. b. 14. c. 8.

famous for the discovery of, as well as production of articles in, that material.* Dyeing, however, is still practised, though not with the same success as among the ancient Tyrians ; and all the usual manufactures of small Mohammedan towns are carried on with about the same skill as in other parts of Syria, but certainly not more ; the standard of this being every where much below that of the most backward nation in Europe.

The supplies of food are principally drawn from their own surrounding territory. Corn is raised in the fertile plains of Esdraelon and Zabulon, in Galilee and Samaria, as well as on the narrow slips of land between the foot of the mountains and the coasts nearer to Seyda itself. Rice is imported from Damietta in Egypt, and at a sufficiently cheap rate to admit of the poorest having a tolerable supply, Fish is still abundant in its waters, as of old †, and this forms a much larger proportion of the food of its inhabitants than flesh-meat ; beef being but rarely seen, except among the richer order of merchants and the governor's dependants ; and the sheep and goats which are slaughtered for daily use being limited, perhaps, to less than one fourth of the whole population. The usual fruits of the country are more abundant, and on these and bread many of the lower classes may be almost said to subsist.

In speaking of the spot which had been chosen by my kind and hospitable entertainer, Lady Hester Stanhope, for her residence near Seyda, and of the nature of the establishment maintained by

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* The story of the discovery of glass by Phœnician mariners at Belus, near Sidon, and the rising of this river in a lake called Cendevia, at the foot of Mount Carmel, only five miles from the sea, is mentioned by Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* b. xxxvi. c. 26.

† The nation of the Tyrians, descended from the Phœnicians, who, being shaken with an earthquake, and having abandoned their country, did first inhabit the Assyrian marsh, and not long afterwards the shore next unto the sea, where they built a city, and called it Sidon, from the abundance of fishes that were there ; for the Phœnicians call a fish, *Sidon.* After the process of many years, being overcome by king Ascalon, they took shipping again, and did build the city of Tyre in the year before the destruction of Troy. *Justin,* b. xviii.

her in Syria, I feel all the embarrassment inseparable from a desire to communicate as much as may be considered of great public interest respecting the life and habits of this distinguished lady, and yet, to keep strictly within the limits prescribed by delicacy and gratitude towards one whom I shall never cease to remember with the strongest feelings of admiration and respect. I cannot be ignorant of the intense curiosity which the bare mention of her ladyship's name has repeatedly awakened, and that more especially in the bosoms of the most amiable among her own sex. In contrasting the motives and conduct of the most elevated women of England, whose ambition seems to be confined to the enjoyment of pleasures contained within the circle of fashionable life, with the more daring and romantic feelings that appear to actuate the lady who is the subject of these remarks; or in comparing the danger and enterprise of a life passed amid deserts and mountains, surrounded by wandering tribes, and fierce and hostile nations, with the quiet and seclusion of a domestic circle at home, all parties appear anxious to unriddle—what to them seems inexplicable—the motive which could have led to such a choice as the former, by one who might have commanded all the pleasures that the latter is capable of affording. I have been questioned, in society, upon this point, by those who knew of my having remained under Lady Hester's roof for a short period *, to very weariness; for, after assigning what I have always understood and believed to be the true

* In the preface to the Travels in Palestine, the following passage occurs, which may be repeated here. "This journey of twelve long months was protracted by dangers and obstacles which no one had foreseen, and rendered tedious by repeated illness arising from sufferings and privations in the way. My recovery from these I owed, in one instance, to the hospitable attentions I received in the convent of Mar Elias, from the hands of the amiable Lady Hester Stanhope, a name that deserves to be immortalized, if talents and virtues of the highest order can give claim to immortality; and in another to the friendly offices of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, in the bosom of whose society at Baghdad, I found all the consolations which benevolence and sympathy could bestow; and all the pleasures that learning, accomplishments, and refined taste could yield."

motive of this self-exile from her native land, the enquiring parties being unable to understand what they themselves, perhaps, have never felt, have evidently remained in all their former incredulity, and given up the riddle (for so it appeared to them) in despair. When the causes of incredulity are so deep-rooted as these, they are too difficult to be removed by a brief narrative; but, observing as well as I am able, the limits which a sense of gratitude, as well as honor, prescribe to me, I will endeavour to communicate what I have myself heard, and have long been accustomed to consider as correct upon this subject, though without being able to vouch for its entire accuracy.

It is known to most Englishmen, that Lady Hester Stanhope was a near relative of the late Mr. Pitt; and, that during the latter part of his administration especially, she enjoyed his friendship and confidence in a very high degree. This circumstance necessarily brought her more frequently into the society of the several members of the Royal family, of the many distinguished foreigners who then sought an asylum in England, and of the ministerial circles generally, than even her distinguished birth and connections would, without such associations, alone have effected. Her superior understanding and fascinating manners could not fail, under any circumstances, to command a large share of the respect and esteem of those who were brought within their sphere of influence; but, added to the high confidence which she was known to enjoy with the minister of the day, from personal regard as well as near relationship, the influence of these amiable and attractive qualities were, of course, additionally powerful. The necessary consequence of this was the receipt of a large portion of homage from an extended circle, and abundant means of gratifying all the benevolent wishes, which it must form one of the most delightful prerogatives of power to indulge, that of assisting merit to obtain what its unaided claims would never procure, the distinction and reward it deserved.

The death of Mr. Pitt, in addition to the sorrow which the loss of any near and beloved relative must inflict, was attended with a great, if not a total, change in all the circumstances that had hitherto yielded her great and continued delight. The health of her ladyship was, about the same time, seriously affected ; and the depression of her spirits naturally retarded her recovery. Change of climate, scene, and circumstances, was recommended and adopted. Lady Hester accordingly quitted England for France, and remained there until the second war with Napoleon ; in whose estimation she held so high a place, that every possible facility was granted to her passage through the country, at a period when unusual difficulties impeded the way of almost every foreigner, and of English subjects more especially. Italy became next the sojourn of the illustrious traveller, then Greece, and at last Constantinople. The good effects of these changes of scene and climate, which had been professionally recommended, were every day more visible. Her ladyship's health and spirits rapidly improved, and the agreeable associations of passing over classic ground, the fine skies of Greece, the glowing beauties of the Turkish capital, or its immediate neighbourhood, from the Dardanelles to the Euxine, including the Hellespont and Bosphorus, the occasional society of many English travellers of distinction then at Constantinople, and the profound respect paid by the Turks to all her wishes, which were as much regarded, indeed, as if they were commands, induced a very natural desire to see more of the country under their dominion before she returned home.

In the course of these further excursions, if hazardous and difficult voyages and travels may be so called, Lady Hester Stanhope visited Egypt, staid some time at Cairo, and was the first, and up to this time, I believe, the only English lady that ever entered the great Pyramids of Gizeh, near the ruins of Memphis. She was also wrecked on the Island of Cyprus, from whence herself and attendant were taken off by Captain Hope, then in the Salsette frigate on the Smyrna station. She subsequently made a

journey to Palmyra, in company with several English gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Bruce, the heroic deliverer of Lavalette. She visited also Jerusalem, Damascus, Bālbeck, and all the principal places of interest in Syria, and at length became so much pleased with the climate, scenery, and character of the people of the country, that she determined to take up her abode in Mount Lebanon for the summer, and on the coast near Sidon for the winter months, as long as she might feel disposed to remain in the East.

Not having visited the summer residence in the mountains, I am unable to speak of it with any degree of accuracy. I have understood, however, that it was on an elevated part of Lebanon, about midway between the summit and the more woody belt of the middle region, combining a proximity to the snowy parts of the hollows excluded from the sun, and enjoying, at the same time, fresh air, abundant water, and agreeable shade. The winter residence, near the sea, was originally a Greek convent, dedicated to Saint Elias, from whence its name. It being no longer required for its original purpose, it was let at a fixed yearly rent for a residence, and occupied by Lady Hester Stanhope accordingly. In speaking even of this, as it is entirely from recollection, not having made a single note during my stay there, I cannot attempt minute details, but will endeavour to give a general idea as accurately as I am able. The convent stands on the brow of a hill, looking towards the sea, the whole of the way from it to the town of Seyda being on a descent, for a distance of about five or six miles. It consists of a number of separate rooms in a quadrangular building that surrounds an inner court, made into a flower garden, into which the doors of all these rooms open. The rooms are neither spacious nor elegant, but most of them being furnished after the English manner, with carpets, tables, chairs, &c. offered an agreeable contrast to the rooms generally seen in the East, the whole furniture of which consists of a low range of cushions and pillows surrounding the skirting, and, as it were, fringing the junction between the

wall and the floor. Nothing in the house appeared unnecessary or expensive; but all that could conduce to comfort, and that was procurable in the country, was seen in clean and unostentatious simplicity. The proper number of out-offices, kitchen, stables, &c. were attached to the edifice, and there were spare rooms and beds enough to accommodate any small party of travellers that might have occasion to remain here for a short period in the course of their journey.

The domestic establishment of her ladyship consisted, at this period, of an English physician, Dr. Meryon, who lived in a separate house at a distance of less than a mile; an English attendant, Miss Williams; and an English house-keeper, Mrs. Fry: a Levantine secretary, of French descent, from Aleppo; and a small number of male and female servants of the country, for the ordinary purposes of labour. The fondness for beautiful horses, which this lady passionately entertained, was judiciously, but not ostentatiously enjoyed by the possession of a small stud of Arabs, of the purest and most celebrated races; and on these she occasionally took such exercise only as her health required.

The mode of life passed by Lady Hester Stanhope at this convent had nothing peculiar in it, except, perhaps, that it was more rational than the mode observed by the more fashionable, of her own sex in particular, at home. She rose generally about eight; walked in the flower-garden, or read, until ten; breakfasted on tea and coffee in the English manner, so much so indeed that there was no distinction between her breakfast table and one in England, except that finer and fresher fruits were often produced there than it is usual to see in London. An extensive correspondence, which her ladyship appeared to maintain with persons of distinction in all parts of Europe, and even in India, generally occupied her pen, or that of her secretary, who wrote from dictation, for several hours in the middle of the day. This correspondence was, however, not confined to mere interchange of sentiments with distant friends, agreeable as such an occupation undoubtedly is, but had often some object

of great utility in the country itself to promote ; and frequently led, as I had myself occasion to know, in more instances than one, to the most happy results. The maintenance of this correspondence, carried on in four or five different languages, including the reading as well as writing of several letters in each day, was quite enough to occupy the largest portion of the writer's time ; but with all this, a want of leisure was never pleaded in excuse for attending to any applications for relief that were perpetually made, from whatever quarter they might have come. A walk, or a ride on horseback, was generally indulged in before dinner, which was always served soon after sunset, and was a happy medium between frugality and abundance, such as a prince might partake, and yet such as the most temperate could not complain of. The evening was almost invariably passed in conversation ; and so powerful is my recollection, even at this distant period, of the pleasure this afforded me, that I could use no terms which would be too extravagant in its praise. The early association with men eminent for their talents, as well as their power ; the habit of intense observation on all passing events; the abundant opportunities, afforded by years of travel, to apply these habits to the utmost advantage ; all these, added to a remarkable union of frankness and dignity, gave a peculiar charm to the conversation of this highly accomplished and amiable woman : such, indeed, as to render it a matter of deep regret that it should be so lost, by seclusion from the world, to many whom it would instruct as well as delight. But it is, perhaps, to this love of solitude that much of the dignity of her feelings may be attributed ; for it would be almost impossible to preserve, uncontaminated, a true greatness of mind, amidst the continual round of frivolities which dissipate the thoughts of half the fashionable world in England. We seldom retired before midnight; and these intellectual evenings never closed without affording me matter of congratulation at the information and pleasure afforded me, and regret at the impossibility of their being more frequently enjoyed.

In person, Lady Hester Stanhope is rather above the usual

standard of female height, with regular and delicately formed features, a soft blue eye, fair and pale complexion, an expression of habitual pensiveness and tranquil resignation, which was rarely disturbed except when her countenance now and then lighted up with the indignant feelings that always followed the recital of some deed of cruelty or oppression. Her early political associations had not overcome those fine sensations which almost instinctively impel the heart to resist the inroads of tyranny; but which are never more powerful than when emanating from a female breast. The names of those who rank among the benefactors of mankind were such as enjoyed her highest veneration and esteem; and she never mentioned those of tyrants and oppressors but with undisguised abhorrence.

It has been made a subject of wonder, that an English lady of distinction should not only choose so remote and retired a spot for her residence, but that she should adopt the costume of the country, and that too of the male sex; it being already universally known that Lady Hester Stanhope wears the dress of a Turkish Effendi, or private gentleman. The wonder will cease, however, when the reasons which influenced this choice are explained. Had she retained the dress of an English lady she could never have ventured into the open air, even for the purpose of exercise, without attracting a crowd of the peasantry, and others, to witness such a curiosity as any one so apparelled could not fail to be considered in that country, and this would be a perpetual impediment to all her movements abroad. Had she adopted the dress of a Turkish lady, she could never have ventured out except enveloped in the ample garments worn by these, which render it difficult to walk freely, and quite impossible to take any active exercise, besides being veiled in such a manner as to impede free breathing in this warm climate, and to interrupt the pleasure of seeing clearly the surrounding objects of interest in the way. The dress of an English gentleman would be liable to still stronger objections, though of another nature; so that the Turkish male dress appeared the only

one that could be adopted with delicacy and advantage combined. Those who have ever seen the garment of a Turkish gentleman must be aware that it conceals the whole figure and person of the wearer, much more effectually than even the English female dress; and that nothing can be more consistent with the most feminine delicacy, than the ample and flowing robes of this costume.* This is literally the only costume in which any person of respectability could go out in Syria, without attracting a crowd, and suffering perpetual interruption; so that the choice was wise and prudent, and in every other respect quite unexceptionable.

If to be sincerely and generally beloved by those among whom we reside, to possess power and influence with those who govern, and to have abundant opportunities of exercising these for the benefit of the weak and helpless, be sources of delight, (and that they are so, the universal sentiment of mankind seems to bear testimony), it may be safely concluded that Lady Hester Stanhope is one of the happiest of human beings. The veneration in which she is held, the affectionate terms in which she is continually spoken of by those who live near and surround her habitation, surpasses any thing I remember to have met with in the course of a tolerably extensive peregrination through various countries of the globe. Coupled, indeed, with the humble gratitude, confined information, and general enthusiasm of feeling, which characterise the inhabitants of that country, it amounts almost to adoration: so that the real good which this lady does, and the undoubted respect paid to her by all classes, have been magnified by every successive

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* In the very admirable picture of Mr. Pickersgill, exhibited at Somerset-house during the last year's exhibition, under the title of "The Oriental Love Letter," the dress of the Turkish lady in the harem conveys an excellent idea of that worn by Turkish private gentlemen also; the variation between the male and female dress, when within doors, being very slight; but differing *in toto* when they go out; as the gentleman goes forth uncovered, and in the same manner as he sits at home; but the lady, over her in-door dress, is obliged to fold large outer garments, veils, &c. so as almost to conceal entirely her person from sight.

narrator through whom the recital has passed, till it has at last assumed the shape of the miraculous, and surpassed even the extravagance of the Arabian Tales. I remember some few instances of this, which I heard on my way over from Damascus to Seyda, which I was then too ill to enter in my notes, but which may perhaps be mentioned here.

It was said that when the king's daughter, for by this name (Bint-el-Melek, and Bint-el-Sultān) Lady Hester is generally spoken of here, paid her first visit to Damascus, all the people of the town rushed to the gates to welcome her approach; the men to pay homage to one whom they considered inspired or insane, and therefore under the especial protection of God (this being the universal opinion as to the holy keeping of those who are deranged), and the women to look on her with an evil eye, and avert from their husbands the fascination which they believed would otherwise be exercised on them by the unveiled beauties of the fair infidel. The narrator (herself a Druse female in the mountains of Lebanon, who recounted the tale to my muleteer as I lay ill on my carpet before the hearth), proceeded to say, that when she entered, all voices exclaimed "The city of Damascus, the great gate of pilgrimage, and the key to the tomb of the prophet, is taken from us; her glory is fallen, her might cast down, and her people for ever subdued. An infidel has entered her gates on horseback, and rebellion has been subdued by her beauty."* The people at Constantinople have a proverb, that their city will fall when a yellow infidel, meaning a Russian, enters at a particular gate of the city; so that especial pains are taken to prevent such an occurrence. At Jerusalem a

* The reader should understand, that Damascus is considered one of the gates of pilgrimage, because the great caravan of pilgrims assembles here, and sets out from this place for Mecca. In consequence of this, no Frank or Christian is allowed to enter Damascus on horseback, if he be known; and no person can even walk with safety in its streets if dressed as an European. It is the most bigotted and intolerant of all Mohammedan cities, Mecca alone excepted, and no European female was ever, perhaps, known to visit it thus openly before.

similar tradition exists as to the recovery of that place by the Jews: and at Jedda this conviction is so strong, that a Christian discovered in attempting to pass through a certain gate of that place leading to Mecca, would undoubtedly be slain on the spot. The feeling here described by the Druse female was, perhaps, founded on some similar notion; and the fact undoubtedly was, that when Lady Hester had once entered Damascus, every thing seemed to be granted to her as a privileged being, though it would be death for any other Christian, perhaps, even to ask it. She visited, among other places, the great mosque, not only with the permission, but even under the protection of an escort from the government; and her intercourse with all the families of distinction of the city gave her such opportunities of observation, as were certainly never enjoyed by any English female before, not even including Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and such as are, perhaps, not likely to be ever enjoyed again. But to return to the narration of the tale. The Druse female continued to say—" When the king's daughter visited the Pasha in his divan, and was shown the seat of honor on his right hand, every one except the Pasha stood up to receive her; and there went before her a messenger bearing presents of the most costly description, from all the distant countries of the Ind and the Sind*, with perfumes of the most delightful odour. But when these had been laid at the Pasha's feet, the fair infidel herself drew from beneath her robes a massive goblet of pure gold, sparkling with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and filled to overflowing with the richest pearls, which were, however, rivalled in beauty by the snowy whiteness of her hand." The truth was, as I had afterwards reason to believe, that, in accordance with the universal practice of the country, which renders it imperative on all who visit men in power to evince their respect by accompanying it with some present, Lady Hester had presented the Pasha with

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* India within and India beyond the Ganges.

some small article of European manufacture, probably some piece of jewellery, and this simple fact, before it had got half across the mountains of Lebanon to the sea-coast, had been wrought up to a tale that might have better suited the most splendid romances in the days of the caliphs.

Another instance of similar exaggeration, which I heard from an Arab of the Desert, who had come in with some flocks to the sea-coast, and who attended them while he was gradually effecting their sale in the neighbourhood of Seyda, will suffice. He told me, that there was one event which he regretted more than any that he remembered, which was, that he had not accompanied the princess (Lady Hester Stanhope) in her journey to Palmyra, as he understood that every one who had gone with her, as indeed every one who ever had any thing to do with her, had been abundantly prosperous since. In describing this event, he said, " As soon as it was known in the desert that the princess intended to journey to Tadmor, all the tribes were in motion, war was changed to universal peace, and every sheikh (or chief) was eager to have the honour of leading the escort. Councils and assemblies were held at Homs and at Hamah, at Sham and at Hhāleb (Damascus and Aleppo), messengers were sent in every direction, and nothing was neglected that might serve to make the way full of pleasure. When money was talked of, every one rejected it with indignation, and exclaimed, 'Shall we not serve the princess for honour?' Every thing being settled, the party set out, preceded by horsemen in front, with hedjeen (dromedaries) of observation on the right and the left, and camels laden with provisions in the rear. As they passed along, the parched sands of the desert became verdant plains, the burning rocks became crystal streams, rich carpets of grass welcomed them at every place at which they halted for repose, and the trees under which they pitched their tents expanded twice their usual size to cover them with shade. When they reached the broken city (the ruins), the princess was taken to the greatest of all the palaces (the Temple of the Sun), and there gold and jewels

were bound round her temples, and all the people did homage to her as queen, by bowing their heads to the dust. On that day Tadmor was richer than Sham (Damascus), and more peopled than Stamboul (Constantinople); and if the princess had only remained it would soon have become the greatest of all the cities of the earth, for men were pouring into it from all quarters, horsemen and chiefs, merchants and munujemein (astrologers and learned men who consult the stars), the fame of her beauty and benevolence having reached to Baghdad and Ispahaun, to Bokhara and Samarcand, and the greatest men of the East being desirous of beholding it for themselves." The Arab, who firmly believed all this, narrated the return from Palmyra to the coast in the same romantic strains, and ended by repeating his regret at the misfortune of not having been one of the happy multitude assembled on that occasion, he having been then on some business with another tribe to the south of the Dead Sea.

Recitals, such as these, founded as they were on facts popularly and universally known, were sure to receive implicit credence, and to gain in exaggeration by every successive individual who related them; so that the extraordinary degree of veneration in which this lady is held throughout the country, and the corresponding pleasure which she must feel in residing there, are easily explained. To shew that this is turned to the very best account, for the purpose of promoting the ends of public justice, as well as of doing private good, I will mention a fact, which I derived from unexceptionable authority, and which I shall relate without the slightest addition, that it may stand in contact with, as well as in illustration of, all that has been said before.

A French colonel of engineers, whose name I think was Boudain, having left France at the period of the restoration of the Bourbons, resolved to pass a few years in travelling, and commenced with Africa. I remember meeting him at Cairo, at the house of Colonel Missett, on his return from the Oasis of Siwah, which he had been induced to visit, from reading Mr. Browne, the

Darfour traveller's description of the remains which he considered to be those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. From Egypt he passed into Syria; and, stopping for a few days at Seyda, he was admitted to an interview with Lady Hester Stanhope. In detailing to her the plan of his future route, he mentioned his intention of going into the mountains of the Ansārie, a tribe of idolators who occupy the hills between the sea-coast and Aleppo, and who live in such perpetual hostility with both Mohammedans and Christians that they are rarely visited, and are consequently very imperfectly known by either. Colonel Boudain, it seems, was aware of the dangerous nature of the enterprise, but, like many others, he flattered himself with the hope that his fate would form an exception to the general calamity that had hitherto befallen almost all who had attempted to sojourn among these barbarians. Lady Hester used all her powers of persuasion to divert him from his purpose; and succeeded so far as to obtain from him a promise that he would not make the attempt, unless he should find, on arriving near their territory, assurances of perfect safety in going among them. Under this impression, the colonel pursued his journey; and either his enthusiasm growing stronger, or his discretion weaker, as he approached the district, he ventured to depart from his prudent determination, went into the mountains, and was first robbed and then murdered, as had been predicted by the kind but unavailing advice of his best friend and protectress. The sale of his watch, and some other articles of value, in the bazār of Damascus, soon after excited suspicion; enquiry was instituted by some Christians of the country, and the fact was placed beyond a doubt. When the intelligence of this melancholy catastrophe was first brought to Lady Hester Stanhope, she is said to have urged the French consuls, at the several towns on the coast, to write to Constantinople, and have orders sent from thence to trace out and punish the murderers. Her intreaties had not the desired effect, from what cause, whether an unwillingness to avenge the death of a Frenchman more attached to Napoleon than to the Bourbons, or

for any other reason, I am not aware. Intreaties addressed to Aleppo, and even remonstrances forwarded to several of the European ambassadors at Constantinople, produced no greater effect: when this heroic and benevolent woman determined on avenging the death of the stranger, on whom her excellent advice had been so unhappily thrown away, but whose remains she nevertheless thought still entitled to her protection. She accordingly caused letters to be addressed, in Turkish and Arabic, by her secretary, to the pashas of Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, and Acre, requesting from each a supply of a certain number of troops to range the mountains of the Ansārie, to trace the mangled remains of the murdered stranger wherever they might be found, to recover all his papers and other property not sold or destroyed, to find out the perpetrators of the murder, and to bring them to the ignominious punishment which their crimes so richly deserved. Her appeals were successful, and accomplished what all the influence of all the ambassadors could not have effected, what even the commands of the Grand Signor himself could not have carried into execution—a union and co-operation of elements the most discordant, whose combined force brought the body of the murdered victim to light, discovered and collected most of the property, and brought the murderers to their deserved end. Many other instances of the benevolent and beneficial exercise of the influence which this excellent woman so deservedly enjoys, might be collected in the country itself; her whole life, indeed, abounds with them: but I have, perhaps, already said more than will be agreeable to her on this head, as I know how purely she does good for its own sake, and how unwelcome to her ears would be any thing that even bordered on adulation. There is a duty, however, which all men owe to society, as well as to individuals; and although my gratitude to Lady Hester Stanhope would make me shrink from doing any thing that I should conceive likely to wound the refined delicacy of her feelings, yet I should despise myself as a man, if I could pass over in silence a period which I shall ever regard as one of the most inte-

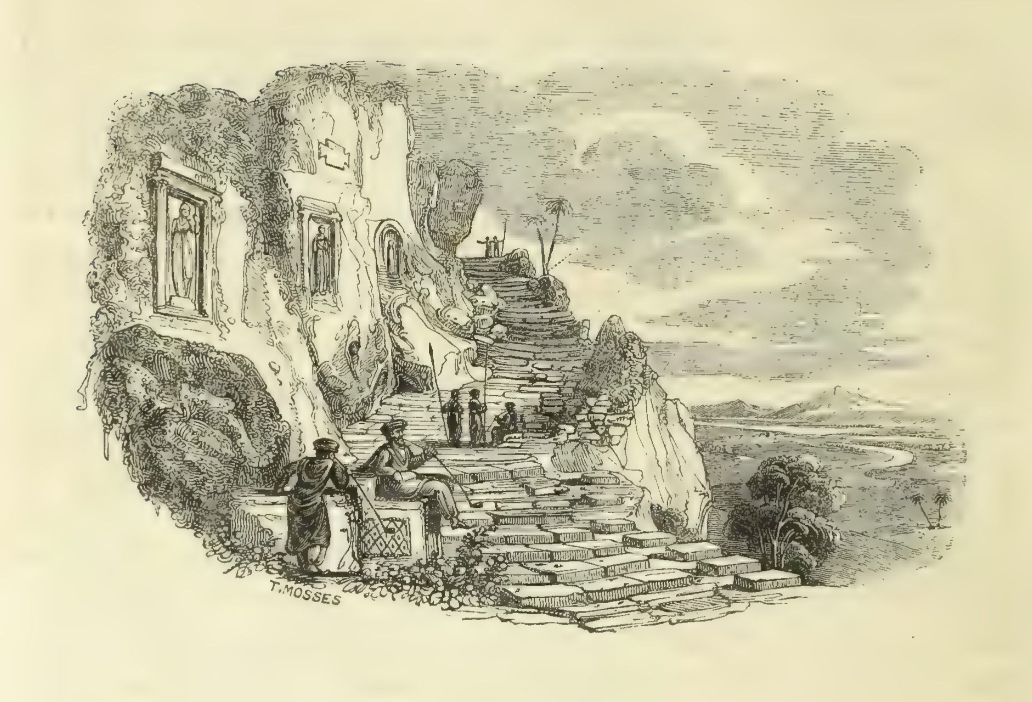
resting and happy of my existence; or if I omitted to offer my humble tribute of admiration to her distinguished virtues, or failed to hold up the general tenor of her useful and honourable life, as an example worthy of imitation by those whose birth and fortune furnish them with equal opportunities to use their influence for the benefit of mankind at large.

During the few days of my being sufficiently strong for the purpose, while I remained here, I made some excursions on foot in the immediate neighbourhood, with Dr. Meryon, Lady Hester's physician; and as both of us wore the dress of the country, with beards, and spoke the Arabic tongue, we were never molested. Dr. Meryon's residence was in a separate house, within five or ten minutes' walk of the convent at which her ladyship resided, and we generally, on returning from our rambles, passed an hour together there before dinner. One of these excursions was to some extremely interesting tombs recently excavated, and exhibiting stuccoed painted chambers, not unlike those of Eliethis and Thebes in Egypt, and in an excellent state of preservation. For the reasons before given, I preserved no notes of them, and can therefore only speak of them in general terms.

When the period approached for my quitting Mar Elias, I felt extreme regret; for I had scarcely ever before concentrated so much of highly intellectual pleasure within so short a space of time; and I had then little prospect of meeting any similar asylum till I should reach India. The stay had, however, been productive of the highest advantages to me in every point of view. I had regained much of my former health and strength in a surprising manner, considering the shortness of the time, partly by the skilful medical treatment of Dr. Meryon, and partly by the change of air, improved diet, and delightful repose of the mind as well as body, which I enjoyed in perfection here. I had also had an opportunity of writing to many of my friends in England; and, above all, I was now better prepared for my future journey than I had ever been before. I was comfortably furnished with clothes,

an excellent horse, a trusty servant from Lady Hester's own suite, transferred to me by her request, and charged by her with a thousand injunctions as to care and attention to my wishes and safety on the road. I was accommodated with sufficient means to defray my expences, till I should reach Aleppo, and draw my authorized supplies from the consul, Mr. Barker, to whom my letter of credit from Alexandria was addressed. I was intrusted with various presents from her ladyship to the several pashas and governors in my way, accompanied with letters of introduction to them, that I might offer these gifts in her name, and thus secure their protection and aid: and I was furnished with letters to Sir Evan Nepean at Bombay, and General Murray at Madras; so as to render my reception in India more advantageous than it would be likely to be without such recommendations.

This chapter includes the whole time of my stay at the convent of Mar Elias, from the 11th to the 18th of April, both inclusive, a period of eight days, during which no written notes were made by me for preservation; but the events, which I have here endeavoured faithfully to record, have been stated from memory, assisted by letters to friends in England, written from that spot and now in my possession, by which almost every thing has been restored to my recollection as freshly as if it were but of yesterday's date. In resuming the narrative of my journey in the succeeding chapter, I shall preserve the language of my note-book exactly as I find it, though at the hazard of a slight repetition; but this will be compensated for by the greater assurance of fidelity.



CHAP. XXI.

FROM SEYDA TO BAIROOT, TRIPOLY, AND THE CEDARS OF LEBANON.

Friday, April 19, 1816.—All our preparations for the journey being completed, and my strength in some degree restored, I parted from my warm-hearted and amiable friend, Lady Hester Stanhope, with considerable regret. By her kindness my stay at Mar Elias had been rendered most agreeable, and she had furnished me with letters to every body of note on the road to make my progress equally so. I had now two mares of my own, one for my own use, and another for the baggage and the green-turbanned Hadjee Ahmed, who accompanied me as my guide and servant, so that we now needed no other escort.

We left the convent a little before noon, and descending into the valley gradually approached the sea-shore, coming in about an

hour to a river called Nahr el Owely, or river the First, having perhaps some relation with, or allusion to, Nahr el Thāny, or river the Second, which we had crossed not far to the southward on the day of our arrival at Abra. The stream of the river was perhaps fifty feet wide, where we passed it, over a high bridge of one arch, the foundation of which seemed to have been formed of the large stones from the ruins of an old Roman bridge, a short distance above it. The current, though shallow, was rapid, and the discharge of its waters discoloured the sea for the distance of nearly a mile from its immediate embouchure. On the north side of the bridge is a khan and coffee shed, where we drank of the water of the river, which was excellent. The whole of the valley through which it flows down from the eastward was, as far as we could trace it, beautifully fertile, and interspersed with gardens, corn plats, fruit trees, &c. It is from this river that the town of Seyda is supplied with water, it being conducted from hence to that place through a canal, running sometimes above and sometimes under ground to preserve its level, but no where raised on arches. In many places the subterranean part has been laid open for the convenience of drawing water from thence, and for distributing it through the gardens on each side of its course.

Our road now lay along the coast, sometimes upon the sandy beach of the sea-shore, and at others over rocky paths at a little distance from it; but was always agreeable from the delightful state of the weather, and the reviving freshness of the strong sea breeze.

In about half an hour we passed over a small projecting point of land, called Ras el Jeddra, having no remarkable features, and scarcely to be distinguished as a headland from the sea.

In an hour from hence, continuing our road always along the edge of the shore, we came to a similar tongue of land, called Ras-el-Nebbionis, where there were some ruins of former buildings, at the distance of about half a mile from the extreme point. Among others we noted here the walls of an apartment finely

stuccoed, and now sunk beneath the earth. It appears to have had an arched roof, and, as it was small, might probably have been part of a private bath.

As the point of view was favourable for such a purpose, I alighted, and took the bearings of the capes along shore, as given below, which detained us but a few minutes only.

Bearings from the ruined building stuccoed within, and sunk beneath the ground, on Ras-el-Nebbionis :—

Ras-el-Ohhbeeah	S. W. ½ S.	25 miles
Rock and harbour of Seyda . .	S. W. by S.	10 miles
Town of Seyda	S. W. by S. ¼ S.	10 miles
Point of Ras-el-Jeddra . . .	S. S. W.	4 miles
Point of Ras-el-Sādiant . . .	N. E. by N.	3 miles
Point of Ras-el-Uzzaieh, or Ras-el-Bairoot	N. N. E.	25 miles.

In about half an hour from hence we passed a khan, with a saint's tomb, and a few palm trees, called Mazār, leaving it on our right about half a mile upon the sea. It is usually made a halting place between Seyda and Bairoot, and alms are demanded of the passengers for the support of the sepulchre there.

From hence to Ras-el-Dammoor, or Ras-el-Sadiāt, as it is sometimes called, the distance is about an hour. It is a point of land similar to those we had already passed, and derives its name from the river of Damoor, which issues into the sea about half an hour to the northward of it. This is the ancient Tamyras, of which its present name is only a corruption adapted to the Arabic pronunciation. Maundrell mentions the fact of a Mr. Spon, nephew to Dr. Spon, the eastern traveller, being drowned here in 1692, when returning from Jerusalem in company with some English gentlemen. At that period there was no bridge over it, though the ruins of a former one were still visible ; but at present there is a bridge of four arches, which has been thrown across it

within these few years only; and though the style of its architecture and the execution of its masonry is inferior to similar works in Europe, it most effectually answers the purpose of convenience and safety, and has even a pretty appearance when viewed at a short distance.

We found here some Turks reposing in the shade, and some washing for the prayers of El-Assr; and we heard from them of the murder of a mountain Arab here by one of his own tribe on the evening of yesterday; the quarrel originating in some suspicion of adulterous practices between the one who was killed and the wife of the murderer.

From the river we came in an hour to Ghaffar-el-Nāmy, a place at which a toll was formerly demanded, but it is now discontinued. It seems, indeed, both from the account of former travellers as well as from the remains of these toll-houses, that the contributions raised from passengers on the road must have been considerable. In all my progress through the country, thus far, however, I do not remember to have met with these demands, excepting only in the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem; so that this portion of the Turkish burdens on the people, at least, seems to have been lightened.

About an hour from this Ghaffar we reached an old ruined tower, called Boorje Khordlee, the lower part of which, with some vestiges of Roman arches, seemed to denote it of ancient structure, though the upper part, with long loop-holes in the walls, appeared more modern. A little distance to the east of it, on the side of the hill, we saw a considerable number of sarcophagi of stone, most of them ornamented with the usual devices of wreaths, &c., on the sides, and some having still near them their pent-roofed covers with raised corners, exactly like the Roman sarcophagi seen at Gerash, Oom Kais, and other Roman ruins that I had already seen in this country. The tower might have, therefore, been an ancient military station, and these the sarcophagi of such as died there, as we could perceive no other vestiges of any city of which this might have been the necropolis.

From hence, in about another hour, we came to a sandy tract, called Ullibāt, now gradually receding from the sea, and leaving the point called Ras-el-Bairoot, at the distance of a mile or two on our left, where the whole of the space between the road and the sea seemed to be covered with low sand hills, blown up from the beach by the prevailing winds, in the same way as they are seen along the northern edge or base of the Delta in Egypt, and owing their formation, no doubt, to the same cause. The hills on our right, though approaching close to the sea, had been hitherto bare and uninteresting, but they now became loftier and of a less arid aspect; and just after our entering the sandy tract of Ullibāt we had opened to us, on the sides of the mountain, a number of scattered villages and detached houses, the white walls and flat-terraced roofs of which, with the marks of industrious cultivation by which they were surrounded, presented altogether an agreeable picture. The first of these consisted of three distinct villages with many separate smaller clusters of dwellings, the whole of which were called by the general name of Shuefāt. Above these were pointed out little convents, gardens, and houses, and about a mile further to the north a similar cluster of villages, called Boorje-el-Bradjely. The plain below them, at the foot of the hills, was full of olive trees and lighter verdure, and the whole presented an air of industry and abundance, which seemed drawn entirely from the activity of the Druses and Christians, by whom the mountain is chiefly peopled.

It was sunset when we approached the environs of Bairoot, the immediate limits of which, to the south, are called Hhurj Isnooba. The grove of pines, said to have been planted by the famous Fakr-el-Din, the prince of the Druses, is still pointed out, and, as we saw it in the twilight, presented the appearance of a noble wood. The road became now hedged in on both sides by sloping walls of earth, crowned with the prickly pear. Gardens were also numerous, and laid out with order and regularity, and the whole bespoke an entrance to a wealthy town.

It was quite dark when we reached the principal gate, which, being closed, we made a detour to the northward, and came to another less public one, where we found people within to whom to address ourselves. The mere report of my being an Englishman, come from Lady Hester Stanhope, or the princess, as she is called, at Mar Elias, was sufficient. Information was immediately conveyed to the governor of our arrival, and when the gate was opened to us we were met there by the English consul, Signor Pietro Lorello, his dragoman and servants, with lanterns, and guards, and conducted in safety to his house.

Saturday, April 20, 1816. — The fatigue of yesterday's short ride having been greater than I had expected, had made me feel to-day that my strength was not yet perfectly re-established, and we therefore made a halt here to repose.

After dinner we walked out to see the town and its environs, visiting some Christian families in the way, and examining what was deemed most worthy of the pains, both within and without the walls ; the result of which was considerable pleasure to myself, though but little offered in the way of information that could be called new.

This town was called by the Greeks Βήρυτ, which name it still retains in the Bairoot of the Arabs, and this may be quoted as another example of the original name being recovered by the natives, after it had been changed by their Roman masters, as this of Βήρυτ, or Berytus, from which the idol of Baal Berith is supposed to have had its name, was afterwards called Julia Felix, by order of Augustus, who bestowed upon it many important privileges.*

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* The following general description of all the part of the coast, from Pliny, includes a mention of Bairoot under both these names : —

" Behind Sidon commences the Mount Libanus, which extends 1500 stadia, as far as Smyrna. Over against it is another range, called Antilibanus, with a valley between them, and these two ranges were formerly connected by a wall. Beyond this, eastward, is the region of Decapolis. Along the foot of Libanus, on the sea-coast, is

It is seated on the northern edge of a tongue of land which extends itself in a plain towards the sea, from the foot of the mountains, in nearly a western direction, about five or six miles. Its site is, however, on a rising ground, ascending gently from the sea, so as to make its situation dry and healthy, and contribute much to the cleanliness of its interior.

The extremity of the point of land on which it is situated is called Ras-el-Bairoot, and, in coming from the northward, must form a conspicuous headland, as, from its projection from the general line of the shore, it forms a fine bay to the north of the town, between it and Ras-el-Shakkah, which bears from it N. E. ¾ N., distant about twenty-five miles; and the bottom of the bay, or the deepest part, bears from the town E. S. E., five or six miles, being near the bight in which the Nahr-el-Bairoot discharges itself.

The roadstead thus formed by the jutting out of the point of land, is to the N. E. of the town, and secured from the prevailing winds of the coast, which are from the south-western quarter. The holding ground is said to be good, so that vessels ride here at every season of the year; and when strong northerly winds arise, which are seldom of long duration, there are two or three small sinuosities of the shore, both to the east and west of the town, in which shelter is found.

The town itself is of an irregular square form, walled on three sides toward the land, and open toward the sea. The walls are

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the river Majoras, also the colony *Berytus*, called Julia Felix; the town Leontes, the river Syens, also Palæbyblos, then the river Adonis, and so to the towns of Byblos the new, Botrys, Giganta, Frienis, Calamos, and Tripolis, under the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Aradians. Then the town of Orthosia, and the river Eleutheros, also the towns of Simyra, Marathos, and over against the last the island Aradus, a town of seven stadia, and an island less than a quarter of a mile from the continent. When you are once past the country where the said mountains do end, and the plains lying between, then beginneth the mount Bargylis; and then, as Phœnicia endeth, so begins Syria again. In which country are, Carne, Balanca, Pattos, and Gabale; also the promontory whereupon standeth the free city Laodicea, together with Diospolis, Heraclea, Charadus, and Posidium." — *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 5. c. 20.

perfectly Turkish in their style and execution, and would offer but a feeble resistance to artillery. The whole is not more than a mile in circuit, yet it is thought to contain from 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, about the half of whom are Christians of different sects, and the other half Moslems. It is governed by an Agā, who is also the douanier; and himself, and about twenty others in various offices under him, are the only Turks in the place; the military, amounting to about 200 men, being all Arabs of the country, and never having suffered, as it is said, either Osmanlies or Arnaouts to displace them from their service.

There is an old castle near the sea, in which are six pieces of cannon, which form all the ordnance of the town; and in this castle the military reside. There is also a ruined tower, called Boorjee-el-Bahr, built on a rock in the sea, and near the common landing place, as well as some few round towers, of little strength in the walls of the town themselves. The Marino, as it is called, has a good wharf for discharging goods, as boats can approach it sufficiently near for that purpose; and all along its front are ranged fine shafts of grey granite pillars erect, which are used for mooring the small vessels securely while they lie there. These are some of the remains of the ancient magnificence of Bairoot, once decorating the porticos of temples and palaces, and now presenting a striking picture of the changes to which all things are subject, as seen wound round by the cables and hawsers of a few place them small trading boats.

The bazārs, the streets, the dwelling-houses, and magazines of the town are better built than any of those which I had yet seen along the coast; the streets are sufficiently wide for all the purposes of passage and comfort where carriages are not used, and are all paved with large stones; the bazārs are well furnished with the manufactures of the country and of Europe, as well as with all kinds of provisions; the dwelling-houses are lofty, spacious, and well-built, and some of the magazines near the sea-shore are equal to those found in similar sea-ports of England itself.

There are within the town three mosques, with their courts, fountains, and minārehs, the latter of a mean form. The Christian churches are four in number, one belonging to the Schismatic Greeks, another to the Catholic Greeks, a third to the Arab Catholics, and a fourth to the Maronites. The first of these, in which we saw the morning mass performed and the sacrament administered by the bishop, on the occasion of their Easter-Eve, is a fine lofty building, recently repaired and set in order, and is fitted up with a splendour almost equal to the Greek church in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. The other three were shut, and besides these, there is an hospital or convent of Capuchins, now under the direction of one old father only, who has been thirty-five years in the country. When I paid him a visit, we were shown from his window an adjoining garden in which six Englishmen were interred, who had died of the wounds they had received at Acre, at the time of Bonaparte's being there. While here, we received a visit from an old French doctor, who, like our consul Damiani, at Jaffa, wore the dress of the country with a pink shalloon benish, a neck cravat, a gold-headed cane, and a cocked hat, making altogether a very strange figure.

The commerce of Bairoot is at this moment greater than that of any other port in Syria, and increases every year. It is the depôt for the city of Damascus and all its neighbourhood, and the outlet for all the productions of the mountains near. There were at this time twenty-seven vessels at anchor in the road, besides other smaller ones near the town, and these are thought few. It is said, that during the last year three vessels arrived from Malta laden with British manufactures, cottons, muslins, cloths, &c. with some bar-iron, lead, coffee, spices, indigo, and cochineal, the whole amounting to 50,000 dollars, and that all was purchased for ready money in five days after their arrival.

The returns are made in cotton, corn, silk, and sometimes wine and oil in small quantities; though it more frequently happens that vessels take from hence specie, and collect their returns from other ports; carrying wine from Cyprus, cotton from

Acre, and oil from Candia. The duties paid by Europeans are 3 per cent. and by natives of the country 4 per cent. *ad valorem*, on all goods exported and imported; besides which, there exist no exactions of consequence either as anchorage-fees, presents, or other charges.

The environs of Bairoot are really charming; from a hill, which commands the town to the west, and where there exist many ruins of ancient edifices, we had an opportunity of taking in at one view the whole of the north side of the plain. To the south-east of the town are a number of gardens, and the whole space between the western wall and the extremity of the point called Ras-el-Bairoot is covered with them. In each of these is a small house, to which the proprietor retires when the business of the day is over, and the rich have their families there as in a country house during all the summer.

The air of Bairoot is found to be generally healthy; as the vicinity of the sea on the one side, and the range of Lebanon on the other, maintains a constant freshness; and the water also, though not abundant within the town, is said to be good.

In every direction are to be seen vestiges of the former magnificence of this place when a Roman city. There are three fine grey granite columns still standing, and apparently occupying their original place near to the southern wall of the town, others are scattered up and down in various directions, and remains of ancient buildings are constantly found wherever excavations are made; so that the present town may have been built, as has been conjectured, chiefly on the ruins of the old. Within the town is still seen, near one of the public fountains, a fine sarcophagus, partly broken; on the exterior sides and ends of which are sculptured, in high relief, a bull's head, and wreaths; and at the angle of each corner a ram's head, like that of the sphinxes at Thebes, or of the Jupiter Ammon of Egypt, exceedingly well wrought.

I was shown also a tablet of stone about two spans long, one wide, and four inches thick, which had been lately dug up in the

neighbourhood. It contained a recess of about an inch deep, formed by two doric pilasters, an architrave, and a pediment, in which were represented a female, seated on a sort of throne, with a footstool beneath it, and a male figure standing before her, whose right hand she held in her own; the hair of the male was short and curly, that of the female in long natural tresses, and the heads of both entirely void of ornament. The male was barefoot, the female wore sandals, very neatly fastened by bands over the neck of the foot. The dress of both was perfectly Roman, seeming to consist chiefly of one long and ample robe with short sleeves, leaving the neck and the fore-arm bare; besides which, the male had a sort of shawl thrown over his left shoulder, while with his left-hand he held together the loose folds of his drapery. The attitudes and proportions of the figures seemed to me excellent, and the execution of the drapery beautiful; the turn of the head was expressive, too, in both, but the features had suffered some injury by being buried in the earth. The height of the relief in the centre was about an inch and a-half, and just level with the pilasters or surface of the outer frame.

The following is as much as could be read of an inscription apparently of four lines in the original, which could now be traced at the foot of this tablet:—

ΟΑΛΛΙΩΝΚΑΙΗΤΥΝΗ.
ΣΟΥΘΑΥΒΑΣΤΙΣ . . . .
. . . ΡΗΣΤΘΙΧΑΙΡΕΓ . . . . .

A long conversation arose among the party in which this tablet was shown, and many grave and sage speculations were hazarded as to the subject of the design; but the extravagant value set on things of this nature by most of the inhabitants of the East, when they perceive on the part of Europeans the least desire to possess them, is at once a proof of their extreme ignorance as to their real worth and estimation even among collectors and connoisseurs, as well as of their own ungovernable avarice.

I was shown also at the same time, a very beautiful cameo found here, executed in the usual way on a white stone rising from a darker one; but it was curious also, as well as beautiful, from its representing the head of a negro with a flat nose, large thick lips, high cheeked bones, and crisped hair, the whole character being perfectly African. The sex was not apparent, so that we could not even conjecture whether it might have been the head of some distinguished African warrior, or of a faithful domestic slave. The head was crowned with a wreath of leaves, and the execution and preservation perfect.

Among a variety of lesser curiosities, I saw also a little copper bird, not unlike a goose with its wings closed, and resembling in size and manner the small Egyptian idols of copper and porcelain, found in their mummies, and worn about their necks.

I was desirous of visiting the ruins of the palace of Fakr-el-Din, the celebrated prince of the Druses, who once made Bairoot his capital and his residence; but some knew nothing of its existence, though near the town, and others said it was now a mosque and could not be visited, so that we could get no guide to it.

In the house of our consul I saw six good portraits on canvas, of the celebrated Venetian family of Canal, in the time of their republic, one of whom was governor in Candia, two captains-general of marine, and the rest in the army, the dates of their execution in the 16th century. They had been found in the Mountain of Lebanon among the Druses, by whom all the six, in gilded oval frames, were sold for three rotolos or about seven pounds of butter, and afterwards to Signior Lorello for a plain white turban of muslin, though they were in as good a state of preservation as if always kept in a cabinet, and, as I thought, executed by some good painter. During the evening there arrived at the house an Italian captain from Malta, by way of Tripoly in Barbary, and Egypt. Conceiving that the consul himself did not speak English, and not suspecting that I was an Englishman, as I sat smoking a nargeel

in the corner of the sofa, he professed himself to be as proficient in our language as a native of the country, without being at all questioned on the subject; but when simply asked where he had learnt it, he neither understood the question nor offered a reply, turning the conversation to some other topic.

Our consul has been resident here as a merchant about twenty-five years, and within his recollection the improvement in the commerce of the place and the wealth of its inhabitants has been considerable. He remembers when the Christians were so poor, that only one benish existed among them, belonging to the Greek bishop, which was let out on marriage festivals to the bridegroom. At present there are more than twenty rich merchants, who seldom appear without one, and all else is in proportion. Already, in the course of the present year, there have been imported and sold here 800 barrels of cochineal, which were bought up with avidity in ready money for the market of Damascus, and the manufactures of various cloths, silks, &c. in the mountains.

Sunday, April 21.—We left Bairoot at sun-rise, and going out at the eastern gate continued our course along in that direction by a road leading through extensive gardens, thickly planted with mulberry trees for the silk-worms, bred all over the environs. In about half an hour we crossed a point of land jutting out to the northward, at the extremity of which is a village and an old ruined tower, like the one near the sea at Bairoot, called Boorje-el-Abu-Hhaÿda. On each side of it is a small bay, in which vessels find shelter, and sometimes repair, though the most frequented spot for that purpose is a small basin, formed by a curve of the rocky shore about a mile to the westward of the town. After passing Abu-Hhaÿda, the space on the left between the road and the sea is said to have been the scene of St. George's conquest over the dragon, one of the most prominent legends of the Greek

church, and commemorated by pictures representing the battle, to be seen at the humblest of their altars.

Soon after this we crossed the Nahr-el-Bairoot, over a tolerable bridge. The river flows down here from the southward, and discharges a shallow stream into the sea, forming a bar at its mouth. The valley through which it flows has many villages, and is exceedingly fertile.

From hence we entered on a sandy road, and winding round the deepest part of the bay, continued along the beach of the sea-shore. The land breeze still continued to blow from the eastward; and, as the mountains above us were covered with snow, the air was sharp and penetrating.

In about an hour from hence we forded a stream called Nahr-el-Ohja, which discharged a narrow but deep and rapid current into the sea; and observed on the side of the hills to the east of us many little scattered villages.

In another hour we crossed over a small projecting point of land on which is a public khan, and a house of supply for passengers, called Dikkān-el-Jeddoon, with some corn ground near; and about half a mile further on we came to a rocky promontory, which, though generally low, presents rugged cliffs towards the sea, and appears to have been once used as quarries for stone, as there are still remaining a number of excavated square spaces, steps, and blocks. It is called Ras-el Nahr-el-Kelb, from a river just beyond it to the north, and furnishing a good point of view, I took from thence the following bearings:—

Ras-el-Bairoot	W.S.W. . . .	12 miles.
Centre of the town	S.W. by W. ½ W.	8 miles.
Boorje-el-Abu-Hhayda . . .	S.W. by W. .	8 miles.
Mouth of Nahr-el-Bairoot . .	S.W.	7 miles.
Ditto of Nahr-el-Ohja . . .	S.S.W. ½ W. .	3 miles.
Point of Dikkān-el-Jeddoon .	S.S.W. ¼ W. .	½ mile.
A northern point of land near, with a bay beyond . .	N.E. ¾ N. . .	1 mile.
Ras-el-Gebeal	N. by E. ½ E. .	15 miles.

From hence we passed up over the top of the promontory, by a paved road cut down in the rock, and on descending on the other side noticed several human figures, as large as the life, sculptured in arched recesses in the cliffs of the rock, with large tablets, like false doors, beside them, as if for inscriptions. I ascended to view the third or fourth of these, and was surprised to find the figure of an Egyptian priest, with a high pointed bonnet, a long square beard, the left arm laid across the breast, and the right elevated at right angles with the elbow. The tablet beside it represented a doorway of six feet by three, with the winged globe extending all the breadth of the architrave, and above it a moulding and deep overhanging cornice. In the tablet itself, sunk about three or four inches below the surface, were two standing figures, exactly like the Egyptian ones, in form and altitude, one seemingly presenting something to the other; and below them, the faint vestiges of a long inscription in thirty or forty lines, but, whether in hieroglyphics or what, too much defaced to decide, all much injured by time and the decomposition of the rock.

About 200 paces below is a tablet, with the following inscription cut in the rock, and still quite legible: —

IMP CAES M AVRELIVS
ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
PARTH. MAX. BRIT. GERM. MAXIMVS
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
MONTIBVS IMMINENTIBVS
LYCO FLVMINI CAESIS VIAM DILATAVIT
PER . . . .
ANTONINIANAM SVAM.

Near this also we saw now lying in the road the broken fragments of the stone, on which was the other inscription seen by Maundrell: —

INVICTE IMP. ANTONINE P. FELIX AVG
MVLTIS ANNIS IMPERA.

These blocks had been apparently used in some late repairs of the way.

The Nahr-el-Kelb flows just below here, between two high rocky cliffs, and has at this moment a neat bridge of three arches over it, the work of the Amir Busheer, the prince of the Druses, the old one of Fakr-el-Din being destroyed. Near this bridge, on the northern bank of the stream, are about twenty lofty arches of an aqueduct, which is carried along the side of the cliff itself towards the sea, and its water is now used to turn a mill there. The Lyco Flumini was also sometimes called Canis, which name is preserved in the Nahr-el-Kelb of the Arabs, or river of the Dog. It comes from Lebanon, and winds down through a deep and narrow valley, which has on its borders many villages and convents, and its stream was at the moment of our crossing it full and rapid.

We halted at a coffee shed on the northern bank of the stream to refresh, and did not depart from thence until past noon. In about an hour and a half, having come chiefly over the sandy beach of the sea-shore, we rounded a point of land, where the road goes along on a sort of causeway under high cliffs, and entered on the border of a deep bay, the shore of which is called Yunia, and the district of the hills above, El Zook. There were here marks of former quarries, broken masses of rock severed from the cliffs and fallen into the sea, several coffee houses and resting places along the beach, fishing boats at anchor, and other interesting features, forming altogether an agreeable picture.

In an hour from hence we crossed a stream called Nahr-el-Mehamilenn, over which was once a Roman bridge of one arch only, but constructed of such large stones and so excellently put together that all the lower part or principal of the arch itself remains entire, though the upper part or way across it is destroyed. This is near the termination of the bay, and was once the limits between the pashalics of Tarabolus and Seyda; but at this period the pasha of Seyda, residing at Acre, commands the whole

of the coast from the frontiers of Egypt to Latakeea, the country north of which is under the government of Aleppo. The mountains which approach close to the sea here at the edge of this bay of Yunia, are called by the general name of Gebel-el-Castrawan, and are well peopled by Christians and Druses, under the government of the Ameer Busheer. Convents, both of Greeks and Maronites, abound on every peak, and it was here that I heard for the first time in Turkey the sound of convent bells. After leaving this bay we passed a ruined tower near the sea, and a large arched cave in the rocky side of the hill on our right, with some few rude columns, perhaps intended for mile-stones on the road. We met also several women, who wore, extending from the right side of their head, a horn of metal exactly like a large funnel, with the broadest part outermost, so as to look like a very large ear trumpet, some of them being at least eighteen inches in length. We were told that these were Christians, and soon had an opportunity of seeing that this strange excrescence differed from the horn of the Druses, as we met a wedding party of these people, in which the bridegroom and his friends were conducting the bride to her new home. There were four men, all armed and well dressed, who were walking on foot, while behind them came first the bride, on a richly caparisoned horse, and next her female attendant on a more plainly furnished one. Both of the females were dressed in very expensive robes, and both wore the horn which distinguishes their class. As the muslin veil which covered both it and the face was finely transparent, I could perceive that the horns were of metal gilded over. They were by far the longest I had yet seen, and were, I should think, not at all less than two feet and a half in length. They preserved nearly the same diameter of from two to three inches, very slightly increasing at the root, and the point was flattened as I had seen them before. They projected from the head in an angle of about 45°, as the emblem of a certain deity among the Greeks is represented; not horizontal, as the same emblem was represented by the ancient Egyptians, and originally

by the Greeks also, until they copied the more erect form from the Pelasgi *, according to Herodotus. The circumstance of a new horn of this description being presented by the husband on the day of marriage, and worn by the female ever afterwards, of this shape and in this position, seems certainly very like a relic of the ancient adoration of the deity whose emblem is here alluded to; nor can it be much wondered at, when it is known, that in the north of Syria, in the road from Scanderoon to Aleppo, there is a village of Nessāree, where the wives and daughters are prostituted to strangers, probably also a relic of the ancient devotion to Venus.

In about an hour and a half we passed a small inlet called Minat-el-Berja, where several fishing boats were assembled for shelter, and observed that the fishermen all used long rods of reed with a line, as we angle from the banks of rivers in Europe. We noticed too that the Arabic spoken along this portion of the coast was the most barbarous that we had yet heard in Syria. The state of agriculture seemed on the other hand better; most of the corn was nearly at its full height, some barley was quite ripe, and the peasants were all employed weeding by hand in the fields, which were as clean as could be desired.

In an hour we reached the Nahr-el-Ibrahim of the Arabs, the ancient river of Adonis, so celebrated in classic story for the annual rites performed on its banks in memory of that favourite of Venus, who was fabled to have been killed by the boar he hunted in the mountains above. We observed here that the earth upon its shores was of a deep red colour, though the water was but now slightly tinged with it; yet after sudden floods the waters overflowing these banks might well become sufficiently red to induce the ancient worshippers of Venus to believe that the river became stained with the blood of her favourite, in sympathy for

* If the classical reader should feel curious to understand this allusion, which, for obvious reasons, cannot be here more plainly expressed, he will find, on turning to Herodotus, in section 51 of his Euterpe, a more detailed explanation of this.

his death, more particularly as this is said by Lucian to have generally happened near the feast of Adonis, and naturally in the rainy season.*

We crossed this river by a large and lofty bridge of a single

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* M. Bailly, in his ancient History of Asia, and dissertation on the Atlantides of Plato, has some extremely curious and interesting speculations on this subject.

In Phœnicia, Adonis was an object of adoration, born of an incestuous commerce between Myrrah and her father Cinyras. Venus saw him and became passionately in love with him; she quitted the bowers of Amathon for the forests of Lebanon, and followed her young lover to the chase. Diana, at the request of Mars, stung with jealousy, had the young prince attacked and slain by a wild boar. All that remained to Venus was a flower that grew from the blood of Adonis. It was anemone, or the wind flower. Adonis descended to the shades; and, destined to captivate the hearts of goddesses, inspired Proserpine with the same tender passion; and when Venus petitioned her father Jupiter for the recal of her lover, the master of the gods found himself not a little embarrassed between these matrons, one of whom wished to have back what the other was no less desirous to retain. Their claims were the same: they were those of love, and the case admitted of an equitable division. Adonis revisited the light for six months annually, to enjoy the embraces of Venus, and was during the other six months in the arms of his nocturnal mistress. They instituted a festival in his honour, mourned for him once a year, and wept over his memory; while joy and festivity revived with the moment of his return to life. The same festivals were celebrated in Egypt during forty days, in honour of Osiris, who had been lost and found again. It is impossible to deny the conformity of those usages of the two nations. The sun and moon were worshipped in Phœnicia under the names of Adonis and Astarte, and in Egypt under those of Isis and Osiris.

M. Bailly conceives this worship to have been brought by the Atlantides from their island of Atlantis, in the north beyond Scythia, and to have been established on their passage through Phœnicia, and it must be admitted that his arguments have great weight. That the Atlantides travelled into this country, that they communicated to it some of their institutions, is a fact, says this author, which it is impossible to call into question. Strabo tells us, that the Scythians having become too numerous for their own country by a superabundant population, descended from their mountains, and fell upon the kingdom of Pontus and Cappadocia; and Acmon, one of their chiefs, built upon the river Thermodon a city named from himself, Acmonia.† He afterwards entered Phrygia, and there built a second Acmonia.‡ This Acmon was the father of Uranus, who married Titea his sister, as we learn from the text of Diodorus. He was, therefore, one of the chiefs who conducted the Atlantides from Scythia into Phrygia, and the building of those cities was in the number of his achievements. (Bailly, Ant. Hist. Asia, vol. ii. p. 83.)

As the Atlantides were not natives of Egypt, and as they travelled not by the way of Africa, they must necessarily have passed through Phœnicia, and there planted

† Strabo, Geog. lib. 2.

‡ Stephanus upon the word Acmonian, Mythology of Bannier, tom. ii. p. 21.

arch, and observed that the stream which flowed beneath was broader and more deep and rapid than any other river we had yet

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the worship of the sun, previously to their communicating it to Egypt. This is neither a new supposition, nor a philosophical hypothesis, but a matter of fact, attested by Lucian. According to that philosopher, the worship of Adonis was introduced into Phœnicia by Deucalion. Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, a designation which, strictly speaking, might signify nothing more than a descendant of that prince who inhabited Caucasus, where the fable makes an eagle prey upon his liver. Whatever be the real meaning of this fable, Prometheus was born in Asia, his mother was called by the name of Asia, he is related to the Atlantides by his brother Atlas*, and to Caucasus by the rock on which the fable has fixed him. Thus it is to the Atlantides, a people constantly referred back to Caucasus from which they descended, that properly belongs the institution of the worship of Adonis and Osiris.

We have no reason to doubt that this worship had the sun for its object; this was the opinion of Plutarch and Macrobius, more learned on this subject than we moderns, because they were much nearer the sources of antiquity. They have been followed by the bulk of writers in late times. Mons. L'Abbé Bannier, however, is by no means of the same opinion; he cannot admit that the mourning for Adonis, and the joy at his restoration to life, could be emblematical of the absence of the sun, and of his return. " Does the sun (says he,) when he withdraws from us in the winter, go down into the shades? Does he abandon the human race, particularly in Syria and Phœnicia, where winter is so short, and often more agreeable than summer? Had they been Laplanders, or Siberians, who instituted this festival, one might have thought that the total absence of the sun had suggested the idea; but it is impossible to conceive this of the inhabitants of Syria, who enjoy a uniformly serene sky, and where the inequality in the length of the day is so inconsiderable. Besides, were this system founded in truth, they ought to have celebrated the festival of Adonis at different times of the year, and at the distance of six months the one from the other; instead of this its celebration happens only once a year, and in a month remote from both equinoxes, which would have better marked the moment when the sun begins to withdraw from or approach the poles."†

The learned mythologist cannot believe the ingenious explanation of Macrobius, when he supposes it to be an invention of the Phœnicians, but he would have given it full credit if it had taken its rise in Siberia. The difficulties that he sees and complains of are natural. The star of day dies as little in Syria as he does in Egypt; there winter is unknown; one scarcely perceives that the sun's elevation is less above the horizon. The individual who suffers no inconvenience from these changes will neither mourn nor rejoice on their account; if he has any thing to complain of, it is the excessive heat of summer and the return of the sun, which is the cause of it. The physical nature of the climate is then contrary to the spirit of the festival; they ought to have rejoiced at the death of Adonis and lamented at his revival. Yet Syria and Egypt were crowded with temples and cities dedicated to the sun. He was wor-

* Hesiod Theogony, ii, p. 508. Bannier Mythology, tom. ii. p. 117.
† Bannier Mythology, tom. i. p. 559.

seen in Palestine or Syria, not excepting the Jordan itself, which is esteemed the principal. The current ran now at least five miles per hour, and the general breadth of the stream was about 50 yards, the banks being lined with the long rushes used as fishing rods on the coast.

In about an hour from hence we crossed a smaller stream over a stone bridge, called Nahr-el-Fidār; and passing over a fine cultivated plain at the foot of the mountains or hills which border the coast and form the foot of Lebanon, we came in another hour, or near sunset, to the town of Jebāl, where we lodged in a small convent of Maronite Friars, who were so poor as to be unable to furnish us with any thing but bread and salad.

Monday, April 22.—While our horses were preparing, I had an opportunity of making a little tour round the town. It is seated on a rising ground near the sea, at the foot of Lebanon, which here approaches close to the coast. It is walled on three sides towards the land, and open on the west towards the sea, being perhaps in the whole about half a mile in circuit. Without the walls, before the only gate of entrance, are a number of coffee sheds and halting places, with a street bazār for the accommodation of those who may not wish to enter the town, or arrive or depart before and after sunset, when the gate is closed. Within the walls the chief building is an old castle, raised by

shipped under the name of Heliogabalus, in the city of Emessa.* Near Lebanon stood Bālbeck, or Heliopolis, so famous for its ruins to this day. We find another Heliopolis in Egypt, with the great Thebes, more in the vicinity of the tropic; the city where the phœnix returned to life, and where the sun was still an object of adoration.† He was likewise worshipped in the city of Tyre under the name of Hercules, as it has been shown by reasons highly probable that the labours and life of this hero were nothing more than allegories derived from the course of the sun.‡

Nothing can be more conclusive, I think, than all this to prove that the worship of Adonis in Syria and Osiris in Egypt were both foreign to these countries, and that they were brought from the northern regions, which M. Bailly has assigned to them as the cradle of their birth.

* D'Anville, Geog. Anc. tom. ii. p. 134. † Houns. Apollo. lib. 2. c. 57. Bailly, v. i. p. 215.
‡ Mr. Gebelin, Oriental Allegories, p. 246. Bailly, Ant. Hist. of Asia.

modern repairs, and now used as the house of the aga, whose whole force consists of about ten horse soldiers, twenty foot, and three small pieces of cannon. There are, besides, three or four other lofty and open buildings, appertaining to the chief people of the place, a mosque, with a low minăreh, and a Maronite church, apparently of some antiquity, from its exterior form and good masonry. The rest of the houses in the town are but of poor construction, and nearly half the space within the walls is filled up by gardens for the use and pleasure of the inhabitants. The population is not estimated to be above 2,000 Mohammedans and Maronites.

Without the town are seen many large and beautiful columns of red and grey granite, with some sculptured blocks of marble, probably the wreck of the celebrated temple of Adonis, erected to him here on the spot of his nativity, as this Gebaal is held to be the Byblus of the Greeks *, and corresponds in situation from its vicinity to the river of Adonis already mentioned. Maundrell says†, "Gibyle (or Jebaal) is probably the country of the Giblites, mentioned in Joshua, xiii. 5.‡ King Hiram made use of this place in preparing materials for Solomon's temple; as may be collected from the first of Kings, v. 18., where the word, which our translator hath rendered *stone squarers*, in the Hebrew is גבלים *Giblim* or Giblites; and in the LXXII Interpreters Βύβλιοι, that is, the men of Byblus, the former using the Hebrew, the

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* This city was surrendered to Alexander on his march through it, along the coast of Syria towards Phœnicia, after the battle of Issus, and before the siege of Tyre. — *Quint. Curt.* lib. iv. c. 1.

Sanchoniathon, who wrote from Phœnician documents, states, that the Phœnicians had taken care to have every thing transported into their own country. According to them, the first men dwelt in Tyre and *Byblos;* and the scene of all past events was laid in the country of Phœnicia, just as the Egyptians confined it to Egypt, and along the banks of the Nile.— *Bailly*, *Ant. Hist. of Asia*, tom. ii. p. 5.

† Travels, p. 45. 8vo. edit. 1810.

‡ Its mention by Joshua as a limit, may be used as an additional proof of Gebel-el-Sheikh, or Gebel-el-Telj, being the principal Hermon of the Scriptures — from Hermon to Hamath, &c. The town of Jebaal preserves its ancient name. It furnished caulkers for the ships of Tyre, according to Ezekiel.

latter the Greek name of this place. The same difference may be observed likewise in Ezek. xxvii. 9. where this place is again mentioned. *The ancients of Gebāl,* says our translation, following the Hebrew, instead of which you read in the LXXII, again, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Βυβλίων, the elders of Bybli or Byblus." *

The port is formed by a ledge of rocks running out straight westward from the town, but is frequented only by a few small

* From Benjamin of Tudela the following particulars are collected respecting the state and condition of Gebal in his day. It touched on the limits of the Hhæsissin, or Assassins, who did not follow the doctrines of the Israelites, or Arabs, but of the "Old Man of the Mountain," as he was called, to whom they were extraordinarily devoted. They made war against the Christians or Franks, and against the King of Tripoli, then also called Tarabolous. Their country was then eight days' journey in length, but whether this included the range of Lebanon or the hills of Cyrea, does not appear. These were either the Druses, or the Nesseary or Ansarie; most probably the latter.†

There was another Gebal, however, which is called by the same traveller the second or southern one, going down the coast of Syria, and forming the limits of the Children of Ammon. In his time, there was discovered the place of an ancient temple of the Ammonites, with an idol on a throne; the figure was of stone covered with gold, and accompanied by two other statues of females sitting one on each side of him, while before him was an altar in which the Ammonites offered sacrifices and perfumes.‡ From hence to Bairoot was one day's journey; and from thence to Saida one day more. Ten miles from Saida were a people at war with the Sidonians, calling themselves *Dozzim*, and by others called Pagans. They were of no religion, and obeyed no prince, but inhabited deep caverns in the mountains there, living like savages among the rocks. Their district extended three days from near Saida to Mount Hermon, which Benjamin of Tudela fixed at the great Jebel-el-Sheikh, as well as Dr. Pococke and Dr. Seetzen. These pagans committed incest by fathers marrying their own daughters, and they had a yearly feast, in which there was a community of women. Their belief was, that the soul of a good man being separated from his body by death entered into that of some infant just created; but that the soul of a bad man entered into the body of a dog or some other beast. No Jews lived among them; but such as went there to exercise their arts or trade were treated with humanity, and unmolested. They were a people so fitted for a mountainous life, and traversed the hills with such facility, that there was no subduing them.§

† In Richardson's Arabic Grammar, an astonishing instance of the self-devotion of these subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain to his wishes, is mentioned.

‡ This description would seem to apply to a figure of Osiris, Isis, and some other female divinity, with sculptures of Egyptian sacrifices on the altar. There are also a great number of such combinations seen among the ruins of Egypt.

§ This description would still suit very accurately either the Druses or the Ansarie, according to the popular traditions of their faith and practice, current among their neighbours.

fishing boats, as it is a place of no commerce, and its inhabitants live chiefly by the labours of agriculture.

We left Jebāl at sunrise, and observed, on passing to the eastward of the gate, that the town had been once surrounded by a ditch, which is now used chiefly as garden land, and in which we saw men ploughing in a plot of ground appropriated to mulberries. The walls have square towers in them at the distance of about 100 feet from each other, in the construction of which are used a number of granite pillars broken into convenient blocks, and pointing their circular ends outwards. These are portions of the wreck of the former magnificence of Byblus.

In about three-quarters of an hour from Jebāl we passed over a point of land, with a small ruined village on its extremity, called Amsheer. The ground is planted with mulberries for the silk-worm ; the trees being here, as elsewhere, laid out in regular rows and at equal distances from each other. We observed in our way a spring of fresh water issuing from the sand close to the edge of the sea, as well as many cisterns along the coast upon the beach, which were frequented by the females of the few Arabs who feed their flocks upon the rocky brows of the adjacent hills.

In half an hour from Amsheer we passed under a high point of land, on the top of which stood a large ruin, called by the natives, Boorje Rowahān, with some rude fragments of pillars below it near the road, apparently portions of mill-stones and not the remains of any building.

In an hour from hence we crossed the dry bed of a torrent over a small bridge of one high arch, which bridge, from being altogether below the level of the soil on the banks which it unites, and crossed by a straight path over it without the slightest rise, is called Jisser-el-Medfoun, or the buried bridge.

In half an hour more, passing over a slip of well cultivated corn land between the foot of the hills and the sea, with a portion of rocky road in the way, we came to the town of Batrone. This is a small place without walls, containing about 100 small

dwellings, the ruins of a large Christian church, and two smaller ones, now perfect and in use. The population does not exceed 1000, and these are chiefly Arabs of the Greek communion. There is a small port to the north of the town, with some few boats riding securely at anchor, and an excellent coffee-house on the beach; there are a great number of these places of refreshment indeed all along the road from Bairoot.

This place is thought to be the ancient Botrus; though, as far as our hasty passage through it would admit of examination, we saw no vestiges of antiquity or of former grandeur there.

We did not depart from Batrone until past noon, being detained there full three hours by the exchange of one of my mares which was too weak for the journey, for a strong ghadeesh or gelding, and the payment of 200 piastres in money.

In an hour from Batrone, receding gradually from the sea shore, we turned up to the eastward and entered a narrow valley. This was once a military post, as may be seen from an old Mohammedan castle still remaining there. It is singularly situated on the top of a rock which stands isolated in the middle of the pass, and is nearly perpendicular on all sides round. The form of the building is adapted to the shape of the rock itself, and is extremely irregular; the rock being naturally steep and isolated, and not hewn down for the castle. The building is small, and in some parts extremely narrow. Loop-holes are seen in the walls; and the ascent is by a steep flight of steps on the northern side. The castle is called Khallet-el-Musélleh, and a stream that flows down through the valley near it is called Nahr-el-Musélleh.

From hence we ascended a steep road, in order to cross over the neck of the great promontory called Ras-el-Shakkah, which is so steep as to admit of no passage round its edge by the sea. It was an hour and a half before we gained the foot on the other side, having come over most irregular ground and a rugged road, chiefly of rock and chalky earth.

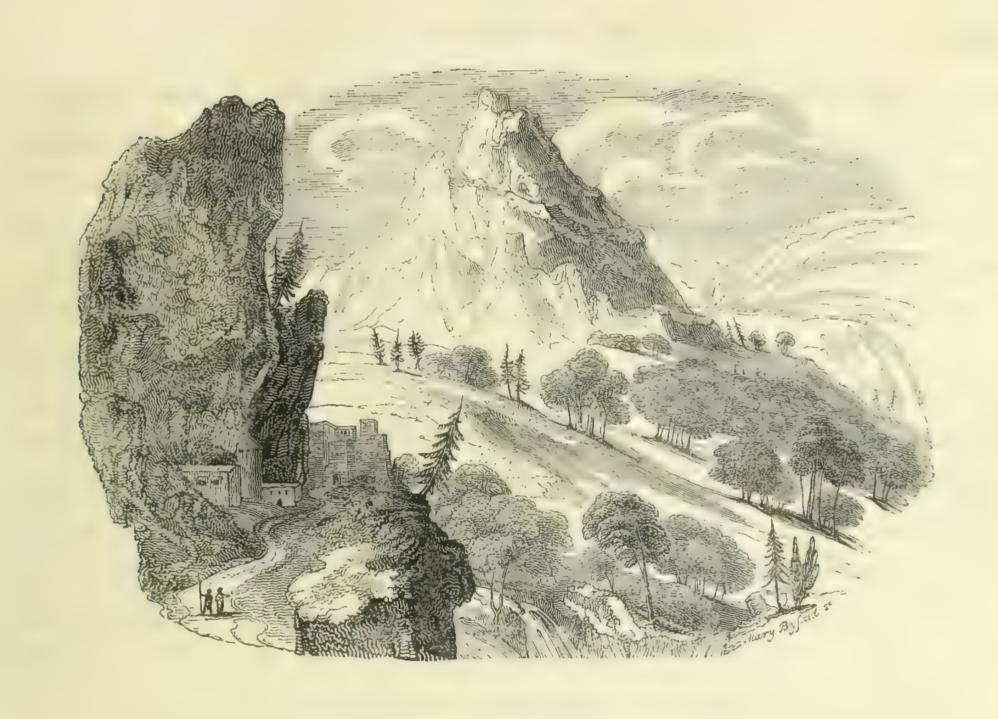
The promontory has a still steeper appearance from the north than from the south, rising almost perpendicular from the sea, and being, I should conceive, little less than 1000 feet in height. Strabo calls it τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, or the Face of God, (Strab. lib. 16. Pomp. Mela. lib. i. cap. 12.) and considers it as the end of Mount Libanus, though it is nearer the centre of its length. It is, however, by far the most prominent point which this range presents towards the sea, and might therefore have been thus considered by the mariners among the ancients, who are the persons that generally bestow the first names on places, and furnish the earliest information to hydrographers, for the construction of their charts.

We continued now along the sea shore at a short distance from its edge, and in two hours passed over a low projecting point, at the extremity of which was a Greek convent, called Deer Natoor. It was here that two English gentlemen, Mr. Davidson and Mr. Colter, were lodged, during the plague at Tripoly, in the year 1813, when both were ill of malignant fevers, and Mr. Colter fell a victim to the disease.

In the road above this we passed by the ruins of a building constructed of very large stones, with the posterns and architrave of a doorway still remaining, each of them of one block of stone. We saw no column here, nor any other remains of more extended buildings; but, it being the only place in which any vestiges are seen by the way, it may probably mark the site of the ancient Trieris, placed by Strabo between the promontory of the Face of God and Tripolis.

Our road now became extremely rugged over beds of rocks, and scarcely passable on horseback; and this continued until we reached Culmone, which occupied about an hour. This is a small village near the sea, with a mosque and minaret, and several gardens around it; being inhabited chiefly by Mohammedans. Above it, on the left, is a Greek convent called Belmont; and about half an hour beyond it another called Deer Yacoube, both seated high on the brow of the hill.

Here we entered on a sandy beach, and quickening our pace, we reached the gate of Tripoly, or Tarabolus, a few minutes after sunset. Directing our course to the house of Mr. Katchefflis, a Greek merchant who performs the duties of British consul there, we met a welcome reception, and were comfortably accommodated.



CHAP. XXII.

STAY AT TRIPOLY, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS OF LEBANON TO BĀLBECK.

Tuesday, April 23.—I had been charged by Lady Hester Stanhope, on my departure from Seyda, with the delivery of a pair of English pistols to Mustapha Baba, the governor here, which I had promised to present with my own hands, and accompany by the necessary explanations. Information was accordingly sent to him of my arrival, and my wish to pay him a visit when it might be convenient; and the answer returned was, that his affairs were to-day so pressing that he could wish my visit to be postponed until to-morrow. The day was therefore devoted to an examination of the town and its environs. The town of Tarabolus is situated at the foot of Lebanon, and from it extends out a flat triangular piece of land to the N.W. for the distance of nearly two miles; but on each side of this triangle, in the north-eastern and south-western bay, the sea reaches to within the distance of

less than a mile from the houses. The town is not regularly walled, though it has several gates of entrance; but on a hill which overlooks it on the S.E. is a large castle, of Saracen construction, which serves for the residence of the military. The whole of the buildings occupy a space of about two miles in circuit; and as the houses are generally crowded together, Tarabolus may be esteemed as inferior in size and population only to Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem. The houses and magazines are inferior to those of Bairoot, and the bazārs to those of Accha, or Acre, though the streets are generally paved, and the markets and shops well furnished. There are in the town eleven mosques, chiefly having domes and minarets, and the largest of these is a very fine old building of the Saracenic order, with a court and fountain, and a number of old Arabic inscriptions. There are four Christian churches; two Greek, one Maronite, and one Latin in the convent of the Capuchins. The proportion of the population may be therefore judged from this; the Mohammedans being the most numerous, the Greek Christians next, and lastly the Catholics.

We noted only a few Osmanlies; but we saw here more persons wearing green turbans, as descendants of Mohammed, than even in Damascus itself, where they are particularly numerous.

The environs of Tarabolus are chiefly laid out in gardens, in which the orange and lemon trees abound. A fine stream, called Nahr-el-Meloueea, comes from the S.E., and flowing at the foot of the hill behind the castle, passes by the dwellings on the north-eastern edge of the town, and discharges itself into the sea. Behind the castle in the valley is a coffee-house, visited as a place of recreation, to enjoy the sound of the water, the verdure, and the shade, and several other smaller ones are seated on its banks nearer the town.

There is a place called Bedoowé, also about two miles to the N.E. of the town, where is the tomb of a saint of that name, with a mosque raised thereon. Attached to this mosque is a circular basin o f beautifully clear water, in which are kept a number of

fishes that are not suffered to be caught or eaten, out of respect to the memory of him who is buried near. We saw, I should conceive, not less than 2000 fishes within the circumference of less than 100 paces ; some of them large enough to weigh five or six pounds, flat-headed, covered with fine scales, of a silver grey colour, and in excellent condition. There is a coffee-shed near this, at which we halted to refresh.

The cemeteries of Tarabolus are the most extensive I had ever seen for a town of its size, the population not exceeding 10,000, and the graves being, I should think, almost as numerous as in Damascus. This seems to confirm all that is said of the insalubrity of its air in summer; though the inhabitants happily believe that no place in Syria is more beautiful, or more healthy, than theirs, which they call Sham-el-Sogheere, Damascus the Little, or, as we should say, a miniature of the capital. The tombs are much more handsome than at Damascus, and more in the true Turkish style of Constantinople and Smyrna, all daily furnished with myrtle, freshly watered, and visited and strewed with flowers by surviving female relatives and friends.

After a busy day, we passed the evening with the family of Mr. Katchefflis, who had a young wife and four beautiful children; heard all his own history, and a hundred interesting anecdotes of celebrated travellers whom he had known, from Wortley Montagu onwards to later individuals journeying this way, as well as of affairs in the country, he having been thirty-five years consul here.

Wednesday, April 24.—We received word this morning, that the Aga would be prepared for our visit about three o'clock, or el-Assr, so that, having the forenoon at leisure, we set out after breakfast to go down to the Meena, or port, taking the following bearings of objects from our terrace before we left the house :—

Village of Culmone	. . . .	S. W. ¾ W. .	4 miles.
Ras-el-Shukkah	high . . .	S. W. by W. .	15 ditto.
Deer Natoor	low . . .	W. S. W. . .	7 ditto.

Town of the Port	N. W. . . .	2 miles.
Islands of ditto	N. W. by N. .	6 to 8 ditto.
Extreme north point	N. N. E. ¼ N. .	40 ditto.
Derrȳah, a small village on the edge of the coast	N. E. by E.	15 ditto.
Castle of Tarabolus . . .	S. S. E. . . .	½ ditto.

The road to the Meena led us first over a small sandy hill, on which are sheds and booths of entertainment; and afterwards on a grassy plain all the rest of the way. The port itself being on the N. E. of the point of land, is well sheltered from the prevailing winds of the coast, which are from S. to W., and is sufficiently capacious to contain a great number of vessels. There were about 15 sail, large and small, now lying there. The water is said to be of convenient depth, and the anchoring ground clear and good. The port is altogether formed by the extremity of the point itself, and a few small rocks scattered near it, and not by the two islands off it, which are much too distant to afford any shelter to vessels riding near the shore of the continent.

There is a little town at the port, containing from 2 to 3,000 inhabitants, an excellent khan, several large magazines, a boat-yard, and shops of all kinds, chiefly kept by Syrian Greeks.

To the S. and S. E. are many vestiges of the former settlements here, in destroyed buildings, granite columns, &c. scattered on the beach of the sea. From a point on which were many of these, and which formed the outermost extremity of the tongue of land, I noted the following bearings:—

Culmone	S. S. W.	4 miles.
Belmont	S. S. W. ¼ W. . .	5 ditto.
Ras-el-Shakkah	S. W. ½ W. . .	16 ditto.
Deer Natoor	S. W. ¾ W. . . .	8 ditto.
Geziret-Erwede, steep southern bluff	N. W. by N. ½ N. .	6 ditto.
Geziret-el-Nagel, with a few date trees . . .	N. N. W.	5 ditto.
Town of the Port	East	¼ ditto.
Deepest part of the northern bay within the port . .	E. S. E. . . .	3 ditto.

Castle of Tarabolus	S. E.	2 miles.
Deepest part of the southern bay near the town . . .	S. by E.	3 ditto.

We saw in the course of our way several remains of ancient buildings, from which we inferred that the colonies founded by Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus, which gave the name of Tripolis to the large city they at length jointly formed, must have extended close down to the sea at the very end of this point. *

Along the beach of the north-eastern shore, from the town of the harbour to the outlet of the Nahr-el-Meloueeah into the sea, are several square towers ; one of them, called Boorje-el-Beagh, or the tower of the lion, being very large. They are all, apparently, of Mohammedan construction. Fragments of the shafts of broken pillars have been regularly worked into the masonry endwise ; and by the dark colour of their granite being opposed to the yellow hue of the other stones, they look from a distance like round windows. These towers are now, however, mostly in ruins.

On our return to the town we visited some excellent baths, and a large soap manufactory ; and saw, in our way, a noble sarcophagus at one of the towers. We also paid a visit to Mustapha Baba, whose character and appearance, as well as history, were interesting. On my presenting him the pistols from Lady Hester Stanhope, he expressed his profound respect for her name, in which every one present seemed to join.

The evening was passed with the family of the Consul, whose conversation was full of curious matter ; but I had neither time nor inclination to record any of the many anecdotes which I heard from him, connected with this place. After the family had retired, I continued up until past midnight, writing to Lady Hester Stanhope,

* In Phœnicia there is a famous city called Tripolis, its name agreeing with the nature of the place ; for three cities are contained within its bounds, a furlong distant one from each other, one called the city of the Aradians, the other of the Sidonians, and the other of the Tyrians. It is the most eminent of all the cities of Phœnicia, being that where the general senate of all the Phœnicians do usually meet, and consult about all the weighty affairs of the nation. —*Diodorus Siculus,* book xvi. c. 8.

Mr. Barker, and Dr. Meryon; and in putting into some order the few notes that I had been able to make, in writing, on the road from Batrone to this place.

Thursday, April 25.—During our short stay at Tripolis, I had been assured that we should find the route from hence across the mountains to Aleppo more safe, as well as more agreeable, than that by the way of the coast; and as there was now no longer a hope of my being able to reach India in time for the monsoon, and consequently a less urgent necessity for the risk or speed which, under other circumstances, might have been undertaken, I readily yielded to the change; more particularly as I had reason to expect that Mr. Bankes might join me at Bālbeck, and that we might then perform our journey from thence to Aleppo together, to our mutual advantage in all respects; and particularly as it regarded mutual protection in the latter and most dangerous part of the way.

My servant, Hadjee Ahmed, furnished me by Lady Hester Stanhope, professing to know every part of the roads in this direction, no other companion or guide was necessary; and accordingly we quitted Tarabolus about eight o'clock in the morning, to go across the mountains as proposed. Proceeding on our way in a direction a little to the southward of east, we crossed the river called Nahr-el-Meloweeah over a stone bridge within the town, the stream appearing to wind through the greater part of it. Following this stream we entered the valley behind the castle on the S. E. of the town, and, ascending its steep bank, came on an elevated plain, finely cultivated with corn and olives. In less than an hour we reached its extremity, near which was a small village called Ardeat, with a number of others in sight around us on the hills. From hence we descended into a beautiful valley, through which ran a winding stream called Nahr-el-Zegherta, being a branch of the Nahr-el-Meloweeah, which discharges itself into the sea to the southward of Tarabolus. We saw here the fragments of an old Roman bridge, lying in detached masses of masonry, held firmly

together by the strength of the cement, and one of the arches still perfect. After ascending its southern bank we came upon a second cultivated plain of less extent, which was followed by a small valley, having also villages, olive grounds, and corn fields.

After passing this, our ascent became more regular and continued, and our course generally directed to the S. S. E. Our way up the side of Lebanon was steep, and in many parts difficult; but we were repaid by the delightful freshness of the air as we mounted, and the grandeur of the views on every side.

It was about noon when we reached a small stream flowing down from the mountain, on the banks of which we halted to refresh, and soon after reached the village of Sibbeehel above it. We saw here some ancient sepulchres in the rocks, and a new church just finished, the inhabitants being all Christians of the Greek communion. There was an appearance of fresher health and vigour in the men than is seen in the plains, and the women were fairer than their lowland neighbours. The former were dressed in the usual costume of the peasantry of the country; but the latter wore a horn of metal, differing in shape and position from any that I had yet seen. It was placed on the crown of the head, pointing rather backward, like a small diadem; and being flat at the top, and larger there than at the bottom, it looked exactly like one of the small boiling kettles of the country reversed. There is a fine spring, in an arched well, just above Sibbeehel, over which is a cross, and at which we drank. The population of the place might amount to 200 persons; and the state of their grounds spoke favourably of their industry.

In about an hour from hence we passed under another Christian village on the summit of a high hill on our left. This was called Aytou, and, though small, had several large and well built dwellings in it. The road became here so fatiguing to our horses, as to require occasional halts. It was in many places dangerous too, as it presented only a bed of smooth stones, on which the foot could take no hold. The layers of rock having exactly the same form as the surface of the soil and shape of the mountain, presented, in

masses, a steep smooth side, over which it was necessary to lead our animals, and use great caution ourselves. This same cause renders many parts of the road along the coast disagreeable.

It was fully another hour before we reached the summit of the mountain, this part of which is called Jebel Arrneto. The whole body of this is white lime-stone rock of different qualities, and here the stone has streaks, or layers of red, as if coloured by the oxide of iron, or some other metal. There was, at this moment, snow still remaining here, though the heat of the sun was nearly equal to that of an English summer. Flocks of large white long-haired goats were browsing on the rocks under the care of boys and their faithful dogs; and pines and young cedars of a smaller size were abundant. The view from hence, on looking westward, commanded an unbounded horizon at sea, with the whole of the coast from Ras-el-Shukkah to the extreme northern point of land seen from Tarabolus. The port and islands of that town bore from us about N. by W. ½ W., perhaps fifteen miles; but the town itself was not visible, from the intervention of the hill which overhangs it. The whole of the plain below, with the deep valleys which intersect it, looked beautiful from hence, presenting corn lands of the freshest green, bare patches of ploughed land, showing a deep red soil, and olive trees, and streams of water in abundance. The bluff point of Ras-el-Shukkah, which had been called, according to Strabo, the Face of God, from an idea of its being the end of Lebanon, looked from hence quite insignificant, from being so much lower than our own level; and the white hills and valleys, over which we had crossed with much fatigue, now looked like the little eminences raised by ants, and resembled very much the white hills on the banks of the Jordan, as seen in that valley from the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem.

We descended over the eastern side of this Jebel Arrneto, and opened a narrow but exceedingly deep valley, called Wādi Khezheyah. The descent down the perpendicular cliffs of the eastern part of this hill was by winding steps, cut originally in the

rock in some places, and formed by stones and earth in others, over which it was necessary to lead our horses down with great caution. The valley was watered by a fine stream running through it, and presented on all sides marks of the most active industry. I noticed here, as in several other parts of Syria, where the sides of the mountains are steep, that the trees did not shoot up perpendicularly, but followed the inclined slope of the surface; so that Sir Humphrey Davy's opinion, that, from the power of gravitation on roots, no more could grow on a hilly ground than on a level, however much more extended the surface of the former, seems liable to some exceptions.

Nearly in the bottom of this valley we saw several masses of rock, of a deep brownish purple colour, of which I took some fresh fractured specimens. * One of the villagers whom we had taken from Sibbeehel to show us the road told us that this was the stone from which iron was procured; and spoke of a mine now still worked, a few hours' journey to the southward of this.

In the valley were two or three small villages, called only by the name of the Wādi itself; the ground about these was laid out in narrow slips, or terraces, raised one above another, in which were planted corn, vines, olives, and mulberries, and the inaccessible parts were covered with pines and wild shrubs, among which were some fine springs of excellent water.

On the eastern side of this valley we passed under a modern arch, which has been made to connect two natural masses of rock, standing erect like the posterns of a door. Over it is a crucifix; and the place is reverenced and kissed by all the Christians who pass under it. From this we went down into a second valley, which was of the most romantic kind, being hemmed in on all sides by lofty cliffs of overhanging rocks, so as to remind one of the

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* The mineralogical specimens collected in the course of this journey were preserved, and sent from Aleppo to my friend, Mr. Babington, in England, by whom they were presented to the Geological Society of London, in the cabinets of which they now remain.

happy valley of Rasselas, from which there was no outlet. Grottoes were seen in these cliffs; formerly, perhaps, the residence of hermits; and no solitude could be more complete, or at the same time more delightful, than this. Through the bottom of this valley ran the same stream which watered the preceding one, and which we learnt was the head of the Nahr-el-Meloueeah and Nahr-el-Zegherta, before the division of the stream into these two branches. The steep sides of the valley were laid out in cultivated terraces as before, and the whole presented a most interesting picture.

It was past El-Assr when we reached the convent, which is situated at its eastern extreme; and as the station of Eden, or Busherrah, could not be reached before sunset, we halted here for the night. Our reception was the kindest and warmest that could be desired, and that too before it was at all known from whence we came. Our horses were taken from us and placed at grass; and we ourselves were shewn into a comfortable room, with a carpet, mats, and two clean beds on the floor. After a repast of eggs and milk had been set before us, it was then first asked who we were; and when it was answered that I was an Englishman, and my servant a Moslem, a hope was expressed that I was a Christian, as if the mere circumstance of being an Englishman rendered that doubtful. By one of the young men, whose office it appeared to be to take care of strangers, I was shown over the whole of the establishment, and was much gratified with what I saw, as well as with the kind manner in which it was done. It would seem, indeed, that in proportion as people live aloof from the great and busy world, they become more hospitable rather than more misanthropic: as the Bedouins, Highlanders, and others.

This convent, which is called Deer-el-Mar-Antonios-el-Khezheyeah, is founded on a spot said to have been frequented by a saint of that name, about a century and half ago. It is built on the side of a steep cliff, about half way up its height, from the bottom of the valley to the summit; and some part of it is indeed excavated from the cliff itself. In contains a small caverned church, and a long suite

of small but comfortable rooms in two stories, for the accommodation of its inhabitants. There are at present ninety-two Maronite monks here, every one of whom, except the Reis, or chief, is employed in some mechanical labour, since every article they require or use is manufactured by themselves. We saw their weavers at the loom, masons and carpenters at work, shoe-makers and taylors employed, besides all the household occupations of cooking, washing, &c. carried on by members of the body, who seemed fully to understand the advantages of the division of labour. What gratified me most, however, was the sight of a printing-press and Syriac types here, from which they produce their church books, quite equal to those of Rome. The types are all Syriac, though the language they represent is Arabic; and there are four founts of these, about the sizes of Long Primer, Pica, English, and Canon. From the multiplicity of single and combined forms which the letters take, their cases are numerous, and occasioned composition to be slow, though every cell or box is marked with the character it contains. I could not see the type foundery, from the absence of the Reis, which I regretted, as the founts were, I think, quite equal to the ordinary types of Europe.

The composing-sticks were of hard wood, and their gallies very rude; the iron chases, however, were excellent; and instead of side-sticks and quoins, gutter-sticks were used throughout, and the form locked up by screws going through the sides of the chase, and pressing their points equally against the gutter-sticks at the distance of about two inches from each other.

The press and its furniture nearly resembled in shape the common printing press used in England, but was much inferior to it in workmanship. As great pains were taken, however, with the plattin and tympan, the stone well bedded, and the forms locked thereon by iron screws similar to those in the chase, passing through the raised corners of the coffin against the chase itself, the work produced was good, more particularly as the workmen were never hurried in their labours.

The inking balls were made of red sheepskin leather, and answered very well; the ink was of the same composition as that used in England, though not so good; and the paper was wetted by a large sponge drawn over every fourth or fifth sheet.

I went also to see the book-binding room, where four or five persons were now at work. The process observed was exactly like that used in England, but much slower; and their ploughs, cutting presses, standing press, &c. were all very small. There was no beating stone, or colouring used for the leather, and only two or three gilding tools, as they chiefly bound in red or black leather, and finished the backs and sides without gold. Every body worked sitting, and the process was tardy throughout. Great surprise was expressed at my knowledge of these two "mysteries," as they were here considered, which I did not wonder at, as they had never yet had an European here who had ever seen the mechanical operation of printing in Europe; and, as a reward for my being in some degree better informed than other strangers on this subject, I was allowed to take with me three sheets of three different books, printed in Syriac and Arabic, in folio, in octavo, and duodecimo sizes, which I had been allowed to take the impressions of myself at the press, and preserve as memorials of my visit.

This convent has been founded about 120 years, but the printing press has not been erected more than ten years. The convent of Mar Hanna established the first press in Syria, of which Volney has given the history.* There they still print Arabic books

* The more closely M. Volney's work on Syria and Egypt is analyzed, the more it is found to be exceedingly inaccurate in its topographical notices, and particularly of places in Syria: many proofs might be produced in confirmation of the opinion which is generally entertained here, that he had seen but a very small part of it, and that he wrote his book chiefly in the convent of Mar Hanna, in Lebanon. Among some remarkable instances of inaccuracy, omitting his description of the cedars, the valley of Hama, and the course of the Orontes, with the port of Seleucia at its mouth, which are all faulty, he places the town of Tiberias on the east side of the lake of that name, and Safad seven leagues to the north of it. He states the sources of the Jordan to arise in the chain of lofty mountains called Jebel-el-Shaik, which sends

in Arabic characters, and here Arabic books in Syriac characters, with some few in Syriac itself, which none of them understand. The paper is all made in Europe. This place is also called sometimes Bish-el-Mejeneen from a large natural cavern near it, which has the reputation of restoring mad people and fools to their senses. A hundred stories were told me of people who had been brought here, and after a few days recovered : and more particularly of a Turk from Constantinople, who was a Moslem, and did not understand a word of Arabic, but who being sent to this place by his friends, remained ten days, and went away sane, though unconverted. In this cave they say St. Antonius studied and performed his penances and devotions. The madmen and fools are therefore placed here, chained to the rock in the dark, and kept upon bread and water, until it pleases the spirit of the patron saint to come and release him by restoring him to his senses. Some are sent here by the governors, particularly the Emir Bushea, who is very liberal in his donations ; others are sent by their friends, and some are sent by the priests. We were shown, at this moment, a maniac there, who wore a large iron collar, and was fastened to the rock by a chain of 30lbs. weight. He was nearly naked, slept on the ground, and ate only bread and water ; a discipline which, repeated for any length of time in a dark cave like this, would either

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forth several rivulets to water the plain of Damascus, all of which is exceedingly erroneous, and could not have been stated if he had ever visited these parts; while the objects enumerated in the view from mount Tabor proves beyond doubt that he never ascended it himself, but that he gave his accounts from the information of others. See pages 229 to 231. vol. ii. 8vo. edit. English translation.

In speaking of the Haurān, M. Volney supposes whatever ruins were there to have been of earth, as there was no stone, he thought, throughout these plains. No part of the world, however, presents so many ruins in the same given space, all of stone, even to the beams, ceilings, doors, &c. usually constructed of wood.—See page 99. vol. ii. 8vo. edit.

Notwithstanding these defects of local and topographical information, however, there is no book that has ever been written on these countries that contains more accurate or philosophical views of the general aspect and condition of the countries themselves, and particularly of the character of their governments and people.

drive the man, who really possessed his faculties, effectually mad, or restore them to those who had not irrecoverably lost them.

We were treated with an excellent supper of stewed fowls, a pilau, and good wine, made here. By an old regulation no woman is permitted to enter this convent. Lady Hester Stanhope, coming here with her suite, was at first refused admittance; but having with her some soldiers of the government, she was at length admitted. The whole of this story was told to us at supper. After the evening bell had collected all the religious to prayers, I went into the church, where the service was nearly as in the Latin one. My evening was passed on the terrace, admiring the romantic scenery of the valley by the light of the stars. A bit of blue sea was seen between the opening of the hills, beneath a rich sky, still warm with the glow of sunset: — the whole was one of the finest pictures of nature in her mildest form.

Friday, April 26.—Having now to ascend to the highest summit of Lebanon, which was covered with deep snow, it was necessary to take from hence a guide well acquainted with the tracks over the mountain, as well as to depart early, as it was a matter of great uncertainty whether we should be able to traverse the snows or not.

We accordingly quitted the convent of Mar-Antonius-el-Kezhyeh at sunrise, and going down into the deep valley beneath us, crossed the stream there, and ascended on the other side by a a road of winding steps, so steep as to oblige us to go up all the way on foot. We saw at setting out the greater part of the monks going out to their labours, among which were a small party to the corn-mill turned by the stream in the valley, and others apparently gardeners and husbandmen, with their implements of labour on their shoulders.

In half an hour we came on an elevated plain well cultivated with grain, and soon afterwards to a small Christian village called Bein, containing a Maronite chapel, and about 200 inhabitants.

The women here wore no horns, and their veils were of white cloth, one part covering the forehead to the eyes, and another wrapped across the mouth, after the Turkish or Constantinople fashion.

From hence we went down into a second valley, and ascending it on the other side came on a larger plain, in which were several marshy pools, filled with frogs. We saw from hence the villages of Ain Towry and Keferrsal, in the valley on our left; and the larger one of Eden on the brow of the hill above these to the north, distant about a mile. The whole of the ground here, both valley, hill, and plain, was cultivated with great industry, and promised a harvest of abundance.

In about an hour we reached the brink of a deep chasm, seemingly the head of that in which the convent of Mar Antonius is situated, as it winds that way. In the very bottom of it stood a large village called Bisherry, and close by it is the source of the Nahr-el-Meloweea, which runs through Tarabolus. The spring is called Nebbeh-Ain-Beit, and its stream is even here considerable, besides which it receives several others in its course.

Leaving Bisherry on our right we ascended for an hour over light snow, until we came to the Arz-el-Libenein, or the cedars of Lebanon.

These trees form a little grove by themselves, as if planted by art, and are seated in a hollow, amid rocky eminences all around them, at the foot of the ridge which forms the highest peak of Lebanon. There are, I should think, at present about 200 in number, all fresh and green.* They look on approaching them like

* It is commonly thought that the box, the ebony, the cypress, and the cedar wood are everlasting, and will never be done. An evident proof thereof, as touching all these sorts of timber, is to be seen in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, for the most skilful architects of all Asia set their helping hand to this temple, and the rafters, beams, and spars, that were used in the construction of the roof, were chosen by all of them to be of cedar, for its great durability. There was also a famous temple of Apollo at Utica, where the beams and main pieces of timber, made of Numidian cedars, remained as whole and entire in the days of Pliny, as when they were first set up, which was when the city was first founded, and that by computation was then

a grove of firs, but on coming nearer are found to be in general much larger, though the foliage still keeps its resemblance. There are about twenty that are very large, and among them several from ten to twelve feet in diameter at the trunk, with branches of a corresponding size, each of them like large trees extending outward from the parent stock, and overshadowing a considerable space of ground.*

From the cedars our ascent became exceedingly steep, so much so that it might be said we were obliged to climb up the brow of the mountain. We met here a party descending, who advised our returning to Bisherry to sleep, and attempting it early in the following morning, that we might have the whole day before us. As we were thus far advanced, however, we determined to proceed, and our perseverance was crowned with success. The snow was of an unknown depth, as, although our horses were always up to the belly, and frequently so buried that it cost us much

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1188 years. The image of Diana at Ephesus was said to be made of the vine wood, by the choice of Carretias, who carved it, and this was never altered or changed through seven successive destructions and rebuildings of that temple; but it was said to owe its preservation to its being embalmed within with spikenard, which was thought to nourish it; and the historian gives it as his opinion, saying, "Howbeit this we may resolve upon, that the more odoriferous any wood is, the more durable also it is and everlasting." *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. xvi. c. 40.

* The greatest tree that had been ever seen at Rome was one brought there for rebuilding the bridge of Naumachiaria. Tiberius Cæsar had it open to public inspection, and intended it to remain as a singular monument, on account of its great size, to all posterity. It remained entire and whole until Nero built his stately amphitheatre. It was the trunk of a larch tree, and was 120 feet in length, and two feet in diameter from one end to the other. There was also a most extraordinary fir-tree, that formed the mast of the vessel which, in the time of the Emperor Caligula, transported out of Egypt into Italy, the obelisk which was set up in the Vatican hill within the circus there, as well as the four large stones used as supporters to it. This mast was of a height above all others; and certain it is, say the ancients, that there never was known a more wonderful ship to float upon the sea than this was. She received 120,000 modii of lentils for the very ballast; she took up in length the greater part of the left side of Hostia harbour, for Claudius the emperor caused it there to be sunk, together with three mighty great piles or dams, founded upon it, and mounted to the height of towers, for which purpose there was brought a huge quantity of earth or sand from Puteoli. The main body of this mast contained in compass four fathoms full. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. xvi. c. 40.

pains to extricate them, yet we never saw the earth at the bottom. This fatiguing exercise frequently repeated, added to that of ascending ourselves the whole of the way on foot, almost exhausted our strength. From the united effects of the constant glare of the snow, the lightness of the air, the height of our point of view, and the fatigue of the ascent, I experienced a giddiness similar to that of a drunken man, and found it difficult to walk in a straight line. It occupied us nearly four hours from the cedars to the summit, where we stretched ourselves out upon the snow, and lay there for nearly an hour, to recover breath and repose.

From hence the view was, as may be easily imagined, grand and magnificent. To the west we had a prospect of all the side of Lebanon down to the plain at its foot, and, beyond, a boundless sea, the horizon of which could not be defined, from its being covered with a thick bed of clouds. The town of Tarabolus could not be distinguished from hence, but the high cape of Ras-el-Shakkah was distinctly seen, looking like a small projecting point.

To the east we had the valley of the Bukhāh, which we could see from hence was on a much higher level than the sea; the descent to it on the east, appearing to be about one-third less in depth than the descent to the plain at the foot of Lebanon on the west, and scarcely more than half of that to the line of the sea. The range of Anti-Libanus, or the Jebel-el-Wast of the Arabs, which forms the eastern boundary of the Bukhāh, was also covered with snow at its summit, but not so thickly as at this part of Libanus where we were, and which seemed to us the highest point of all.*

We could distinguish that from the northward towards Bālbeck, the Jebel-el-Wast was one even range, without pointed summits like this, and that from thence there extended two forks to the southward, the eastern or principal one ending in the Great Jebel-el-Sheick, or Jebel-el-Telj of the Arabs, the Mount Hermon of the Scriptures; and the western or lesser one in the point

* The range of Libanus was generally placed by ancient geographers in the middle of Syria; and the hills are said, in the exaggerated language of the old writers, to reach up to the very clouds. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 28.

which I had passed in going to Banias, the valley between them being called Wādi Ityne, as before remarked. The range of Anti-Libanus, though of less height than this, completely intercepted our view of the country to the eastward of it; although, as before said, we were on the highest point of view which it admits. Mr. Volney, therefore, must have imagined the unlimited view, which, he says, this mountain affords across the eastern desarts to the Euphrates; and, indeed, from his description altogether both of the mountain and the cedars, there is reason to believe that he travelled but little over it.

Before we descended I took from hence the following bearings: —

Ras el Shakkah	N.W. by W. ½ W.	20 miles.
Village of Eden	N.W. by N.	7 miles.
Bisherry	N.W. by N.	3 miles.
Cedars of Lebanon	N.N.W.	1 mile.
Bālbeck, amid trees	S. by E. ½ E.	10 miles.

The distances were estimated by the eye, and in a straight line, without taking into account the windings of the roads.

We now descended on the eastern side of Libanus, having taken a specimen or two of the stone on the summit; and our way was equally as steep as before, though less fatiguing to ourselves. It was near three o'clock when we reached the foot of the steepest part, where we halted at a fine spring, called Nubbeh-Ain-Eaty, and parting with our guide there, we mounted our tired horses and proceeded alone. We had now to cross a lower range of hills covered with trees, and following the road which led through their winding valleys, we came in about three hours to the edge of the plain by a small village, called Deer-el-Akhmar. We noticed here some rude sepulchres in the rock, and some old stone quarries. The village was small and peopled by Christians, and in it was a large building constructed apparently from former ruins, as some of the blocks near the foundation were very large. Its north-western front was also built of large stones of a reddish tinge, which probably gave the name of Deer-el-Akhmar, or the Red Convent, to the village itself.

From hence we went straight across the plain towards Bālbeck, passing a tract of loose red soil mixed with gravel, covered with brush-wood in some parts, and sown with oats in others. In an hour we passed a ruined Roman arch with indefinite remains of some old work there, and continued our way along a marshy ground, near which was a small lake with frogs and a slow and sluggish stream.

In another hour we reached a single column standing isolated in the plain; it was of the Corinthian order, its mutilated capital still remaining, and appeared to be about sixty feet in height and five in diameter. It stood on a high pedestal, formed of four ranges of steps all around it, and its shaft was composed of fifteen blocks. A tablet for an inscription, of a small size and rude form, was still visible on its northern face, but no letters could be traced there.

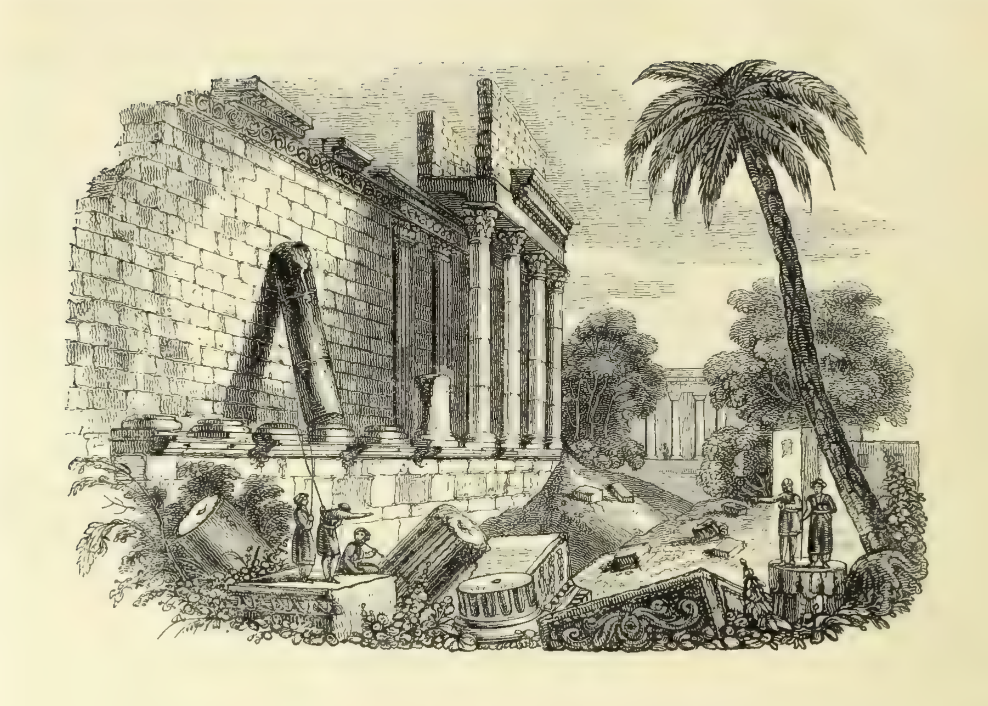
It was now sunset, and we saw large flocks of dusky grey sheep collecting by their herdsmen, who were Koordi, and scarcely understood Arabic. They come from Koordistan, north of Aleppo, in the spring, and live without women or tents, sleeping in the open air, and feeding chiefly on bread bought in the villages, and the milk of their own flocks.

It was quite dark when we passed through a small village called Yeād, where we saw large blocks of stone, as if of older and better works, and a full hour from this before we reached Bālbeck. We entered at a ruined gate through which a stream of water flows, and wandered about for more than half an hour among ruined houses before we could hear a voice or see a light; the barking of dogs at length led us among the living, when we found our way to the Greek church, and were there received.

I found a letter here from Mr. Bankes *, who had halted for a day at Bālbeck, and had since gone into the Haurān; and after a light supper I retired early to a hard bed, which fatigue rendered a welcome one.

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* This letter will be given in the Appendix with other documents.



CHAP. XXIII.

STAY AT BĀLBECK, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO HHOMS.

Saturday, April 27. — Our horses were so completely exhausted by the long and fatiguing journey of yesterday across the mountains, that it was impossible to proceed further, without affording them a day's rest. It was late before we rose, and the assemblage of a large party of enquirers detained us in the priest's room until nearly noon. It was not until then that we went out to see the celebrated Temple of the Sun, whose ruins were within a few paces of our lodging. I wandered over it for nearly four hours in a state of mind not easy to be described, partaking equally of astonishment, of admiration, and regret. As I had with me the octavo edition of Maundrell, 1810, and of Volney, An. vii., I had an opportunity of comparing them on the spot. The plate of the former, which is

called a Prospect of Bālbeck, must have been from a very rude sketch, and filled up afterwards, though its outline is sufficiently accurate to induce a belief of its having been done on the spot. The architectural drawings in Plate IX. and X., which profess to give the perspective of the temple, must have been entirely made up by the artist from what then remained perfect; as at this moment there is scarcely any resemblance to be traced between the drawings and the object itself, and many parts are evidently erroneous. As these are not given as the work of Maundrell himself, they were probably taken from some subsequent work to adorn this new edition. The simple description of this traveller is much more accurate, and depicts faithfully that which he must have seen at the period of his visit. Since that period, however, several important parts are destroyed, and even the place of the temple at the end of the great court, which was probably the principal edifice of the whole, cannot at this day be made out.

The " Vue de la Cour quarrée du Temple du Soleil à Balbek," which accompanies Volney's work, is, with the exception of some very trifling inaccuracies, an admirable representation of these magnificent ruins. The plan which is annexed to it is entitled to a still higher degree of praise, as being much more difficult of execution. These were probably both from Mr. Wood's celebrated work, which, if it be so full and complete as that on Palmyra, must be highly valuable. The description, too, which Volney gives of the whole, whether from his own examination or from that of others, is so complete and perfect, that nothing can be added to or amended in it. This conviction, added to the knowledge of the task having been executed by so able an hand as that which has described Palmyra, made me despair of adding any thing new thereon. It may suffice to say, that the enormity of scale, and the magnificence of design, seen throughout the whole of the architecture, with the boldness of the drawing, and the exquisite finish of the sculpture, impressed me with an idea of a labour more than human. I should conceive, that in no country was to be found so

superb a monument of the inimitable perfection of ancient architecture. The temples and the tombs of Egypt were here equalled in the enormity of the masses that composed them, and the chamber of the pyramids rivalled in the closeness of the masonry; while the monuments of Athens itself, in the age of Pericles and Praxiteles, were, at least, equalled in the richness and beauty of the sculptured ornaments that adorned them. It appeared to me, that the temples of Edfou, Tentyris, and Thebes, fell far short of this, as a whole; for here the ponderous strength of the Egyptian, and the chastened elegance of the Grecian school, are both most happily combined.

The direction of the temple by compass is exactly E. ½ N. and W. ½ S. * The little circular building a few paces on the north of it, which was used as the Greek church in the time of Maundrell, is now entirely deserted, though the painted saints on the stucco of its walls still remain to be traced. Its interior resembles that of the semicircular building which fronts the grand street nearly in the centre of Jerash.

An examination of the Mohammedan additions and repairs, when they converted the ruined Temple of the Sun into a fortified place, decided my opinion on a matter that was before doubtful to me. From the rustic masonry, fan-niches, round arches, &c. seen in the castles of Jerusalem, Assalt, Adjeloon, Bosra, Salghud, and Damascus, mixed with pointed arches, Arabic inscriptions, and other marked features of Mohammedan work, it seemed to me very uncertain whether they were of Roman or of Saracen execution. After seeing the building to the north-east of the outer temple of Bālbeck, and close by it, I am inclined to think them

* Mr. Volney had deduced, from this fact principally, that all the ancient temples faced the east; and Mr. Bailly, in his History of Ancient Asia, entertains the same opinion, namely, that among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Indians, and the Chinese, the four most ancient nations of the world, the usage of making their buildings face the east uniformly prevailed, vol. i. p. 133. This, however, is far from being true; as the temples, in Egypt particularly, have their faces most frequently towards the Nile, and thus front every quarter of the compass in succession.

of Roman origin and of Saracen repair ; in some cases such repairs are more particularly evident, and in others the whole edifice is altogether of Saracen work, particularly at Assalt, Salghud, and Damascus.

The masonry of the Mohammedan repairs at Bālbeck is, in many places, excellent, and would look still more so if not contrasted on the spot with the superior work of their heathen predecessors ; but as there appears to have been different periods even of these, some of the former are quite contemptible.

The town of Bālbeck is, at present, so ruined, that there are not counted more than fifty habitable dwellings in it ; though the whole number within the walls may be estimated at 500.

The inhabitants are Moslems, Metowalis, and Greek Christians, in about equal numbers. The former have a large ruined mosque, in which are three rows of columns, some having noble shafts of fine red granite, and others of white marble, with Corinthian capitals, all from the ruins of the great temple near. In the outer court, around the central reservoir and fountain used for ablutions, are four pieces of beautiful porphyry, the fragments of two plain columns of about two feet in diameter, each of the pieces about five feet in length. We tried to get a small piece from off one of them, but could find no stone hard enough for the purpose, and were obliged to content ourselves with two or three very little bits, which the Arabs made many objections to our taking away at all.

There is still a covered bazar at Bālbeck ; a bath, now in use ; and a manufactory of cotton cloth superior to that of Nablous. We found here some merchants from Bairoot, purchasing the latter for sale at that port. The Moslems frequent the ruined mosque described, the Metowalis pray apart, and the Christians have a humble church in the house in which we lodged.

The chief occupation of all classes is agriculture, as they have the whole of the plain between Libanus and Anti-Libanus to labour on. The town is agreeably situated at the foot of the latter, at the eastern extremity of the valley ; is watered by a clear and abundant stream, surrounded by trees and cultivated fields, and refreshed

by cool winds from the snowy summits of the mountains on either side.

The women are many of them handsome, and wear the blue gown with red apron, as in the villages west of Damascus, with a white upper veil, and a coloured one that covers the whole face, being of transparent muslin.

In examining the wall built up against the great eastern front to make the temple into a castle, I observed several inscriptions on the pedestals of columns built into the wall. They were visible on two pedestals only, each the third from the end, and consisted of three lines each; the first in Latin, with the letters large and wide apart, the two under ones in Greek, small, slender, and so closely crowded together, that it was impossible to read them from below. They occupied the same part of the pedestal as the inscriptions on the temple at Gunnawāt. As they were built into a wall of evidently subsequent construction, it is doubtful whether they might have been the pedestals of the great eastern front, more particularly as their proportions seem too small for that purpose.

We went through the subterranean passage which leads from the outer point of the great temple, south of the octangular portico or court, to a place near the smaller temple, which is the most perfect of the two. This passage begins with an arched door, and ends in a square one. It is long, large, and lofty, and is arched throughout, with several other passages and chambers branching from it, the whole of which is of the most excellent masonry and imposing appearance.

We saw also, in the wall of the city, many sculptured stones, and others with Roman letters on them, as noted by Maundrell; as well as the words KENTVPIA ΠΡΙΜΑ on the side of one of the south-western gates, as remarked by Volney.

Our evening was passed in the priest's room; and there being a Moslem, from Bairoot, of the party, as well as my servant Ahmed, both Hadjees from Mecca, the conversation was purely controversial, and carried on with great bitterness on both sides. The mem-

bers of the Greek church seem to have the itch of controversy more strongly than any other sect which I have seen, whether infidels or believers.

We had been suffered to visit the ruins here perfectly free from interruption ; but while we remained in the house, all the Christian women and children came to see us, exercising quite as much curiosity in that particular as one would find in Nubia, or in the Arabian Deserts.

There were many inferior vestiges of antiquity within the town and in its vicinity, as well as the quarries to the S.W. of the town, which we did not see, from want of time, besides the ruins of eight or ten smaller mosques, whose minarets still remain. *

Sunday, *April* 28, 1816. — We were detained by the service of the church for about two hours in the morning, after which we took coffee with the priest, and prepared to depart. I had given to the head servant, for our stay there, a Spanish dollar, besides some paras to each of the inferior ones, and having paid for our corn, &c. had thought this sufficient ; but the priest himself, who

* Bālbeck is described by Benjamin of Tudela under the name of Bagh-el-Beik, in the valley below Mount Lebanon. He says it was built by Solomon in favour of the daughter of Pharaoh, on his marriage with whom the Canticles were composed. The palace, as he calls it, was then ruined; but he noticed the large stones, twenty palms long and twelve broad, and connected without cement, as well as the common opinion of its being the work of genii : he speaks also of the beautiful fountain which still continues to embellish this agreeable spot.

Tadmor in the Desert, or Palmyra, was also known to this early traveller (although the general impression is, that its ruins were unknown from the time of the Romans till they were discovered by some merchants from Aleppo at the beginning of the last century). He speaks of Tadmor as having been built by Solomon upon the same plan as Bālbeck, and with stones of equal grandeur. He says, that in his time there were 400 Jews at Tadmor (so that it must have been then well-peopled, as these were doubtless not the only inhabitants), who were courageous and expert in war, and who committed hostilities against the Christians as well as against the Arabs ; these last were then under the dominion of Noraldin (Nour-al-deen, the Light of Day), the king of the Turks, and who came to the succour of the Ismaelites, or Bedouin Arabs, their neighbours. The chief of these Jews was Isaac, surnamed the Greek, and Nathan and Uzziel.

knew all this, did not scruple to ask for a bakshish when we mounted our horses. To set such a demand in its proper light, I desired him to enumerate the actual expence we had occasioned him in bread, milk, and eggs, and reckoned a piastre per night for the use of an empty room, without even a mat; when he found it did not amount to more than half the sum distributed among the servants, and was forced to acknowledge, by my pressing the question hard upon him, that the dollar given to the principal one would be claimed by himself, and a few paras given to the holder of it as his sufficient reward.

This affair being adjusted, we left Bālbeck about eight o'clock, and going out over a pass in the ruined wall of the town, kept along the foot of Anti-Libanus, over barren eminences covered with a light clayey soil. From thence we turned round occasionally to enjoy a view of Bālbeck, the splendid ruins of which, surrounded with trees and cultivated ground, presented the most picturesque appearance from hence.

By keeping on the summits of these rounded hills, and a little to the left of the beaten road, we passed several sepulchral grottoes, all plain, as well as some large stone sarcophagi, with pent-roof covers, raised at the corners like those of Jerash. We had seen a sarcophagus of white marble, sculptured with the usual devices of wreaths, among the ruins of the town; but these were of a coarse dark stone, and quite plain. Soon afterwards, and within an hour from the time of our setting out, we came to a valley with steep rocky banks on each side, which appeared to have been the necropolis of the ancient city, as we saw both grottoes and sarcophagi there, and a large square isolated mass at the head of the valley, which looked like a tomb constructed of masonry, and resembling, both in form and size, the one seen near Gherbt-el-Sookh in Belkah, on the road from Ammān to Oom-el-Russās.

This little vale, which looked like a rupture in the side of the mountain, was watered by a fine clear stream descending from above, and its narrow bed well cultivated, but we could not learn its name.

From hence our track was barren and uninteresting for nearly three hours, until we reached a small village half in ruins, called Loobby, when we again saw cultivation and trees. This village is seated also in a valley, and is well watered by a clear stream running down from the side of Anti-Libanus into the middle of the plain, and forming there a river called Nahr-el-Hanny. We could trace its winding course to the N. E. by the poplars growing along its banks, and it is said to run in that direction for about two hours, when it joins the Nahr-el-Assy (the Rebel River), or the Orontes, to the northward of it.

We went from this village along the banks of an artificial canal, the stream of which was so slow that it was called Moyah-t-el-Mejerrh, or the tardy waters, in contradistinction to the Nahr-el-Assy, or the rebellious river, from the rapidity of its course. The stream of this canal falls at last into the Orontes; but its use at this moment was not apparent, though it might formerly have assisted cultivation, and conveyed water to some town.

In about an hour from hence we reached the village of Ain, seated in a narrow valley, and having many gardens and mulberry trees near it. In another hour we came to Feeky, a larger village, enjoying a similar situation; and in an hour more to Ras, a smaller settlement, mostly in ruins. The whole of these are inhabited by Christians at present, and do not now contain more than from 200 to 300 inhabitants each. They are governed by their own peculiar sheiks, subject to the Aga of Bālbeck, and live in a sort of enmity, amounting almost to war, with the Metoualis, at the foot of Libanus, on the other side of the plain.

Our course had been thus far about N. E. by E., the direction of the great valley between the two ranges of mountains being about N. E. It is not called the Bukhāh by the natives from Bālbeck, northward, but by the name of the nearest town, or the government which it happens to be under. The range of inferior hills to the east of Libanus, or, as it may be called, the base of Libanus itself, approaches in some places so near to the foot of

Anti-Libanus, that the valley between them varies from ten to two miles in breadth. Libenein continues to preserve its name throughout; but the eastern range, called, to the southward of Bālbeck, Jebel-el-Wast, is here known only by the name of Jebel-el-Shurk, or the eastern mountain.

From the hill above the village of Ras we could see a large lake formed by the Orontes, bearing north of us from fifteen to twenty miles, and the hills of Hamah to the N. N. E., distant at least fifty. Both Libanus and Anti-Libanus taper away here to low hills, and receding equally from each other, leave between them a wide plain, extending for an indefinite distance to the northward, interrupted only by the hills of Hamah to the N. N. E., and having an unbounded horizon to the N. E. and E. N. E., where the level gradually rises in that direction towards the great Desert of Palmyra.

From Ras we made a little bend for half an hour to the northward, and then went again N. E., over a stony and arid plain, for nearly three hours, passing by a ruined khan, with loop-holes in its walls, and arriving just before sunset at a small ruined village called El-Ghāh. We drank at the only well here, about a furlong to the south of the town, and, alighting, sought out the sheik. We were at first very coolly received, and told that we might sleep among the ruined huts; until assuming a high tone and military air, we were treated as Turks generally are when they visit such of their Arab subjects as dare not defy them: for my servant, who was himself a green-turbaned Hadjee, had insinuated that I was from the governor of Damascus, going to Aleppo.

The place in which we were received was an old Mohammedan castle with round towers in its walls, and a range of small chambers around an open court on the inside, like a khan. We were served with a supper of rice, kid's flesh, and some milk, but were obliged to sleep on the terrace in the open air, as we found most of the people themselves did. After sunset the cattle and flocks were driven in, and all the village took shelter on the inside

of the walls, the houses on the outside being ruined, and the neighbourhood infested by robbers. They live, too, in a sort of war with the Metoualees, to the west of them ; so that this retirement within a small space, is necessary to their security.

The inhabitants of El-Ghāb are all Christians, and have a priest among them, their whole number amounting to about 100. Many of the women and children are handsome, and they wear the blue gown and narrow red apron, as in the villages N. W. of Damascus. They go with their faces unveiled, and wear over their head a coarse muslin cloth of blue, with red border and large red flowers in the centre, which hangs down the back, and is sometimes folded round the neck.

Monday, April 29. — The noise of a hundred animals, combined with a storm of wind from the S. W., and several showers of rain, prevented our obtaining any sleep, and occasioned us to be stirring before the dawn. From the conversation of the preceding evening, as well as the information we had received at Bālbeck, the road from hence to Hhoms seemed unsafe to be travelled without an escort. We were content to desire one horseman only from the sheik, and this chiefly as a guide, since the many cross paths over the plain rendered that absolutely necessary. No one among them, however, could be found content to go alone; and when we consented to take two, these would not go under ten piasters each, as it required a long day to reach that place, and another day to make the journey of return.

While this affair was in suspense, I made some enquiries respecting the source of the Nahr-el-Ahssy, or Orontes, which rises in the neighbourhood of this place. It was pointed out to me near a small hill at the foot of Lebanon, and bore, by this direction, W. N. W. about four hours' journey for a man on foot. On the hill itself is a high and large tower, seen at a great distance, and called Koormee, bearing N. W. by W. three hours distant; and behind it, in the hollow between the hill and the mountain, is a large village,

called Hhermil, seated among trees, and inhabited entirely by Metoualees. The waters of the Orontes, at the source, are said to issue out in a large stream from the solid rock, in the side of a cliff at the foot of the hill spoken of. It then takes a bend to the eastward, receiving several smaller streams in its course, till it at last winds along to the N. E., through the plains of Hhoms and Hhamah. They have a fable here of these waters coming from the Nile, some saying by a sub-marine passage, and others conceiving it to be by some miraculous process. There is said, also, to be fragments of buildings, and inscriptions, and sculpture, both at the source and at the tower on the hill near it; but the reports of my informers were, as usual, so vague and contradictory, that I could but regret our not being able to visit the spot itself without a deviation from the straight road, and the probable loss of a day if we did not reach Hhoms to-night. The Metoualees, who inhabit Hhermil, are nominally under the government of the Emir Busheer, as within the precincts of Lebanon on the land side; but being remote from his seat of government at Deer-el-Khumr, or the Convent of the Moon, near Seyda, they are said to be under no control. Stories were told us of their having betrayed and murdered passengers through their territory; but as there is an open and avowed enmity between these people and those by whom their character was thus painted, there is great reason to suspect its truth.

Our guides being ready, we left the Khalet-el-Ghāh soon after sunrise, and continued our course to the north-east over an arid plain, scarcely affording food for a few flocks fed here by Bedouins, from the eastward.

In about an hour we passed to the left of a ruined town, pointed out about three miles to the eastward of us, on the side of Anti-Libanus, and called El-Jussee. It was said to be a large city, and to have pillars and aqueducts and castles in it; and below it, on the plain, about two miles to the north of it, was another town, called Jussee-el-Jedeed. The former was now entirely deserted; but the latter still retained some inhabitants; and in it

was a ruined mosque, thought by some Turks, who had visited it, to have been built on the ruins of an early Christian church.

In another hour we passed through a small cluster of houses, called Rabla, where we first saw the Orontes, this being the elbow of its bend to the E. N. E. It was here a small stream, being not more than twelve or fifteen feet wide, and perhaps three deep; flowing, however, with some rapidity through banks covered with long grass, and aiding the cultivation of a few corn fields and mulberry trees near it.

In about an hour from hence we came opposite to a large village, called Zirhāgh, having cultivated grounds, with an abundance of trees around it. We passed about a mile to the left of it, and crossed a small stream, which descended from thence into the Ahssy, or Orontes river.

In another hour we came to a division of the roads, one passing through the village of Kosseir, nearly as large as Zirhāgh, and the other going along the eastern bank of the Orontes. We preferred the last, and followed the course of the stream to the N. E., leaving it only when its windings deviated from a straight line. Near this we passed a mill, and a stone bridge of one arch near it, as well as several small islands in the middle of the stream, now become wider, deeper, and more rapid. Parties of Bedouins were occasionally seen fording it in different directions; and we ourselves passed through a small troop of Arab horsemen, but without our receiving any interruption.

It was full two hours before we reached Arjoon, a small village seated beneath an apparently artificial mound of earth, on the summit of which was a sheik's tomb, and some few buildings around it. The road here branched off again from the stream: as this last bent to the northward, and our general course was about N. E.; we passed, therefore, on the right of Arjoon, as well as of Cafr-el-Moosa, and another small village about half an hour beyond it, and all on the edge of the stream.

The river, which has here grown to a considerable size, perhaps from an accession of waters on the west, as we saw none in our track on the east, swells out suddenly into a large lake, extending itself for at least five miles to the N. E., and being in some places nearly two miles wide. Its surface was now roughened by a strong S. W. wind, which brought us some rain, and whitened over the summits of Lebanon with a fresh sheet of snow ; but its course still continued to be rapid. We approached the edge of this lake in about an hour after passing Arjoon, and halted on its banks to water our horses, and to refresh. We had noted, almost abreast of Cafr-el-Moosa, an island in the centre of the stream, looking like an artificial tumulus, and steep on all sides round. Near to where we halted was a similar one, that jutted out, like a promontory in miniature, from the edge of the plain. The banks here were chalky, and the soil had varied from a meagre light yellow clay, mixed with sand and gravel, to a fine deep red earth of the purest kind. We saw all along, however, blocks of the black porous stone which is found from the sources of the Jordan to the Dead Sea, and throughout all the Haurān. We had met with it in small quantities from our first falling in with the banks of this river, and found it gradually increase as we followed up its course.

The ground became now cultivated throughout with grain ; turtle doves were in abundance, and fine large red hawks hung aloft in numbers, on the wing for smaller prey below ; while the great white stork that we had seen so frequently on the barren plains over which we had passed, seemed to confine itself to that arid solitude, and not to intrude upon the more fertile lands.

As we halted near a small inclosed village, called Sain, on the edge of the lake, my servant went up to seek some milk; offering, as usual, to pay for it ; but when a large bowl was brought down to us by the water side, though the female waited on the grass for the vessel that contained it a full half hour, she rejected the money that was offered to her, and it was with difficulty that we could prevail

on her to accept a coarse pocket-handkerchief, the only other reward which I could offer her for so much disinterestedness.

This trait of hospitality was most probably borrowed from the Bedouins, with whom they live in frequent intercourse and great amity. We saw here a large party of them, chiefly females and boys, filling water in skins from the lake, and placing them in khordj, or saddle bags, on asses, to carry to their tents. The water was extremely turbid, from the strong wind that agitated it, but was of a pure and excellent taste.

From Sain we gradually receded from the edge of the lake, keeping now a course of nearly E. N. E., directly for Hhoms, the castle of which on a raised mound, and square minarets, were now distinctly seen.

The approach to a more populous town was every moment more visible, in the superior state of the cultivation, and the sight of peasants, cattle, and passengers on the road, which continued until we entered the gate of the city, about an hour before sunset. By my servant's direction, who had been here before, we addressed ourselves to the protection of a Māllim Scander, in the service of the government, and met a kind reception at his house. I learnt here that Mr. Bankes had set out only to-day at noon, with an escort from the government, for El-Hhussan, a large castle which we had seen to the N. W., on our coming up the plain, and his baggage at the same time for Hhamah. He had been desirous of going to Palmyra from hence, as the nearest point of departure; but the existing wars among the Arabs of these parts rendered it impracticable for the present, so that he had gone forward, under the hope that with a little delay it might be done from Hhamah.

Tuesday, April 30. — The road from hence to the northward was rendered so unsafe by the wars of the Arabs, who pursued each other in and upon the borders of the cultivated land, that there

was no moving on it without a large escort, for which I should not have felt myself justified in paying; I was assured, however, that, by waiting a day, I might have the benefit of a caravan going to Hhamah, which, of course, would afford all the protection needed.

The governor, having heard of my arrival through the medium of his secretary, Scander, had signified his wish to see me, and I accordingly paid him a visit. I found him an affable, unaffected, and not an ignorant man; an Arab by birth, and perfectly so in his dress and manners. In his party was a Turk, from the borders of Persia, who spoke Persian well, and understood a little of Hindoostanee, in which language we exchanged some enquiries and compliments. There were no Osmanlies or Turks even in attendance; and when we left the party, no servant pressed forward to receive a present, which was a singular deviation from the common routine of a visit to a governor.

Having received permission, and being accompanied by a servant from the house, we went up to the ruined castle, which is on the S. W. of the town. It is an old Mohammedan work now completely in ruins, but might have been rebuilt or repaired from some older and better structure. It stands on a high artificial mound of earth, the sides of which were originally cased all round with masonry, and, rising in a steep slope, resembling the lower part of a pyramid. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, lined also with a wall of stone; but what remains of the upper structure of the castle is not proportionate in strength and solidity to the bottom. It is now so entirely ruined, that no description could be given of its plan, except that it was a fortress erected on the summit of an artificial mound, of an oblong square form, about one hundred feet in height.

It afforded us, however, a complete view of the town below, and an extensive prospect of the country around; and I took from thence the following bearings: —

Opening of the valley of the Bukhaah . . .	S. W. ½ S.	
Highest peak of Anti-Libanus	S. S. W. . . .	50 miles
North-eastern extreme of ditto	S. by W.	25 miles
Highest peak of Libanus	S. W. by W. ½ W.	50 miles
Northern end of the same range	West	35 miles
Hhamah (not seen from hence)	N. N. E. . . .	30 miles
A range of hills in the desert, behind which Palmyra is said to be situated	E. to E. S. E. . .	60 miles
Lake of the Orontes	W. S. W.	6 miles
Town below	N. N. W. to E.	

The points of view between the ranges of mountains and hills enumerated, presented an unbounded horizon of plain, and particularly in the east, towards Palmyra.*

On descending from the castle we went to see a ruined structure, called El-Somah, or the tower, situated at about a furlong to the N. W. of it, and in the middle of a modern burying-place.

We found it to be an ancient structure, and most probably a tomb, since it resembles some of those found in the valley of Jehoshaphat, below Jerusalem. It commences at the base by a square of about twenty-five feet, rising to a height of about fifteen, and there forming a first stage. The second is but merely a receding inward from this, of perhaps a foot or two on each side, and rises to a height of about fifteen feet. Above the whole a pyramid rears itself to a height equal to the dimensions of the base, or nearly twenty-five feet, as before mentioned. On each part of the square stages at the base were three marble pilasters, the pedestals of which remain on the western, and the plain capitals on the northern side ; and between these stages, in a sort of deep frieze, were sculptured four pediments, with a festoon between the two central ones.

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* Hhoms, or Hemessa, was said to border on the desert of Palmyra. Hierapolis, Berœa, and Chalus, are placed in the country called Stelendena, which must be that about Aleppo. — *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 5. c. 26.

The whole of the exterior, from top to bottom, including also the pyramid above, was cased with a chequered work of black and white stones, in alternate diagonal squares.

Within, the first stage has a corresponding square chamber, with a vaulted roof, rising in a pointed arch; the second stage has also a corresponding chamber, which is roofed with a flattened circular dome, and has around it Roman-arched windows, closed up, as it would seem, from the beginning; while the interior of the pyramid above rises in a circular cone to a perfect point at the top, with four small oblong square windows, one on each point, though not visible from without.

The masonry of the interior is of Roman tiles; and the central part of the walls is formed of small stones, inlaid in a thick bed of cement, while the outer parts are cased with chequered stone, in the way described. The interior walls seem also to have been stuccoed and painted. Like the sepulchral towers in the Haurān, there is no visible passage of communication from one story to another; so that they were probably held inviolate when once closed, like the pyramids of Egypt.

Tradition here says, that a Roman emperor came to make war against the queen of Palmyra, and halting at this spot on his way, built this sepulchre for himself and his sons, as he thought it likely they might die in the expedition, and he was unwilling to leave his bones in the Desert.

The southern and eastern fronts are almost entirely destroyed, apparently by force, as if in search of treasure. The western one still remains; but the northern one is most perfect; and near the top of the second stage in this is an inscription in Greek, which Mr. Bankes is said to have copied by the aid of a ladder furnished by the governor, but it cannot be read from below.

From hence we visited the interior of the town, the bazārs, &c., and did not return until nearly sunset. No more remains of the ancient city of Emessa than perhaps the basework of the castle, the sepulchral monument described, and some granite pillars and

stone sarcophagi, scattered up and down, and sometimes used in the construction of the more modern buildings. The present town is more than a mile in circuit, of an irregularly circular shape, and was surrounded by a wall with round towers in it, and a dry ditch. The wall is, in many places, now only a continuation of the sides of houses, and the ditch is cultivated with grain. There are seven gates, one to the south-west being closed up, and each have their peculiar name, as Bab-el-Sookh, the market gate, entering from Hamah and Haleb ; Bab-el-Tadmor, which leads to Palmyra ; and Bab-el-Turcoman, the general inlet of the people of that tribe.

The houses are almost all built of the black stone used in the Haurān ; there are some few of the inferior ones with a base of stone, and the upper part of dried earth. The walls are also constructed of the same stone, and the streets are paved with it throughout. There is no other peculiar feature in the ordinary buildings that I am aware of, as the alternate use of the black and white stone in their arches, and sometimes in the layers of their walls, is perfectly in the Arabic taste, and seems, in the sepulchral monument without the town, to have been used also by their predecessors.

There are about ten mosques here, and a number of high square towers, like those seen at Bosra, some of which have Arabic and others Cuphic inscriptions, all of old Mohammedan construction. There are also a few baths, many coffee-houses, and some excellent covered bazārs, not inferior to those of Cairo. The population of the town is thought to amount to 10,000, of whom 8,000 are Moslems, a few hundred Metoualees, and the rest Greek and Syrian Christians. The Greeks have two churches here, and the Syrians one ; but neither Druses nor Nessearys are found among the residents. Besides the fixed population, there are generally 2,000 or 3,000 strangers in the town, chiefly Arabs from the eastern Desert, and from Palmyra, as this is the nearest point of departure for them, and is, therefore, their chief market and place of resort.

There are many manufactories here of the common garments worn by the Arabs, particularly of the zennaar, and party-coloured abba, some of which are executed with great taste and skill.

In the course of our ramble we visited an old mosque, in which bread is now made for the Hadj, and furnished to the pilgrims by the governor of this place; and a large coffee-house, in which were men playing at single-stick with small canes and hard leather shields.

The invitation to the combat took place by the sound of a tambour and a shrill pipe, in a slow strain; when the combatants entered the lists, a graver pipe was used, and the strain was more animated. As the fight became closer, the drum was beat in a still quicker movement, till it followed up the fury of the combat with a corresponding music, in a way that displayed great natural taste and judgment, though the execution would not please European ears.

The governor here is subject to the pasha of Damascus, and has a force of about 200 soldiers only, composed of Delhis, of Arab horse and foot, and a few Osmanlies.

On our return to the house we found a large party assembled in the divan of Mallim Scander, overlooking his garden. There were to the number of about fifty, all Christians; they were seated round the sides of this open place; and in the centre stood a small stool with a large salver, on which were glass jars of rakhee, brandy, wine, and sweetmeats. Each was provided with a pipe, or nargeel, and all seemed to abandon themselves to pleasure. Among the party were half a dozen who sat together in a group, and amused the rest with Arabic songs, while the listeners occasionally joined in the chorus. It was the first time of my ever having heard any thing like harmony in the music of the country; for here there were two among the rest who sang in thirds and fifths, and one who sang an octave to the strain.

About eight o'clock all retired to a divan in an open court to supper, and seated themselves on the ground around a large salver of metal, at least fifteen feet in diameter. On this was arranged

nearly a hundred dishes, so thickly placed that they rose like a pyramid one over the other, the central one being an immense bowl of rice, and the surrounding ones smaller plates of stewed meats and sweet dishes.

Large as the salver was, there was yet not room enough for the accommodation of all; so that the master of the feast and the singers stood around us while we ate, and seated themselves only when the first comers had finished.

I observed here a striking proof of the distance at which children are kept from their parents among the Arabs. The females of the family were as perfectly secluded as in a Turkish haram ; but the two sons, one about twenty-five and the other fifteen years of age, we occasionally saw when they served the coffee or nargeel, or attended to put on the benish of the father, always standing and remaining silent in his presence. Here, at this feast, both of them served in quality of attendants, standing the whole of the time ; and when the rest had retired, they seated themselves at the table among the servants of the visitors.

From the supper we withdrew to a large hall, very richly furnished ; and as by this time the copious draughts of rakhee had begun to operate, the mirth of the party grew more loud and boisterous. Among them was a grey-bearded doctor, who was the buffoon of the company, and gave in readily to all the jokes practised on him. This man danced in the lascivious manner of the Nautch girls, or prostitutes of the country, with a handkerchief twisted tightly into a horn, and bound round his forehead like that of the Druse women, as if to represent the same emblem. The most indecent allusions were called forth by this exhibition, and there seemed no bounds to the libertinism of speech or action. It was altogether a forcible but melancholy proof of the degraded state of manners which may result from the exclusion of women from the society of men. At the breaking up of the party, which was not until near daybreak, the doctor was rewarded with a new benish of blue cloth, of the value of five guineas at least, from the

hands of the host; and others gave him smaller garments as well as money, all of which he readily accepted. It seemed, from all that I could gather by indirect enquiry, that this man being the physician of the Christian community at Hhoms, the feast had been given expressly on his account, as an annual occasion for him to try the liberality of such of his patients as had not yet fallen victims to his prescriptions.



CHAP. XXIV.

FROM HHOMS, OR EMESSA, BY THE CASTLE OF EL-HHUSSAN AND THE MONUMENTS OF THE ARADII, TO TARTOOSE, THE ANCIENT ORTHOSIA.

Hhoms, *May* 1. — I was desirous of proceeding directly from hence through Hamah to Aleppo; but the wars of the Arabs, and their encroachment on the road, rendered that route impossible to be traversed without a large escort, or the protection of a caravan; the first I was not in a condition to pay for out of my own purse: nor did the urgency of the case require it; the last was not expected to depart for a period of ten days at least. It was, therefore, recommended to us to go down by Hhussan to the sea coast, which road, although by no means safe, was still more so than that of Hamah, and could be passed with an escort of two persons besides ourselves; while this, upon the whole, would be also the most expeditious. These two men were accordingly procured

for us from the Governor, by Māllim Scander, and we set out together about nine o'clock.

Going out by the ruined monument called the Soura, we saw a number of females sitting among the tombs there, after the manner of the country, and these were all habited with the blue checked cloths worn by the women in Egypt, but whether used here as a dress of mourning only I could not learn.

After leaving Hhoms by the Bab-el-Turcoman in the southern wall of the town, we continued to go west for about an hour over a level plain, the latter portion of which was laid out in a broad and excellent road, lined with gardens on each side. This brought us to the Nahr-el-Ahssy, which we crossed by a poor bridge having a mill on it. The stream was here contracted into a narrow space, but was deep and rapid, its course being scarcely less than four miles per hour, its waters a dull yellowish white, from the clayey and chalky soil of its banks in the lake above.

We entered now on a barren ground of gentle ascent, being the southern point of the first range of hills west of the Orontes. The whole extent of it was covered with the black porous stone seen almost all the way from hence to the Dead Sea; and the only productions of the soil were a dry and straight plant, rising to the height of a foot, and covered with olive brown berries about the size of peas, and a large branching thistle, whose head was of the colour of the finest port wine.

After going about three hours over this ground, meeting only a few cattle near ponds formed by rain, we passed under the small village of Tenoon, leaving it a few yards only on our right. It is seated on an eminence, and has some few cultivated spots of ground near it; but, on the whole, it presents an aspect of great poverty.

We continued a westerly course for about two hours more, gradually but gently ascending, until we came in sight of the castle of Hhussan, bearing from us nearly N.W. From hence, therefore, we kept in that direction, and our road became much

more interesting, as we went down over successive beds of rounding hills into an extensive and beautiful plain. We still saw the black porous stone throughout our track, and passed over several beds of sulphureous streams, in which these black stones were coated over with a crust of white deposit from the water.

This plain, of which we could learn no other name than that of Wādi-el-Hhussan, went up until it terminated in a narrow valley to the north, but extended itself widely until it met the northern feet or points of the range of Lebanon on the south, when it stretched away S.E. into the great plain of the Orontes, towards the lake already described. It was bounded on the west by the hills of Hhussan, on the north by higher mountains, and on the east by the hills which we had traversed, all of them cultivated to their very summits with corn and olives, which, added to the fertility of the plain itself, its light green fields and darker lines of trees, presented as rich and beautiful a picture as I had yet seen in the country. The lofty range of Lebanon terminates in several sloping points to the northward, and in the interval of plain between these points and the beginning of the hills of Hhussan, perhaps some of the rivers between Tartoose and Tripoly flow down. There are seen indeed from hence several streams in the plain below, some of which may also go to the lake of the Orontes, it being difficult else to conceive how that river so suddenly increases and expands itself there.

Crossing this plain for nearly two hours, we passed, at the end of it, some few mills near the stream, and ascended up a rising valley to the north of Hhussan, leaving it on our left. The castle there is seated on the peak of a round hill, and enjoys a commanding situation. As we went close under it, the style of its architecture appeared to be purely Saracen, as its masonry was smooth, and its outer wall filled with round towers at equal distances. Within, rose a square building of greater height than the outer wall, and the whole of the interior is filled with dwellings inhabited by Moslem families, with a chief, and a few Mohammedan soldiers. The sight of this building again altered my

opinion with respect to the castles in Belkah, Adjeloon, and the Haurān, and induced me to think that they were all Roman, since this Saracen one was so different from them in style and construction.

On the north of the castle, at a short distance only, is the town of Hhussan, seated on the point of a lower and smaller hill. It is peopled by Nessearys and Christians, and has in it a square tower, like those which form the minārehs of the mosques at Hhoms.

As there was a convent a little farther on, we did not halt here, but descended over a gentle slope towards a narrow valley, and at sunset reached the station of our repose. This convent, inhabited by Arab priests of the Greek church, and dedicated to St. George, looks also like a small castle at a distance, and is romantically situated on the southern brow of a hill, amid a wood of olives, with a deep valley and other steep hills immediately in front of it. We found crowds of people assembled here for the approaching festival of St. George, which would be on Sunday next; and on our expressing surprise at the number, we were told that there would be at least ten thousand persons here from all the country between Aleppo and Damascus. Devotion is not the sole object which attracts so many persons from their homes; for as this is an annual feast, a large fair is held at the same time, and every sort of commodity bought and sold under the protecting auspices of the patron saint. Under the supposition of my being a Turk, we were at first refused admittance; but on declaring myself to be an Englishman, every civility and attention was shown to the whole of our party, and we were furnished with a room on the inside, while the mass of devotees slept in the open air without. We entered the convent by a small aperture, scarcely more than three feet square, and closed by a stone door, as the ancient buildings in the Haurān. A confused fable was recounted to us of St. George having passed through this hole on horseback, and of his having the power still to cause horsemen who had faith therein to enter also. As neither of us were, however, of that

number, we were obliged to leave our animals without; while the superior of the convent took occasion of this want of faith on our parts to explain the scriptural passage, which says, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it; but broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go therein." We were content to remain under this anathema, provided they gave us the shelter required; and this the all-powerful influence of gold and silver was sure to command for us, whether we were Moslems, Infidels, or even Idolaters; while the Christians who possessed not this talisman, could not open the thrice barred gate.

Thursday, May 2.—The preceding day had been calm and sultry, and the sun obscured throughout. The present morning opened with a high wind from the S.W., accompanied with showers of rain. Great unwillingness was displayed on the part of our escort to move; but by my insisting on this they set out with me soon after sunrise, when we went down into the narrow valley in front of the convent, and followed its windings in nearly a westerly direction. The hills of Hhussan, from Lebanon northward, end here in steep and woody points; and after the straight vale between, another range of gentler ones commence, on the southern brow of which the convent of St. George is built. The whole of the country around is called Belled-el-Hhussan, and is thought by the people here to be the most fertile and the best cultivated land in Syria. It is peopled chiefly by the Nesseary or Ansarie, a sect of whom Volney has given an account, but who are seemingly little known either by the few Moslems or Christians that live among them, owing, probably, more to the indifference of the latter than to the reserve of the former. They bear, however, among all classes, a very bad character, and are said to be guilty of every sort of crime.

In passing down through the valley, we crossed repeatedly the bed of a large stream, which rose to the northward and east-

ward, among the hills on that quarter of Hhussan, and wound its way down here. The black porous stone was seen throughout its bed, and its channel was so wide and deep as to induce a belief of its having been once a considerable river, the original source of which had either been dried up, or the waters of its fountain head diverted into some other direction. We continued for about three hours in this valley, enjoying a succession of the most beautiful views, and going generally about west, in the course of which we passed a spring that now filled the bed of the river, and went away in a line of W.N.W. to the coast.

After quitting the valley, we made a bend to the southward, by an old square tower, having been directed that way by a peasant on the road, and went over a richly cultivated land, opening upon a view of considerable extent and great beauty. The landscape to the north presented successive beds of gentle hills, with a profusion of wood. To the south was an immense plain, from which the northern sides of Lebanon seemed to rise abruptly, while a band of clouds encircled its centre, and its snowy summit was clearly seen above them all. To the west the dark blue sea bounded the horizon of the view; and behind us, to the east, was the narrow valley which we had just left.

About noon we halted at a small village called Arzoon, when we found that we had come several miles to the southward of the route, and were directed for better information to some Arab tents which were close by. We alighted here, and took some warm sheep's milk with dourra bread. We observed that the tents were here composed partly of mats raised on woven twigs, and partly of the dark hair cloth generally used by the Arabs; and that they were pitched without any regard to uniformity of situation, their tenants being almost stationary.

We were assured here that the danger on the road was by no means magnified, and that even our party of four persons was scarcely sufficient to ensure our safety. There was now no augmenting the number without an additional expense, so that we

pushed on as before. Going about a league due north from this encampment, we went through a pass between the hills, called Bab-el-Howa, or the gate of the wind, and opened on another extensive and still more beautiful view than that which we had left.

From this pass we went about W.N.W., and in an hour crossed a wide but shallow stream, the name of which we could not learn, but which appeared to me to fill the dry bed we had seen near Hhussan, and which we had followed until it became watered by a lower spring. We had now come among the Nesseary, who certainly did not return our salutes with the usual replies; and who eyed us, both as we approached and as we left them, more like enemies than friends. The men were dressed as other Arabs usually are; the women wore coarse robes, but all of white, with a cap like the poll of an English hat without the rim, sometimes wound round with strings of silver coin overlapping each other, and always ornamented with metal. The chemise, of the women and children of both sexes, was fastened at the breast by a large brooch of silver, about the size of a Spanish dollar, but apparently thinner. These were peculiarities of dress that we had not before seen, and marked most decidedly our entrance among a new sect or class of people. Our ride was now through one continued park of indescribable beauty; and although chiefly over a level ground, yet, by the profusion of its wood, and here and there some gentle eminences, the landscape varied at every point of view. The state of agriculture was here, too, more perfect and more flourishing than we had hitherto seen it elsewhere. The fields were free from weeds and stones, and many of them were enclosed by light fences of twig-work. Some of the barley was nearly ripe for the perennial harvest; and other grounds were tilling by four ploughs in succession, each followed by a sower distributing the grain from a basket for the autumnal one. Fine fat cattle were seen in numerous herds, with some few buffaloes among them, and all wore an appearance of wealth, activity, and abundance. We thought it remarkable, therefore, that in all our

way from Hhussan hence, we had not yet seen a village of any size, having passed only a few hamlets scattered about on the hills, until about three o'clock we passed through one called Yahmoora. We found extensive ruins here of some former settlement, among which were many shafts of granite columns, large blocks of hewn stone, and the pent-roofed cover of a sarcophagus, with raised corners in the Roman style, now built into a modern wall.

From the existence of the ruins here, and the resemblance of the name, it is probable that this may be the site of the ancient Ximyra, which Strabo places hereabouts. It is called by Pliny, Simyra, (Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 20.) and, as conjectured by Maundrell, (p. 31.) when applying it to some ruins south of Tartoose, may possibly be the same with the country of the Zemarites, mentioned in Genesis x. 18., more particularly as that people are placed between the Arvadites and the Hamathites, the situation which this site precisely occupies.

There is now here a modern castle of Mohammedan structure, surrounded by a ditch, and inhabited by the Nesseary or Ansarians, the whole in good repair.

After passing Yahmoora, we descended to the W.N.W., and soon came to some Arab tents, forming a settlement similar to that which we had seen at noon. We halted here to obtain fresh information respecting the road, and were regaled as before with warm milk and bread of dourra. Our stay here was short, and after a hasty meal we remounted to continue our journey.

On quitting the Arabs' tents, we were directed, as the safest and easiest way, to proceed straight down to the sea coast, and there falling into the road from Tarabolus to follow it up to Tartoose, by which means we should avoid the Nesseary, who are spoken of as great villains hereabout, and at the same time be sure of not missing our way. We were now about two miles west of Yahmoora, and accordingly went down about W.S.W. to the sea, which was in sight before us. Our road necessarily lay across corn fields, and sometimes stony tracts obstructed by bushes;

when about four o'clock we came among what appears to have been ancient quarries, and saw near there, among the wild shrubs which grow upon the inner edge of the sand hills that line the shore, some rude monuments, which we halted for a moment to examine.

The first of these was a square mass of rock hewn down, perpendicularly on all sides, and facing N.W. by N. and S.E. by E. It was twelve paces on each front, and from twelve to fifteen feet high, being plain on three of its sides, and having on the S.E. one, a square passage in the centre, which led by four or five steps to the top. Beneath the square aperture ran along a line of niches, as if for some fixed purpose, though rudely cut. The top was perfectly flat, and excepting the passage up to it by the square aperture and the steps described, it was one solid mass of rock, into which we could see no opening, either above, around, or below. Whether, therefore, it was a tomb, an altar, or a place of prayer, it was difficult to decide, though either of the two latter seemed the most probable. The stone was now rent in two or three places, and the whole had an air of great rudeness and great antiquity.

Due west from it, about 200 yards, was a work of masonry. N.N.W., about a quarter of a mile, two ruined towers; and N.W. of it four or five miles, the Island of Arwad, the Arphad of the Scriptures, and the Aradus of the Greeks and Romans, with several vessels riding between it and the main land, at the distance of less than half a mile. The building to the west of this was so buried in the thickets that surrounded it, that it was with great difficulty we could gain access to it at all. We found it to be an edifice of fifteen paces square, and at least thirty feet high. The stones of which it was constructed were so large, that, besides the foundation, which projected about three feet from the main body, in the form of a pedestal, two tiers of them were sufficient for the height, and two stones for the whole breadth of each front. Above was a layer of smaller stones, as if for a deep frieze, and

the whole was crowned by a convex, moulded, and overhanging cornice. The interior consisted of two chambers, each occupying the whole square of the building, excepting only the thickness of the walls, which was about ten feet, and in their height extending from the base to the summit of the edifice. This building faced N. by E. and S. by W.; and on the northern side were the chief entrances into each of the chambers. The passage into the lower-chamber was from four to five feet wide, and its top flat. It appeared to have been once fastened by a door, as the sill for a bar still remained, but the upper stone was too much fretted and broken to trace those for the hinges, although in the upper one were round cells like those used for the stone doors in the Haurān; they were here double. The room within was not now more than six feet high, though evidently much filled up by dirt, as at the southern end, where highest, were seen the tops of three shallow niches, just appearing above the rubbish, occupying the whole breadth of the room, and divided by pilasters. A portion of something like a head remained near, and the whole seemed like the shallow niches for statues found in many of the tombs of Egypt, and more particularly in the Great Cave at Gartāsi. At this end was the appearance of a smaller entrance above the niches, now filled up with stones; and either robbers or others had lately harboured here, as there were marks of recent fires, with straw and ashes, and the place was swarming with fleas. There was no visible communication between this and the upper chamber, nor were there any steps leading up to the proper entrance to it from without, so that it could only have been intended to be entered seldom, if at all, after being once closed. This chamber is more lofty, perhaps twenty feet high, and each of them are roofed over with two large beams of stone, that suffice to cover them completely. The original work was massy and excellent, but time and the effects of earthquakes have shaken it, and severed the stones in many places. On the central stone of the small layer, like a frieze, on the northern front, and exactly over the

doors of entrance into the chambers, are apparent traces of an inscription, but too much worn to decypher even in what character it was cut. It was probably a tomb of the ancient Aradii or Arphadites.*

To the north of this, about a quarter of a mile, and a little on the right of the common road, on an eminence hewn throughout with old quarries, we came to what appeared like the pedestal of a large square obelisk. Its base was seven paces square; and, after two ranges of steps, was a square pedestal, about eight feet square every way, with a square block of stone upon it, sloped away at the top in a pyramidal form, but not going high enough to come to a point, so that its top was flat; the whole might be about fifteen feet in height, and composed of two stones besides the base. It faced E.S.E. and W.N.W., and on its western face had been an inscription, but the stone being soft, and eaten out

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* The former power and importance of Aradus, and the bad character of its inhabitants, may be inferred from the particulars of the history in the ancient writers, some extracts from which may be sufficiently interesting to be introduced here.

This island was surrendered by its king, Strato, to Alexander, as well as the city of Marathus, opposite to it.—*Quint. Curt.* lib. iv. c. 1. Fr. ed. p. 409.

When Alexander was marching from Tripolis towards Phœnicia, after his victory over the army of Darius at Issus, he was met on the way by Strato, the son of Genostratus, who was the king of Aradus, and of all the neighbouring islands. Quintus Curtius says, the neighbouring *coast*, which is probably more accurate, and this prince putting a crown of gold on the Macedonian conqueror's head, surrendered into his hand the island Aradus, and Marathus, a wealthy and populous city on the continent, over against it, as also Marianné, and whatever territories besides he had in possession.—*Arrian. Hist. Alex.* book ii. c. 14.

The Aradians growing high crested and insolent, abused the Marathenian ambassadors, who crying out against their impiety, challenged the sacred regard that ought to be had to supplicants, and the security and protection due to ambassadors; upon which some of the audacious young fellows presently knocked them on the head. Then these murderers and their co-partners got together in a general assembly, and, adding one piece of wickedness to another, contrived an impious and vile design against the Marathenians; for, taking the rings off the fingers of them that were murdered, they writ letters to the Marathenians, as from the ambassadors, by which they informed them that the Aradians would within a short time send them aid, to the end that the Marathenians might receive the Aradian soldiers into their city, and so be surprised, thinking they were really and without fraud sent to them as auxiliaries.

by the sea air, like the stones at Alexandria, it was almost obliterated. I could trace an A in the centre of the upper line, and a Γ at the end, and in the second line these letters were just visible in succession,

YAKON,

very rudely cut and disproportionate to each other in size. From this pedestal, the two towers and the island of Arwad bore N.W. in one, the former about 300 yards, the latter from four to five miles.

Due north by east of this pedestal, about twenty paces, was a passage of entrance into sepulchres below. This lay N.N.E. and S.S.W., the entrance being on the northern side by a gentle decli-

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But the Aradians failed in their wicked design; for, when they had laid an embargo upon all the ships, that none might discover their treachery to the Marathenians, a certain seaman, a neighbour to the Marathenians, commiserating their condition, and being accustomed to sail on the neighbouring sea, took a ship, and in the night passed over that narrow cut, about eight furlongs in breadth, and discovered the fraud of the Aradians to the Marathenians. The Aradians, therefore, when they understood their plot was discovered, forbore sending the letters.—*Fragments of Diodorus Siculus*, Book xxvi. c. 97. *Ante Christ.* 140. *See also Strabo*, lib. xvi.

The Aradians supposing that they had got an opportunity to destroy those of Maratham, sent privately to Ammonius who was viceroy of Syria under Alexander Bala, and with a bribe of 300 talents, prevailed with him to deliver up Maratham (a city of Phœnicia); whereupon Ammonius sent Isidore to the Marathenians, who by his speech was to pretend some other matters, but, in truth, went to seize upon the city, and to deliver it up to the Aradians. The Marathenians being ignorant that they were designed for destruction, yet, observing how that the Aradians were higher in the king's favour than themselves, refused the king's soldiers entrance into their city, and resolved to make their addresses as supplicants to the Aradians. They forthwith, therefore, sent ten of the most eminent of their eldest citizens as ambassadors to Aradus, who brought with them an humble address and supplication, and the oldest images of their gods which they had in their city, hoping that upon account of their kindred, and moved with reverence to the gods, the Aradians would be appeased, and their anger diverted. As soon as they landed, according to the commands given, they addressed themselves as supplicants to the people; but the Aradians' blood being up, they slighted the usual and common laws of supplicants, and cast off all reverence of their kindreds' images and the gods; and therefore broke the images and trampled them most shamefully under their feet, and attempted to stone the ambassadors; but some of the senators interposing themselves between them and the rage of the people, (scarce restrained from stoning them, notwithstanding the reverence they owed the senators,) commanded them to be conveyed to prison.—*Fragments of Diodorus Siculus*, b. xxxiv. c. 29.

vity and a flight of ten steps. The passage was about five feet broad, and ten feet high at its end, hewn down out of the solid rock, and covered by one large block of stone extending all its length and breadth. At the end of this passage was a small arched doorway, which led into a chamber, excavated on a gentle descent, being eight paces long, four broad, and about six feet in height. On each side were three cells for sarcophagi, going in endways into the rock, and being about the ordinary size in height and breadth, but extending in a great way, each of these following a few inches lower than the other in the sloping line of the chamber. At the end of this was a plain doorway leading into another chamber now nearly filled with dirt, and beyond this a third, over which must stand nearly, if not exactly, the monument described above, and which was, no doubt, intended to mark the innermost of these chambers, as the principal part of the sepulchre. We could find no traces either of painting, stucco, sculpture, or inscriptions, or any marks of the fastenings of doors.

The two towers to the N.W. are also sepulchral monuments, and are very similar in design and execution to the last described. The first or southernmost of all these has a circular pedestal of about six feet high, with four fronts of lions or sphinxes, showing their heads and standing on their fore-feet only, forming four projecting corners, and making the square of the pedestal just eight paces. The lions are much disfigured, but in the S.E. one the features are still perfect, as well as a deep collar that went around under the neck and ears.

Above this pedestal stands a circular column of one single stone, about twenty feet high, formed into two divisions by mouldings, the lower divisions being about twelve and the upper eight feet high. The upper one recedes inwards about a foot from the under one, so as to be of less diameter; and about two-thirds up its height the same moulding as below is repeated, from which the top rounds away into a concave semi-globe. The stone is much decayed by the sea air; and a tree, which has thrust itself up

through the pedestal on the eastern side, has torn away almost half of the upper column on the same front, like the banian trees of India, which operate more than time to destroy the monuments of that country.

The sepulchre of this is a few paces to the south of it, and descends by steps into chambers for sarcophagi, as described by Maundrell faithfully, as far as we could see, though now the inner chambers could not be reached.

To the N.W. of this was the second tower, consisting of a square pedestal at the base, eight paces on each side, and about ten feet high. On it stood a circular shaft, about fifteen feet in height and twelve feet in diameter, and above it was another stone, about six feet high, in the form of a six-sided pyramid. The sepulchre of this was on its south side, but now quite inaccessible, large bushes choking it completely up.

Both of these fronted within a quarter of a point of the four cardinal points, but we could see no traces of an inscription on either of them. Near them are many square spaces left by quarries; some seemingly designed for other uses, but now sown with corn, as the rain drains in here and fertilizes the soil.

N.E. by N. from hence we saw a sort of open temple, the walls of enclosure being four feet thick and twelve high, hewn down out of the solid rock. There were small arched and other square doors of entrance, and on the inside were portions of rock wall, as if of former divisions; the sills for the bar of the arched door, as well as the sockets for its hinge, were visible, the original door no doubt being of metal or stone. Within are seen niches in the walls as if for offerings; and without, in one or two places, appearances of mutilated statues. The whole appeared to be about 100 feet square, and was, perhaps, an open temple to one of the Phœnician divinities.

To the N.E. of this, at the distance of less than a quarter of a mile, we met with a still more decided monument of that kind. This was a large open court seventy-five paces square, or about 150

feet; the sides hewn down out of the solid rock, but not forming isolated walls as in the last, for here the cultivated ground was on a level with the top of the sides all round, and the corn seen high above it. It faced nearly the four cardinal points, being closed on three sides and open on the north. The side walls commenced there by a slope, growing gradually higher till they reached the centre, and then going in a straight line. They were here, about twelve feet high, and in the centre of the southern wall at least fifteen. In each of the two innermost corners were isolated pillars, joined in angles, as if forming the angular pillars of a square colonnade. They were of a square form, and at the east end of the open front were two similar ones, but no traces of others in correspondent directions. Oblong square niches were seen at regular distances around the walls; and as they would not require lamps in an open temple, they were probably for offerings.

In the centre of this court stood a pedestal of rock, eight paces square, and about ten high, left excavated all around. On it was raised a sort of throne of masonry, open towards the north or front of the court. It appeared about twelve feet high, and ten wide in the clear of the inside. The inner front had a flat arched top, once stuccoed, as some of the stucco remains; the outer or overhanging part of the canopy is flat, and has four gutters in what may be called the soffit. The whole is crowned with a plain frieze in front, and a torus and cornice all around, perfectly Egyptian; thus differing from that of the tomb first described, as that was a concave moulded cornice, while this is convex like those of Egypt. This was, probably, a temple, and the central edifice the throne of the idol, probably the sun, to which the Phœnicians were accustomed to pay adoration in open temples.

We were now nearer the upper road to Tartoose, as there is one close by the sea, and the other about half a mile distant from it. We therefore went up into it, and in a few minutes after entering it passed over a ditch hewn down into the natural rock, its sides descending in steps to the bottom. It lies nearly east and west, and

extends for four or five hundred yards; but what was the original intention of this did not suggest itself to me on the spot. It lies about N.E. from the open temple last described, about 500 yards, and might possibly have had some connection with it.

From hence we continued our way along the upper road to Tartoose, passing many old quarries and sepulchres in the rocks by the way, no doubt the works of the ancient Aradii, and in about half an hour we came to the river called Nahr-el-Roumtra. It was easily fordable, being about 25 feet wide and three deep, and its bed firm and hard. Just below where we crossed it, were the ruins of a bridge, with an apparently artificial mound of earth on the southern bank, of an oblong form, sloping at the ends. The island of Arwad bears from the mouth of this river W.S.W., distant from two to three miles, and all along from its southern point in the direction of the coast runs a line of rocks and breakers, extending for several miles. There is every reason to think that this river is the ancient Eleutherus, and probably a continuation of that, the dry bed of which we saw in the valley of Hhussan, and afterwards observed filled by other springs in our journey of this morning. It would thus unite what have been thought discordant testimonies, and perfectly correspond with all the authorities cited for its position, except that of Ptolemy as quoted by Terrarius, who places it between Orthosia and Balanea, or Tartoose and Beineas, which is somewhat more to the northward. "Strabo," says Maundrell, "will have it somewhere between Orthosia and Tripoli, as a boundary dividing Syria from Phœnicia (page 518). Pliny places it near Orthosia, emptying itself into the sea over against Aradus (Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 20.); and the writer of the Maccabees lays it in the land of Hamath, which country, whatever it were, was certainly without the borders of Israel, as appears from the same author. To this Josephus agrees, placing Eleutherus to the north of Sidon as may be collected from him, (Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 7, 8.) where, speaking of Mark Antony's donation to Cleopatra, he reports how that extravagant gallant gave her all

the cities between Eleutherus and Egypt, except Tyre and Sidon." p. 33. 8vo. edit.

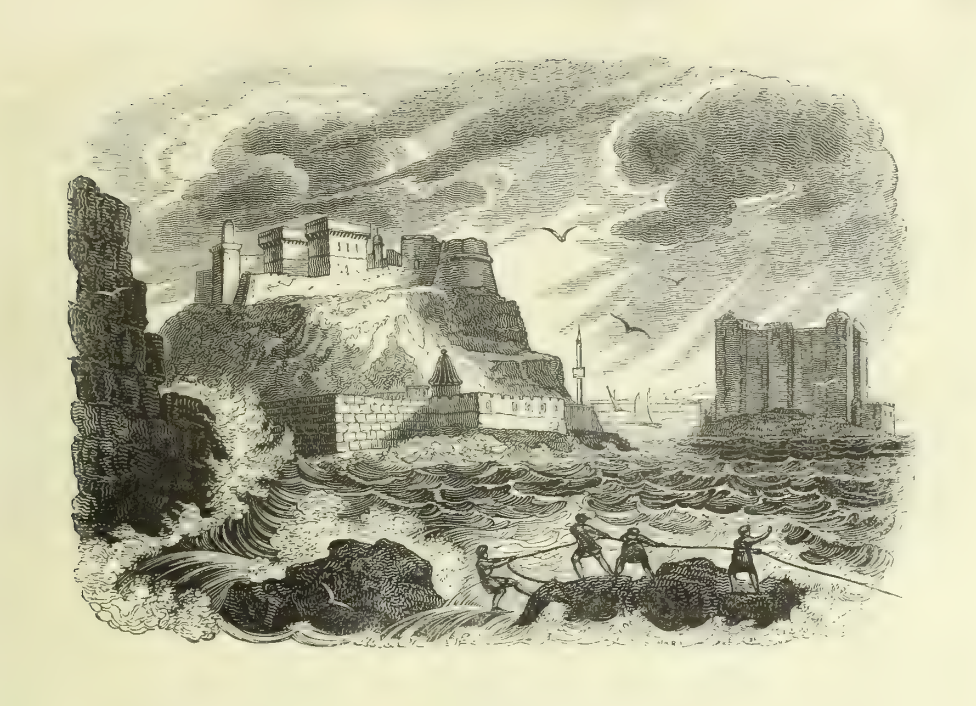
It seems remarkable that Maundrell, who resided at Aleppo, should not have thought of the present Hamah, the largest city near Aleppo, and in constant intercourse with it, as the land of Hamath, mentioned and called in the Scriptures, Hamath the Great.* It is mentioned as a northern boundary, in contrast to Baal-Gad under Mount Hermon, the land which yet remained for the Israelites to possess after they had secured the land of Canaan. In this land, the river in question actually rises; whether it be the one whose dry bed we saw near Hhussan, or any of the others that we observed flowing through that plain. It empties itself into the sea over against Aradus, and it is situated between Orthosia and Tripoli. It seems unaccountable, therefore, that this river should have been assigned by any modern geographers to the river between Tyre and Sidon, called Cassimere, as that rises near Bālbeck, and has not one local feature in correspondence with those assigned to it.

We continued our way now still nearer to the sea, and over a sandy road, in which we saw a large black serpent, and a number of the beautiful birds called by the French, syrens. They are said to be birds of passage, and to come from Europe to Egypt and the north of Africa in the autumn. I remember to have seen them in great numbers both at Alexandria and on the Nile about that season, but there was no one near to inform us whether they were stationary here; or, if not, what was the usual period of their visit.

On approaching Tartoose, the large Gothic church without the town was a very conspicuous object, and seen a long way off. In half an hour after crossing the river, and just at sunset, we reached

* Hamath is spoken of by Benjamin of Tudela as retaining its ancient name, and being seated along the river Jabok. He states that 15,000 men had perished there in a single day by an earthquake, which so completely destroyed the town as to leave only 70 of its inhabitants alive.

the town. There being no entrance at the southern end, we were obliged to make the circuit of it on the east, and enter by the northern gate on a stone bridge leading over a ditch, and ending in a porch of Gothic architecture. Beyond this we passed a second ditch, and saw some vestiges of noble Christian ruins; when, getting into the centre of the town, we alighted at the public coffee-house, and after passing the evening with a large party of mule-drivers from Latikea, sailors from Arwad, and dervishes and chess-players going to Sham or Damascus, we stretched ourselves out upon a bench among the rest to repose.



CHAP. XXV.

DESCRIPTION OF ORTHOSIA AND ARADUS, AND JOURNEY THROUGH GABALA, TO LAODICEA.

Friday, *May* 3, 1816.—The S.W. gale of yesterday still continued, and instead of showers, it brought down steady torrents of rain, so that there was no moving in the morning at least. Our escort from Hhoms now left us, as their commission had ended, though they delayed their departure until to-morrow. I had been advised to apply to the Aga for three or four of his men, but this would have required a handsome present both to the master and the servants. I would have gone over to Arwad, and sought a passage up by sea, but there was no possible communication with the island, except in fine weather. The roads were represented by all to be the most unsafe in Syria, from the depredations of the Nesseary; and stories were told us of a Frank and six people of the country being murdered between this and Lati-

kea within the last four months, beside poor Colonel Boutain. At this moment, too, they were even more insolent than usual; since some soldiers had been sent into the mountains by Mustapha Baba, at the request of Lady Hester Stanhope, to search out and punish the murderers of that French traveller. There was no alternative, therefore, but that of seeking out some companions; and fortunately, by enquiry, we found some who were bound that way, and agreed to depart a day sooner than they intended for the sake of our mutual protection. The weather confined us all to the coffee-house until nearly sunset, when it broke off, and enabled me to breathe a free air after being suffocated by smoke and stunned by noise. My walk was of short duration, though it admitted of my seeing all the few remains of antiquity in the town.

The fort of Orthosia, for this was the ancient name of that place under the government of the Crusaders, remains still nearly entire, and presents an appearance of tolerable strength. The circuit of its outer wall, including also the side towards the sea which is open, is, perhaps, nearly half a mile. The wall is constructed of very large stones and excellent masonry, with square buttresses at equal distances, and a wide and deep ditch before it. Within this outer wall is a second ditch, partly hewn down out of the firm rock, and the inner wall is then formed by the sides of large buildings presented towards it. Rustic masonry is seen only in some parts, the greater portion being smooth, and loop-holes are frequent in the walls; but whether any part of this was Roman work and anterior to the Norman buildings within, seemed difficult to determine. The form of the fort is nearly a square, presenting three of its sides to the land, and the fourth to the sea, at right angles with the direction of the coast, or nearly N. and S. The only entrance into it is at the N.W. angle, within a few yards of the water's edge, and over a ruined paved way. The first gate, which has a pointed arch, with rustic masonry and the trefoil sculptured on its central stone, leads to a Gothic porch, the vaulted roof of which is banded with cross ribs, having

the rose at the point of intersection, quite in the Norman style; and yet every part of this work, within and without, seems coeval in point of date.

On passing through this porch, the inner ditch is crossed, and on the opposite side of it is laid open the interior of a large building called the Divan. This is a long and lofty room, of about 100 feet in extent, having a vaulted roof without pillars, and running nearly E. and W. Its side toward the ditch is partly broken down, but enough remains to show that it formed a portion of the inner works of fortification, as there is here a long covered way with embrasures and loop-holes for archery. The southern side of the building, which still remains perfect, shows a range of large windows, with the broad Saxon arch, and some smaller ones of a pointed form. The masonry is smooth throughout, but all solid and good. Within, the vaulted roof is banded by cross ribs, like the outer porch; and at the points from which they spring to diverge over the ceiling, falling between every two windows, are seen a succession of crowned heads, from which these bands seem to issue, or on which they may be supposed to rest. These heads have some expression given to them by the turn of the neck, and are executed with a free hand. The crowns are all varied, though the trefoil and the fleur-de-lys are, I think, seen in each. The features are much mutilated by the Arabs, the iconoclastic principle of whose religion induces them often to disfigure the most interesting parts of sculpture. Enough remains, however, to show that the heads, as well as the crowns, were varied; and it struck me on the spot that they might possibly be portraits of the sovereign princes and warrior chiefs who were united in the redemption of the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels. The chronicles of these dark times often speak of Orthosia as a strong and important station of the Christian armies, and it was honoured with a bishop's see in the province of Tyre; so that this might have been, as the Arabs term it, a divan, or hall of council, since it neither resembles a church nor a mere place of strength. Attached to it are extensive buildings, now made so

indistinct by the erection of modern dwellings on their ruins, that no plan of them could be traced.

Besides the edifice described, there is a portion of a lofty semicircular wall, with windows in it, now crowded with buildings also, and several inferior vestiges of former days.

The whole of the modern town of Tartoose is within the walls of the ancient fort. Its habitations are of the ordinary kind. It has a new mosque with a minaret near an open square, and a coffee-house, but neither manufactories or public bazārs. The population are estimated at about 500, wholly Moslems, and the Aga who governs the town has merely a personal guard of about twenty men.

Without the fort are traces of a more extensive ditch and wall that encompassed the ancient city, and fragments of buildings and granite pillars, mark the place of former grandeur. Amid all these scattered remains, the only edifice left standing is a large Christian church, at a short distance to the S.E. of the town. Its interior is 65 paces in length, 45 in breadth, and its height from 50 to 60 feet. It faces due E. by N., and is divided into three aisles, by two rows of clustered pillars, like those of our cathedrals in England. Some of the capitals of these are a bastard Corinthian, others contain a succession of broad leaves folding over each other, and others again exhibit the folds of drapery united by a brooch in the form of a rose. The roof is banded by cross ribs, with roses at the point of intersection, and the whole has perfectly a Gothic air throughout. The mouldings of the arch of the great front door were broken away, we were told, by a Turkish Aga, who is reported, as usual, to have found immense treasures concealed there. It has an architrave of red granite, perhaps from some still older ruined work here, but excepting this injury, the edifice remains surprisingly perfect, and might be easily repaired. It is now appropriated to no other use than as a shelter for herds of cattle.

The island of Arwad, which bears from hence S.W. by S. distant about three miles, has a larger and more populous town than Tartoose, and is visited by vessels from every part of the

coast. It appears, both in form, size, and relative situation to the continent, to be exactly what Tyre must have been before it was connected to the main land by the isthmus of Alexander. Like that renowned mart of commerce, it must have anciently enjoyed a high consideration, and seems to have been itself a kingdom, as Rab-shekah when he despatches messengers of reproof to Hezekiah, says to him, "Where is the king of Hamath and the king of Arwad, and the king of the city of Tepharvaim, of Hena and Ivah?" (2 Kings, xix. 13.) It furnished mariners and soldiers to Tyre, as may be gathered from the lamentation which Ezekiel is ordered to take up for that city. "The inhabitants of Zidon and Arwad were thy mariners. The men of Arwad with thine army were upon thy walls round about." (xxvii. 11.) As the Aradus of the Greeks and Romans, it helped, in conjunction with Tyre and Sidon, to form the city of Tripolis, by the union of these three colonies; and enjoyed, besides, a command upon the continent as far as Gabala, or the Jebelee of the present day. The advantages of an insulated situation, and the wealth and power which may be attained by maritime commerce, are strikingly illustrated by the history of these celebrated marts, the whole source of their greatness being apparently founded in these.

The island of Arwad has, at the present moment, a population of from 1500 to 2000, besides strangers, which may ordinarily amount to 500 more. As belonging to the department of the sea, it is independent of all the governors on the coast, and acknowledges only the authority of the Cabudān Basha, (or, as it is usually written, Capitan Pasha,) who sends here annually an Aga from Constantinople. It is low, rocky, and covered with buildings, having no cultivated soil, so that it draws its supplies of provisions from the adjacent shore. From its southern edge extends a long broken reef, showing itself above water at intervals, and following nearly the direction of the coast. It has a clear entrance, however, round the northern point, and within this is good shelter from the prevailing winds of the sea between the island and the main. The inhabitants

are wholly occupied in commerce; and we counted, at the present moment, twenty-five sail of vessels, large and small, at anchor there. From all enquiries, it seemed that, like New Providence in the West Indies, and Malta in the Mediterranean, it was purely a mart of transit, and that it owed this chiefly to some favourable exemptions from duties exacted in the ports of the continent near.

I could not obtain any information of ancient ruins there, though some might certainly be expected, nor of the spring of fresh water in the sea mentioned by Pliny*; but, perhaps, the ignorance and indifference of those, whom I questioned, was the cause of their not having attracted their notice.

Saturday, *May* 4.—We were all stirring at day-break, and, our little caravan assembling before the door, we took a morning cup of coffee, and left Tartoose before the sun appeared. Continuing our route along by the sea-shore, we came in about an hour to Nahr-el-Hussein, a river, with a stream not fordable, and which we crossed over a stone bridge of good construction. In two hours more we passed a second river, of less depth and rapidity, called Nahr-el-Merkeeah, from a village of that name above; and, in about an equal space of time, we came beneath the castle of Merkub, having it about a mile within us on our right. It is larger than the castle of Hhussan; though, like it, apparently a Saracenic work. It is seated on the summit of a round hill, and built in a triangular form, having its outer angle facing about N.W. towards the sea. At this angle is a large round tower, and several smaller ones are seen along the outer wall. The mixture of black and white stone, in alternate layers, is also visible from hence, and quite in the Mohammedan taste. It is commanded by a still

* Between the island of Aradus and the continent there was a fountain of fresh water, arising at the bottom of the sea, where it was 50 cubits deep, and from whence the water was conveyed to the surface through pipes made of leather.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b.v. c.3.

higher hill above it to the south, and is otherwise of very little strength, but suffered to fall into gradual decay without repair, and is now inhabited by the families of such Moslem peasants as venture to live here among the Nessearies. It is thought by Maundrell that this may be probably the same castle mentioned by Adrichomius and others, to which the bishops of Balanea and others were forced to translate their see, by reason of the insults of the Saracens.*

As we passed along the beach of the sea here, we noticed singular clusters of small hills, like the effects of some convulsions in the earth; and towards the beach itself, were large severed masses, presenting cliffs, in which small pieces of the black porous stone were imbedded in a yellowish sand and clay; some of these masses being from twenty to thirty feet in height. I took from thence two specimens, which, on closer examination, looked almost like cinders: the whole of the stone along the shore here was of the black porous kind, and the sand of the beach was like fine steel filings or powder of iron. On the west side of the hill, fronting the sea, was a small Moslem village called El-Beathy; and below, just after passing the cliffs described, we came to a large ruined building called El-Bos, apparently arched on the inside. There was near this, a square tower on the hill above, called Boorje-el-Bos; but around the ruin below were seen granite pillars, and other vestiges of more extensive works, which marked the site of some former town. Whether this might be the Paltus of Strabo, which he places here on the coast of the Aradii, between Jebelee and Arwad, is not easy to decide. The pillars here, however, are evidently ancient, and this is the only name which he gives that would bear a resemblance in its most corrupted form. On the north-east of the castle, on the top of a lower eminence, is the town of Merkub or Merghub, which is peopled by Moslems, and shows a large cluster of houses, with a tall mināreh rising from

* Maundrell's Travels, 8vo. p. 23.

among them. If the castle itself may be thought to be the same with the Margatto of Adrichomius, the town now going under the same name may well be the Marathus of Strabo, which he places also on this coast; but the existence of some vestiges, of decided antiquity, would be necessary to support that assumption, as the resemblances of names alone can seldom be deemed sufficient.

It was about noon when we reached Banias, where we halted at a coffee-house to refresh. This was a large arch-roofed building of about 150 feet in length, and of a proportionate height and breadth, similar to the one we had seen in a more ruined state at El-Bos. There were here also several fragments of granite pillars scattered about ; and on an artificial eminence, amid the few huts of the present inhabitants, were seen the vestiges of what appeared to have been a fort of Roman construction. It is seated at a short distance up from the sea ; and has near it a small, but sweet and clear, stream, and a bay formed by a gentle concavity in the line of the shore. It may be safely assumed, therefore, as the Balanea of Strabo, which he numbers among the towns of the Aradii on this part of the coast.

During our stay of about an hour at Banias, there halted at it some Turkish Christians, who scarcely understood a word of Arabic, returning to Anadolia from their pilgrimage of Easter at Jerusalem. Almost at the same time there stopped to repose a party of nine Indians, five males and four females, who had come from Hindoostan to Bagdad, from thence to Aleppo, and were now going down the coast, intending to reach Egypt, and from thence perform the pilgrimage of the prophet to Mecca.

These last spoke Arabic better than the Turks, whom they thus crossed in their way. As they had been already nine months from their homes, and had come all the distance on foot, subsisting by the charity of those they met, their surprise was extreme at hearing me address them in their own tongue, for since leaving Bagdad they had not met with one who understood it.

We quitted Banias after our repast; and, still continuing along the sea-shore, we came, in about an hour, to the Nahr-el-Boorje, so called from a square tower near it. There was here a ruined bridge, no longer passable, so that we forded the river, and saw in its stream several small sea turtles, which had no doubt come up there from the coast. In half an hour more, we came to Nahr-el-Khan, so called from a large khan and the tomb of its founder near it; and here also was a broken bridge, which obliged us to ford the stream, where we saw again the small sea turtles mentioned before.

From thence we were about an hour in reaching a large river called Nahr-el-Sin*, from a town of that name above it, peopled by Nessearies. There are stationary Arabs, who live upon its banks in tents of reed and straw, called Arab-el-Mulook, or Arabs of the king, or of the country; and the river is thence called Nahr-el-Melek, or the king's river. The stream is broader, deeper, and more rapid than either the Jordan, the Adonis, or the Orontes; it is at the same time beautifully clear, and has over it a good stone bridge of two large and wide arches. At its mouth are the ruins of a large building, probably a fortress, and on its northern bank are seen several granite pillars, with other marked remains of antiquity; but what station might have occupied this eligible site does not immediately appear.

In half an hour from hence we passed a smaller stream, called Nahr-el-Besaeteen, and in another half hour we reached the town of Jebelee. As it was yet early, I was desirous of pushing on for Ladikea (or Laodicea), but my companions were not to be hurried. We accordingly halted here, and put up at the public coffee-

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* It was at the source of this river, the Nahr-el-Sin, which is only a few hours' journey from its mouth, that Mr. Boutain was assassinated: he had left the common road for the purpose of tracing the river to its head, and was shot by a party of two or three Nessearies there. This information was given to us by some persons whom we met near this spot.

shed. The importunities of those around us, who had learnt from the rest of our party that I was from the country of the Franks, scarcely permitted me to see any thing of the town, or indeed even to stir from the crowd by which I was encircled, until I caught a moment for that purpose, while the assembly dispersed to evening prayers. This itself took place in so singular a way that it is, perhaps, worth describing. Our station was in a long covered passage, being the continuation of a street over which rooms had been built. The coffee-house was at one corner of this, and on the outside were benches of stone covered with a temporary awning of reeds and leaves. Along the side of the passage, beneath these benches, and on different parts of the little hill near, were assembled at least 500 people, some smoking, others singing, others playing at chess, and all engaged in recreations. When the sun had set, an elderly man came to the door of the mosque, which fronted immediately towards the middle of the company, and cried aloud "Is it yet Muggrib or not?" In so mixed a multitude, unison of opinion, where there was the least room to doubt, would have been singular indeed. Some replied that it was long past, and accused him of negligence; others, that it was not yet arrived, and blamed his impatience. Warm disputes occurred, and the whole party was set in agitation, until the crier, finding it, perhaps, best to follow his own estimation of time, exclaimed aloud, "God is great! God is great! God is great!" following it by the usual invitation to prayer. Some laughed and jested on the prevailing difference of opinion; others were more grave and devout: some said, "Let me first finish my nargeel;" and those of our own party contented themselves with enquiring after the rice for supper. When the invitation ceased, the muezzin, or crier, himself joined in the jest, and uttered some pleasantries on those who had been loudest in the dispute!

The town of Jebelee is thought to contain about 400 houses, and from two to three thousand stationary inhabitants. It has

three mosques, two large coffee-houses, a small bazār, and many separate shops. It is seated near the edge of the sea ; but is not frequented by vessels, having no good shelter, and its population subsisting chiefly by inland trade and agriculture. The greater part of the country which we had passed in our journey of to-day was inhabited by Nessearies, who draw their chief supplies from hence, where the people are all Moslems. The range of mountains from Tartoose to Jebelee, as well as the extensive plain between them, and the sea-shore throughout all that tract, are almost as fully peopled as the range of Lebanon; and the same activity and industry prevailing among the Nessearies as among the Druses, the same demands exist, and the supplies drawn by them from the coast are equally great. Their returns are made in the productions of the soil; and, next to Ladikea, Jebelee is the town which profits most by this mutual intercourse.

This is the ancient Gabala, which is fixed by Strabo as the boundaries of the Aradii on the continent northward, and is mentioned also by other ancient writers. " In the time of the Greek emperors," says Maundrell, " it was dignified with a bishop's see, in which sometimes sate Severian, the grand adversary and arch-conspirator against St. Chrysostom."

The usual wreck of former magnificence is here left to confirm the care with which the most inferior of the Roman stations were embellished and improved. Near the sea are the ruins of a mole of masonry, anciently used for the security of shipping ; but being now ruined, the smallest boats take shelter in a little bay in the bed of rock before the town. Granite pillars, hewn blocks, excavated sepulchres, &c. all testify the works of former days; but the only interesting monument remaining is part of a fine Roman theatre. This faced towards the north, and appears to have had a closed front, which is now occupied, as well as the whole of the space between the niches and the stage, by modern dwellings erected there. The entrances into these dwellings are by the

arched doors, which served the same purpose to the audience of the theatre; some of them being partly filled up, and others left nearly in their original state. The outer front of the semicircular wall had, above the lower range of doors, a colonnade of Doric pilasters going all round the second story, and was the only theatre I had yet seen with this exterior ornament. Above these but little of the wall remained. The benches for the spectators, and the flights of steps intersecting them, could still be seen from the outside; but there was no getting within, without intruding upon the families residing there.

The extent of the front, imperfectly measured, was about a hundred paces; and it seemed on the whole inferior only to the theatres of Ammān and Bosra, in extent or beauty.

Immediately facing this monument of the Roman love of pleasure, is a more modern proof of the attachment of their successors to austerity and voluntary privation. This is the great mosque and tomb of Sultan Ibrahim, whose history is told, and whose sepulchre is described by Maundrell. People of all religions, even Idolators and Jews, are admitted to pay it reverence: but the night was now so set in that we could not examine it. It appears very large, has a fine mināreh, two domes, some excellent gardens, a fountain, and a bath attached to it, and enjoys an agreeable situation, being without the precincts of the town, and surrounded by cultivated land. In a modern cemetry here I noticed several tombs that were covered with pent-roofed stones, raised at the corners, exactly like those used over the sarcophagi of the Romans, and probably handed down from age to age as a copy of them.

On our return we found an excellent supper of rice and milk, furnished to our party by the keeper of the tomb of Sultan Selim, who was himself a mufti, and a man of greater consideration here than the governor himself. We went in the evening to pay him a visit, and found him surrounded by grave and green-turbaned Shereefs: but though he had performed to us this act of hospitality,

he scarcely deigned to open his lips to any of the company, and certainly for more than half an hour not a breath was heard in his presence.

Our return to the coffee-house was welcomed by more freedom and gaiety. A number of lamps were hung from side to side of the street, as in Egypt, and as numerous a party as that of the afternoon were assembled. The cocoa nut-shell, for the bottom of the nargeel, is here discontinued, and a long coarse green-glass vessel is used in its stead, apparently of German manufacture. The men wear jubbes or outer cloaks of white shalloon, instead of cloth or cotton; and in their features gradually lose that of the Arab race, and approach insensibly toward that of the Turkish.

Sunday, May 5. — We had lain down on the benches beneath an awning of leaves, but obtained no rest from the myriads of fleas that revelled on our blood. We were all up, therefore, a full hour before the dawn, and quitted Jebelee as soon as it was light. Instead of the cultivated plain which we had passed from Tartoose to this place, we had now a dry heathy road on a sandy soil. In half an hour we passed a small stream called Nahr-el-Jebelee, and in half an hour more we passed another called Nahr-el-Metheek, both barely fordable. Beyond this we met several parties of falconers, with grey hawks held on a glove on the left hand, having strings to their feet, and small brass bells on their tails, but we saw no exercise of the sport.

In about an hour from hence we crossed a large stream, called Nahr-el-Soba, and we here saw several suspicious parties, of two or three men in each, who, our companions insisted, were lying in wait for the unwary passengers. Turning up from the line of the coast more to the eastward, we came in an hour to Nahr-el-Ladikea, or, as it is also called, Nahr-el-Kebeer. We crossed this by a large stone bridge of five arches, of the most singularly barbarous construction, the central arch being the smallest, and the upper pave-

ment of the bridge ascending and descending like the waves of the sea; so that the centre was actually the lowest part, and presented the appearance of a bridge in the act of breaking in two.

The ground was here cultivated, and, after an hour's smart ride, we went up over a gentle hill, and came immediately into Ladikea; the whole of the coast between it and Tarabolus forming a shallow bay. Our Moslem companions now left us, and being taken to the house of Signior Monsi Elias, the British consul or agent there, we met a welcome reception.

The remainder of the day was entirely passed in receiving the visits of some Franks, and other Christian merchants, who were disengaged from business; and the evening was passed with a large party of the consul's friends.

Monday, May 6. — The road from hence to Aleppo could no more be traversed in safety without an escort or a caravan, than that by which we had recently come here; and none being on the point of departure, it was thought necessary to wait for one. The interval admitted of my making an excursion round the environs of the town, and seeing the greater part of its interior.

Ladikea is situated on the northern edge of a tongue of land which projects from the general line of the coast, and terminates the bay between it and Tarabolus. The town stands chiefly on a level ground, being open to the sea on the W. and N.W., and having behind it, on the S. E., a ridge of low land running out in the line of the promontory itself. To the north is an extensive line of flat coast; to the east a plain of cultivated land, going back to the hills leading up to the country of the Nessearies; to the S. E. the bottom of the bay, in which is seen the town of Jebelee, bearing S. by E. ½ E. from 15 to 18 miles; to the south the snowy heights of Lebanon, the extreme western point visible bearing S. by W. 60 or 70 miles; and to the west the broad expanse of the ocean. The town is of an irregularly circular form, and may be about two miles

in extreme circuit. It stands at the distance of less than a mile from the sea, and has its mina, or port, distinct from it. The streets of the town are in general narrow, and often covered. Some few, indeed, are wide and open, but they are found to be inconvenient from their free admission of the sunshine. The houses are chiefly built of stone, but can boast no peculiar excellence.

There are here twelve mosques, four baths, five churches of the Greek communion, one Maronite, and one attached to that of the Latins. The bazārs are of ordinary construction, but well furnished, and the resident population is estimated to amount to eight thousand.

The port, which is situated to the westward of the town at about a quarter of an hour's distance, is a small bason, capable of containing, when closely moored, from thirty to forty sail. Its entrance is narrow, and, being open to the sea, is difficult in blowing weather; but the shelter is excellent within, as the port is, indeed, a complete pier. There were now in it eighteen shaktoors and small coasting vessels of the country, and a French brig, of about 200 tons, lying moored to the rocks. Larger vessels, it is said, cannot enter from want of a sufficient depth of water; a defect which Suliman Basha, of Acre, under whose government the greater part of the coast of Syria lies, has endeavoured to remedy, by sending to Malta for men and engines to deepen it. At the entrance of the port is an old Turkish castle, now in a very ruined state, though it is, itself, erected on the remains of former works, as near its base are seen large piles of granite pillars used in its construction. There is a good wharf for landing goods from boats; and the custom-house, the magazines, and all the mercantile offices are near; so that the Mina, as it is called, forms a little town of itself, as at Tarabolus, having also a mosque there for the accommodation of the faithful. The chief export from this port is tobacco, grown in the mountains east of the town, and celebrated all over Turkey, but particularly esteemed in Egypt. It is estimated that there are

at least fifty cargoes sent annually to different parts, of which twenty-five find a ready sale at Damietta. There is, besides, a small export trade of cotton and oil to the southern ports upon the coast, with some few bales of silk. The imports are much more various; rice, and even corn, from Egypt; wine, soap, and cheese, from Cyprus; coffee, sugar, and all kinds of British manufactures from Malta, with assorted cargoes from the south of France and the Adriatic; all of which are distributed through the country, by way of the great marts of Aleppo, Hamah, Hhoms, and Damascus.

It is well known that this town was founded by Seleucus Nicator, who governed Syria after the death of Alexander, and that he called it, in honour of his mother, Λαοδίκεια. This name is still so well preserved, that if an Arab were to hear the original one from the mouth of a Greek, he could not pronounce it any otherwise than he now does, as Ladikeia; and if a Greek were to hear the Arab pronunciation of it, he would probably write it in the characters of its original orthography.

It is said to have been adorned with great magnificence, both by its founders and his successors; and there are sufficient proofs remaining of its having possessed some fine monuments of art. The principal of these is a square building in the S.E. quarter of the town, about fifty feet long on each side, and of an equal or perhaps greater height. It is now so surrounded by modern dwellings, that one cannot see all its parts; but from that which is accessible it appears to have been either a triumphal gate, or a small votive temple to Mars. Each of its faces presents a fine arch, occupying the whole breadth of the building, excepting only the angular pilastres and side architraves; above is a pediment with a sculptured soffit, a rich frieze, and perhaps a cornice, but now broken away. In the frieze are seen a succession of war emblems, such as the shield, the spear, the helmet, and the body armour of the Roman soldier; which devices, from their resemblance to those on the Doric tomb at Soeda in the Haurān, would have induced me

to think this also a sepulchral monument, had it not been open on all sides by arches in the way described. These are now built up by paltry walls of modern masonry, and the whole is occupied by a Moslem family who reside there, so that we could not examine the interior without their permission. The order of this interesting edifice is Corinthian, the style chaste, the execution good, and the whole in a state of high preservation, considering that it is surrounded by other buildings, and used as a common dwelling.

Not far from this are four Corinthian columns, with their architraves, still remaining erect, and apparently the portion of a portico to some ancient temple; these also are in a pure taste, and remain still very perfect.

In different parts of the town, particularly in a street north of these, and in the Sookh-el-Serdj, or Saddle Bazār, there are seen ranges of granite columns still erect, and incorporated with the modern buildings. They were probably remaining portions of colonnades to some public edifices which still remained standing after the general destruction of the buildings to which they belonged; and advantage might thus have been taken to build the walls of the modern dwellings in a line with them, so as to include them in the walls themselves, and thus contribute considerably to the strength of the fabric.

On the hill which overlooks the town on the S.E. stood anciently the castle, of which nothing remains but heaps of rubbish, now partly covered by a wood of olives. Large and deep cisterns, and wells, are also seen on the hill to the south of the town; and from one of them, containing an excellent spring, water is brought to the town, and sold at eight paras, or about two-pence sterling, per large goat-skin.

The Necropolis of the ancient city was near the sea, on the north and north-west of the buildings, which do not ever appear to have extended close to the water in that direction. There are here, still remaining, many ancient sepulchres hewn out of the rock. They are descended to by flights of steps, like those south of

Tartoose, when a square, and sometimes an arched door, leads to dark chambers in which the sarcophagi were deposited in cells, in the usual way. The rocks here seem also to have formed the quarries for the buildings of the living, as appearances of that kind are seen all around.

The environs of Ladikea having many olive grounds, gardens, little country retreats, and places of pleasure; the inhabitants are all fond of rural recreation; and those who cannot afford time for a longer excursion, seat themselves along the sides of the public roads, both in the morning and in the evening, to enjoy the freshness of the air, and, as they themselves say, to lengthen out their days by delight.

Tuesday, May 7. — The day was devoted to an excursion into the country, at a small village of Nessearies, called Bisneada, where some Frank families were then remaining.

It is situated at the distance of about an hour from Ladikea to the N. E., and being on a hill, enjoys a pure air and delightful prospect. It commands a view of all the wide and extensive line of plain along the coast from north to south, terminated in that quarter by the snowy range of Lebanon; behind it are the mountains of the Nessearies, among which, a peaked one, called Jebel Okrah, or the bare mountain, is conspicuous; and before it is the town of Ladikea on the coast, and the blue line of the western sea.

There is, in this village, an ancient fountain, over which is a semi-dome of excellent masonry, the concave part of the semicircle below having a sculptured moulding, and a line of niches for statues, the whole of Greek or Roman construction. Its waters are pure and excellent. An English Consul, named Broad, had, about a century ago, chosen a platform in the middle of this village for the site of his country house, and had built there, according to report, a little palace, with every Eastern luxury, of fountains, courts, and gardens in miniature. In one of those frequent revolutions which happen in this country, it was chosen by a rebel

pasha as a military station, and the whole fabric was totally demolished. The foundations are now shown as a proof of the instability of every thing among this people. We were kindly received here by the French consul, M. Guys, grandson to the celebrated Guys, who published the "*Voyage Itineraire dans la Gréce*," and nephew to the present M. Guys, Consul General of France at Aleppo. We found him an intelligent and amiable young man. There was here also the wife of the former French consul of Ladikea, with her children, among whom was a daughter who had been married to the consul of Bagdad, who was recently dead. This young girl of eighteen had come with an infant child across the Desert from Baghdad to Aleppo, and was sixty days by the caravan on the road. We had an Armenian singer, who accompanied himself on the tamboura, or hand-drum; and a Jewish musician, who played on an instrument called, in Arabic, *canone*, in French, *psalterion*, and by us, the dulcimer; and among the audience were Mohammedans, Christians, and Nessearies. We passed our day most agreeably, and returned to town in the cool of the evening.



CHAP. XXVI.

JOURNEY FROM LADIKEA, THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS, TO ANTIOCH.

Wednesday, *May* 8.—There being a small caravan going to Antāky, or Antioch, I was advised to profit by it, as it was but little out of the direct road to Aleppo; and we accordingly prepared early for our departure.

It was about nine o'clock before we left Ladikea, when we set out in a party of eight persons, with about 18 mules, some laden and others light. We directed our course about N.N.E. having the lofty peak of Jebel Okrah, or the bare mountain, right before us, and in an hour passed between the villages of Bisneada and Dumserkah, the former on a hill on our right, the latter in the plain on our left, both distant about half a mile. We met several parties of Nesseary peasants, going with fire-wood to Ladikea;

their features were peculiar to themselves, and neither Turkish nor Arabian; their complexions often rosy, and their hair light; such of the women as we saw were in general very ugly, and unveiled.

In half an hour from hence we crossed a small stream by a little bridge, called Moyat-el-Kanjara, from a village of that name above, and saw there several small turtles. As this was distant from two to three miles from the sea, while the water was almost stagnant here, and the bed of the stream dry in many places, it is not likely that they came up from the coast; they were furnished with fins, and not feet, as in the land tortoise, and were generally about a foot in length. We met near to this a small caravan of mules from Antāky, in which were Turcoman soldiers; the dress and features of the people approached gradually to that of the Turks in Asia Minor; and we were now saluted in Turkish, and not in Arabic, as we passed.

In half an hour we crossed another small stream, called Moyat-el-Kersānah, with a village of that name on our right close to the road; and on the left, farther off, one called Mukautry. In another hour and half we reached a clear torrent, called Nahr-el-Arab, in a small valley, where all the party halted to refresh, while the animals grazed on its banks.

We quitted this spot about an hour after noon. Hitherto we had passed through a cultivated land, but now our track lay over a ridge of limestone hillocks, covered with box, myrtle, and other wild shrubs in profusion. Our course was still about N.N.E. over this, which brought us in about an hour to a fine little valley and plain, called Wādi Kandeel, through the midst of which flows a clear and swift stream bearing the same name. We here saw the sea again, and crossed the stream within less than a mile of its edge.

After about an hour's ride across this plain, having many spots of corn land on both sides of our way, we came into the narrower part of the valley. In this, we crossed the serpentine windings of a stream upwards of twenty times, still following

up its general line of direction towards the source. The pebbles of its bed were a hard, close-grained, and heavy grey stone, speckled with white and black, and having the appearance of a fine granite; I preserved some fresh fractured specimens of it. The hills on each side of our way were of limestone, and their soil white and dry. They were steep, and sometimes inaccessible, except to goats; yet they were well clothed with a profusion of wild shrubs, and fine trees growing out of their nearly perpendicular sides, as well as on their summits. There were here also in this narrow valley some fine corn-fields, with enclosures of wicker hedge. From its being well watered, the verdure was every where luxuriant. Some large oaks were already well clothed with their new foliage, and the spring was in its richest dress. The fresh odour sent forth by the productions of the vegetable world which nature had assembled here was also delightful; and all, in short, contributed to render our journey most agreeable.

After half an hour's halt by the stream, we ascended a steep hill, covered with pines and other trees, and in about an hour opened from its summit a deep valley to the northward of it, called El Bujak. No combination of forms and colours could be more romantically picturesque than this secluded spot. We had mountain, valley, hill, and dale, with rugged rocks and fertile plains, and all the shades between the richest cultivation and the wildest forest scenery, concentred in one little spot; to complete the beauty of which, a piece of the blue sea was seen through the space left by the sloping brows of two approaching hills, its level line marking the boundary of the western horizon. There were in this enchanting vale a number of scattered hamlets, consisting of three or four cottages each, and many cattle, horses, goats, and sheep. Agriculture seemed to be performed with unusual neatness and care, and it was here for the first time that I met with barred gates, as used in England, having never seen them before in any part of the Turkish Empire.

It was about half an hour before sun-set when we reached the small hamlet of Kasla Joak, where we alighted at the residence of the Aga or chief of the district, and were hospitably received.

All was now decidedly Turkish. The peasants were of a different physiognomy, as well as dress; and one marked peculiarity of contrast was, their wearing long boots reaching to the knees, of black leather, and shaped like European ones, without drawers; while the Arabs of Syria all wear long full drawers, and either red shoes, or, as often happens, go barefoot. The Aga himself could just express his wants in Arabic; and as I understood scarcely a word of Turkish, my conversation with him was through the medium of one of our party as an interpreter. He appeared very devout, having a long string of beads, in numbering which he muttered certain prayers, but in the midst of these he would often break off to converse and laugh, and then resume the thread of his devotions again.

As an Englishman, I was placed on his divan, beside himself, while the rest of the passengers of our caravan being Moslems, mostly stood or sat at a respectful distance. This distinction I owed chiefly to the impression which the liberal conduct of Lady Hester Stanhope, and Mr. Barker, towards the people of the country, had made in favour of our nation. They had both been in this neighbourhood, were personally known to the Aga, and were spoken of by all with admiration.

We partook of an excellent supper, and on retiring to rest I was furnished with a good mattrass and pillow, a pair of clean sheets, and a new cotton quilted coverlid; an attention to my comfort, for which I had it not really in my power to make an adequate return, and all this was done too in the kindest possible manner, without the least profession or affectation of parade.

Thursday, May 9.—Our caravan prepared early for departure. The Aga pressed me strongly to remain a few days with him to enjoy the scenery which I so much admired, promising to send an

escort with me to Aleppo whenever I might desire; but compliance would have required a greater sacrifice of time and expence than I was at liberty to make. I felt, therefore, the necessity of persisting in my refusal, so much so, as to leave an impression of rudeness or of insensibility to hospitable treatment, on the mind of my entertainer. I had been often before thus painfully situated, and could only regret, as then, that I was not sufficiently the master of my own time, my purse, or even my inclination, to make either myself or others so happy as I could wish.

On leaving Kasla Joak, we ascended the summit of the hill above it, and travelled for about three hours in a thick forest of pines, alternately ascending and descending over rugged roads, and often obliged to make wide circuits, from the way being obstructed by large fallen trees recently felled by the woodmen. This brought us to a beautiful little circular plain of grass land, called Merj-el-Kazhoak, where some Turcoman shepherds were feeding their flocks. In the woods we saw several detached huts of these people, formed of reeds, having conical roofs, with the usual kitchen implements, and the fire in an open space on the outside. The huts were guarded by large shaggy dogs, and only the women and children were seen within the dwellings. In half an hour from this plain, still through thick woods of pine, and of another tree, called in Arabic, Sedjer-el-Azzer, we crossed a small bridge, called Jisser-el-Mahāmany, under which runs a stream of the same name, which, after a winding course, goes into the Nahr-el-Kebeer, south of Ladikea. This stream forms the boundary between the government of Aleppo, and that of Acre, under their respective pashas; north of this, even on the sea-coast, all is subject to the latter, as far as Karamania. In an hour from the bridge we entered another cultivated valley, called Wādi-el-Kussub; corn, grass, and herbage generally, was more abundant here, and we drank at the clear stream of Nahr-el-Mahāmany, which ran through it; but the hills became less profusely wooded, and above us to the N.N.W. was the high peak of Jebel Okrah, or the bare mountain, well deserving that

name, in contrast to the richly clothed summits of the hills that surround its feet.

From hence we passed over a small ridge of hills, and soon entered another cultivated valley, called Wādi-el-Erjey. We now went on the east side of Jebel Okrah, and continued our course almost due north, leaving behind us a fountain called Ain-el-Harāmy, from the traditional report of this having been anciently a haunt of robbers; and, indeed, two men had been lately murdered there.

On the east of this Wādi-el-Erjey was pointed out to us the town of Eurdy, containing about 300 dwellings, and inhabited solely by Turks, about three-fourths Moslems and one-fourth Christians. Streams and springs of excellent water are here abundant, and we drank at two in the way, one of which was called Ain-el-Ajoon, issuing like a body of crystal out of the living rock.

The preceding day had been calm and sultry, and the sun overcast. During the night it had blown a gale from the eastward, and this morning we had cloudy weather, a S.W. wind, and some flying showers. About noon, however, it began to pour down torrents of steady rain, insomuch that our caravan thought only of a place of shelter. We were exposed to it for fully three hours before we reached the valley and plain of Lulakjee, at the foot of which were some caves, into which we entered, leaving our beasts without. This place must have been the site of some Roman settlement; for, besides the caves, which might have been either sepulchral, or troglodytal, there are vestiges of a very large building now completely ruined. Its scattered blocks of hewn stones occupy a considerable space, being grown over with trees, and among them are seen portions of pillars and reversed sarcophagi. We saw, too, the portion of a building yet standing, rearing its head amidst the thickets in which it was enveloped; and some of our party who knew the spot, called it the ruined church, but there was no stirring to examine it. The most decided feature of

the antiquity of these remains was a large stone sarcophagus, still perfect, and occupying apparently its original place above ground. Its sides were sculptured with festoons and wreaths, in the usual way; and its cover, which was pent-roofed and raised at the corners after the Roman manner, still continued to close it so perfectly, that it was doubtful whether it had ever been opened.

Violent and successive peals of thunder, lightning, and hail, kept us in these caves full three hours, so that it was sunset before the storm was sufficiently abated for us to venture out. We then made our way toward a cluster of two or three cottages on the hill, while some determined to remain in the caves all night. We reached the object of our search with some difficulty, and were hospitably received by the Turkish peasants there, furnished with an excellent supper, a mattrass, pillow and coverlid, quite as good as at the Aga's on the night before.

We observed here a material improvement in the construction of the peasants' dwellings, and in their interior arrangement. We had a chimney for the fire, as in England, and small windows to carry off the superfluous smoke. The wife of the Turkish peasant was fair and pretty, yet she went entirely unveiled; the cooking utensils and dishes were all of metal, and numerous; every one slept on a bed with a coverlid; the children were clean and decently dressed; the men were also of a more respectable appearance than usual; and all announced our being among a people more attentive to their comforts, at least, than those we had left.

Friday, May 10.—Our party all assembling in the plain of Lulakjee below, we joined them at sunrise, and proceeded on our way. We kept now a course of N.N.W. to come out upon the sea-shore; and after passing through a succession of narrow and wooded valleys, we came on a broad road, with a paved causeway, probably an ancient work. This brought us, in half an hour after our setting out, to the village of Karakujee, which contains about fifty good stone dwellings. It is inhabited solely by Turkish

Moslems, and some of the houses are here pent-roofed, with tiles; None of the women veiled themselves, or even affected to do so on our approach, but returned our salutes with cordiality. The environs are well cultivated with corn, mulberry and fig trees, and they have many cattle.

About another hour from hence, constantly descending, brought us to a small slip of plain between the foot of the hills and the sea. We came out here by a large village called Meadoo, consisting of about fifty or sixty houses, but these all large, and each surrounded by a small piece of ground. The cultivation is the same as at Karakajee, but here all the houses are large, pent-roofed, and covered with red tiles. Both men and women wear long boots; and the former, instead of the red tarboosh, a white pointed woollen cap, like our coasting sailors, with generally a white cloth turban wound round it in smooth plaits. We could see from hence that the points of the range of Jebel Okrah, running nearly east and west, descend abruptly into the sea, forming a succession of high promontories, and leaving no room upon their steep edges even for a road around their base. This slip of plain on which we came out, is the only piece seen, and is about half a mile in breadth, and, much more in length, from its commencement southerly to the mouth of the Orontes, north. The road runs along from hence under high cliffs of limestone, from which issue, in many places, fine clear springs of excellent water, distributing themselves in meanders over the plain below. At one of these springs we saw a hewn cistern, and an aqueduct leading from it.

In less than an hour after entering the plain we came to the Orontes, which was here about as broad as the Nile from the Island of Rhoda to Jeeza, or the Thames in the Pool below London Bridge, between the two outer tiers of shipping. We crossed it with our horses in a boat, and the rest of the caravan followed in the same way. There were three of these boats, each large, though managed by one pair of oars. They had been,

apparently, ships' launches. We found the stream nine feet deep in the centre; and the rate of its current about two miles per hour. It might, therefore, be easily navigated, if not from the sea, at least within. The bar, as far as we could perceive it from above, seemed tolerably smooth. There was a small island in the centre of the stream, just below where we crossed it, which was now cultivated with mulberry and fig trees in considerable numbers.*

While the rest of the caravan distributed themselves among the villages in the valley to halt here for the day, we profited by the delay to go down to the ruins of the ancient Seleucus, near the sea. Our road was across a low, and sometimes marshy, land; though here and there we passed through good roads, hedged in with bushes, on which grew a red flower, now in bloom, and saw corn fields, cottages, and cattle in abundance. In about an hour we came again under cliffs to the northern extremity of the plain, of which the discharge of the river is about the centre.† This place was called El-Moghyer, or The Caves, from the number of excavations seen here. It was doubtless the Necropolis of the ancient settlement below, as we saw here many sarcophagi of stone, some broken, others quite perfect; some ornamented with bulls' heads, festoons, roses, &c., and others plain; and we passed three in the public road with their pent-roofed covers still on, as if in their original places. Going down westward to the sea, we passed an arched gate with a circular bastion on each side of it; the arch Roman, the masonry not very good; perhaps a Mohammedan work.

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* Beyond *Laodicea*, the country was called Syria Antiochena. On the sea coast, upon the very cape of this name, was the free city Seleucia, named also Pieria; and within land was the noble and free city of Antioch, surnamed Epidaphne, through the midst of which ran the river Orontes.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 21.

† The river Orontes was reported to keep its own waters distinct from those of the streams tributary to it, and to carry them separately, or in veins, to the sea.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. ii. c. 103.

" Le fleuve Orontes, apres avoir baigné les pieds du Mont Casius, se perd dans la mer Partheniénne.—*Ammian. Marcellin.* liv. xiv. c. 8. In liv. xxii. c. 16. this " mer Partheniénne" is also called "la mer Issiaque."

We then went along by what seemed to have been the walls of the city, of an irregular form, but the foundations still mostly perfect. The stones were large at the bottom, but above these there were alternate layers of large and small ones, the last placed endwise in the Saracen mode. As the material was a soft limestone, the effects of the air and rain, in the course of time, had worn the whole surface much away, and rendered it difficult to pronounce on the quality of the work. This wall went for nearly a mile in length, westward, till we reached the sea, where was pointed out, by the man who accompanied us, a circular space about a furlong up from high-water mark, certainly lower than the level of the sea, but now grown over with marshy weeds. This he called the Mina, or port, and said it was traditionally considered so. It might be capable of containing 1,000 vessels of the ancients, when moored as in a pier; as it occupies a much larger space than either the East or West India Docks in London. From the point where we halted to observe it, I took the following bearings: —

Cape formed by the point of Jebel Okrah	S. S. W.	18 miles.
High peak of Jebel Okrah	South	15 miles.
Discharge, or mouth of the Orontes . .	S. by E.	5 miles.
Village of El-Jedeady	S. E. by S.	5 miles.
Cliffs full of Caves, or El-Moghyer . .	S. E. by E. to N. W. by W.	1 mile.
Village of Choleek	N. by E.	a mile.
Northernmost point visible	N. N. W. ½ W. . . .	1 mile.

We went from here to the N. W., about a quarter of a mile, following the wall all the way, which enclosed even the port too, till we came to the moles which formed its entrance. These ran out into the sea, in nearly a westerly direction, and appeared to be from 300 to 400 feet apart, with a beach of fine sand between them. The northernmost one is almost entirely destroyed, though yet visible. The southernmost has a good portion remaining, and is composed of massy stones, about ten paces in length, five in breadth, and of an equal depth. I had walked over it twice before I had perceived it to be a work of masonry, thinking it to have

been a mole cut down out of a vein of rock found there originally. It seems to have been nearly 100 feet wide, but its length cannot well be ascertained, as it is much demolished at the outer end towards the sea, as well as on each side. Vessels, after entering here, passed directly through a sort of gateway, about 150 feet wide, made by cutting through the solid rock, a portion of which is still standing on each side, with fragments of buildings on the northern one, perhaps of a watch-tower or light-house. The port within extends from N. E. to S. E., forming an irregular circle; the first part near the entrance being covered with firm soil is cultivated; and the inner, or lower part, is marshy, as before described. There is now a wall of inclosure built across the mouth, merely to protect the corn within, and this is a work of the peasants themselves. In the mass of rock left as a pier on the right or south of the entrance, is a large cave in its inner face, supported by square pillars, most probably used anciently as a place of security for boats near the gate. The port within was well sheltered from all winds from the northern and eastern quarters, by the high range of mountains above, called Jebel-el-Moosa, and from the southern and western ones by the walls of the port itself. We saw here, around the outside, as usual in all Roman ruins, an immense quantity of broken pottery, of the deep red and ribbed kind; but we noticed no portion of buildings remaining in which were sculptured columns or other marks of architectural care.

We went from hence to examine the caves in the cliffs above. There were of these scarcely less than 300 in all, a number equal to those of Thebes in Egypt, and sufficient of itself to prove that this settlement must have been once highly peopled. Some of these were very large, but more generally they did not exceed fifteen or twenty feet square; the entrances were mostly arched, either in a complete semicircle or by an arch over square doorways: and some consisted altogether of one open recess of a semicircular form. In these were raised benches for depositing the bodies, generally one on each side, and facing the doorway, but sometimes more

multiplied where the chamber was larger. We saw no places for letting in the bodies endwise, as in the sepulchres south of Tartoose, nor did we find any sarcophagi within the caves, the practice of burial seeming to have been to deposit the bodies in the shallow repository of these lateral benches, which were all in arched recesses, as common elsewhere. Numerous sarcophagi were seen in different parts of this extensive necropolis without, and many of them certainly occupying their original place unmoved. Among these were some of the largest I had ever seen, measuring about nine feet in length by four and a half and five feet in breadth, taken from the outer extremes, and many of them highly ornamented.

This settlement, founded by Seleucus Nicator, the builder of Antioch, must have been intended by him chiefly as the sea-port of that capital, for the shelter and rendezvous of his Syrian fleet; and for this, no better situation could be chosen than that within the southern edge of the range of mountain described, as it furnished the best shelter, apparently, throughout the bay. If a port of commerce had been intended, to have communicated from thence with Antioch, then some spot on the banks of the Orontes, near its mouth, would have been chosen, as boats with merchandize might easily navigate its stream.

This ruined port is nearly five miles from the discharge of that river; but, as a naval station, it is more capacious, and capable of affording more complete shelter. As it was now past El-Asser, and we had yet tasted nothing but our morning cup of coffee for the day, we went to one of the houses on the brow of the cliff above, to seek some momentary refreshment. We were hospitably received there by a Toorkman farmer, he being a cultivator and proprietor of flocks at the same time, who furnished us with a meal of bread, milk, cheese, and hard butter from his own dairy.

There were three houses here, inhabited by persons like himself, the dwellers in which came and joined us on the grass. Each of these were the best built and most commodious dwellings

I had yet seen any where in the country without the limits of towns. They were each of two stories, with balconies, arched windows, window frames, and window shutters of wood, and had each a large court before them, with the kitchen and other domestic offices apart. Over the door of one of them was an Arabic inscription in marble, and the whole presented an appearance of wealth and comfort extremely rare among the cultivators in other parts of Syria.

The valley in which the Orontes winds down and discharges itself into the sea is well seen from hence. Its southern boundary is the range of Jebel Okrah, the steep sides of which seem to rise abruptly from the sea and continue their ascent until they terminate in its grey and bare peak, at the height of perhaps 5,000 feet from the base.* Its northern boundary is the range of mountain called Jebel Moosa, the western extremity of which slopes down into a cape at the distance of less than a mile north of the moles and entrance of the ruined port described, and its even summit runs along to the eastward until it loses itself among more uneven hills. The inner or eastern parts of these ranges gradually

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* Above the city Seleuca there is another mountain, called Casius, as well as that other of the same name near Pelusium, in Egypt. This hill is of that height that if a man be on the top of it in the dark night, at the relief of the fourth watch, he may behold the sun arising. So that with a little turning of his face and body, he may at one time see both day and night. To get up by the ordinary high way to the very pitch of it, a man might fetch a compass of nineteen miles; but climb directly upright it is but four miles. In the borders of this country runneth the river Orontes, which ariseth between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, near to Heliopolis.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 22.

In describing the sacrifice to Jupiter, which was offered by Julian, from the top of the Syrian Mount Casius, another historian says, "This mountain, which is of a round form, and even in its outline, is covered with wood, and rises to such an elevated height, that before the fourth watch of the night, the first rays of the rising sun may be seen from its summit."—*Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxii. c. 14.

These are merely cited as specimens of the exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the ancients. If these were their real impressions respecting the prospect from a height of 5,000 feet; what would they have said of the Himalya, which rises 25,000 feet above the level of the sea?

approach each other till they seem to meet, thus leaving a triangular valley, or plain, between them, its base line being the edge of the sea-coast, and its whole length from eight to ten miles. It is nearly in the centre of this that the Orontes winds down its course, and the whole of the space on its northern bank is occupied by corn fields, mulberry grounds, gardens of fig trees, and detached cottages, all excellently built, and mostly of two stories, with sloping and tiled roofs.

There is no one town particularly called Swedeeah, this being the name given to the whole valley, and to all the villages generally that are contained within it. The residence of the Aga, and the winter abode of most of the cultivators here, is at a town on the range of Jebel Moosa above, called Zeitoony, and distant from the valley about an hour and a half to the N. E. It is said to contain nearly 300 dwellings, and to have at least 3,000 inhabitants in the winter season. In the spring and summer the landholders come down here to attend themselves to the management of their farms; and the country is at this time, consequently, full of population and activity, presenting a most agreeable picture.

After our repast with the Toorkmans, we descended from the hill, and drank at a fountain below, called Ain-el-Kebeer. The cliffs here, as we had remarked at the southern edge of the plain, send out various springs of excellent water, and this bears its present name from its pre-eminence over the rest in size and abundance. Its source seems to have been valued, and perhaps venerated by the ancients, according to their usual practice; for over the spot where it issued out in a crystal stream from the hard rock, a fine arch had been excavated, and other ornaments were apparently intended to have been lavished on it. Time has now broken down the upper part; but enough remains to prove that great care and labour was bestowed on the work. The waters, like all the others in the plain, are of a pure and excellent taste, and run in a full stream down to the sea.

We went from hence to the house of the Kaihia, or deputy of

the governor, to demand shelter for the night, and were received with great welcome. As the whole of this district was Moslem, and the people mostly Turks, we were surprised to find our host a Christian of the Greek communion, and almost the only one we had met since leaving Ladikea who could converse with us in Arabic. We were shown into an upper room with three large grated windows looking out on a balcony that faced the garden, and after sunset we were served with an excellent supper of rice pilau, with milk and butter, and some fine-flavoured fish from the Orontes. It being a fast of the Greek church, our host was confined in his diet, but we all drank profusely of the wine of his own vintage, which was quite equal to any of the wines of Lebanon. At night we were furnished with mattrasses and sheets for repose; but here, amidst so many promising comforts, that perpetual Asiatic torment, of myriads of fleas, was almost unendurable; as, from their size, their numbers, and their voracity, they scarcely suffered us to catch a moment's sleep.

Saturday, May 11. 1816.—The morning opened with heavy showers of rain, the wind blowing still a tempest from the westward. This occasioned us some detention, but our scattered caravan being at length assembled, we quitted our host about nine o'clock, and proceeded on our way.

Our course was directed to the E.N.E. over a gentle ascent, and in less than an hour we gained an eminence, from which we opened the beautiful valley of Moghyeroon on our right. Above it stood a village of the same name, on the northern brow of a ridge of hills that divided this valley from that of the Ahssy or Orontes, properly so considered, the river flowing to the south of them. This valley was full of trees and cultivation, and studded over with well-built cottages, presenting altogether an enchanting picture. On our left we soon opened the town of Zeitoony, seen in the hollow of the southern brow of Jebel Moosa on the north of us, with two other villages further on, called Meshernakey and

Hhabbabhee, the former peopled by Turkish Moslems, the latter by Armenian Christians, each containing about 100 inhabitants. We could now perceive the eastern termination of Jebel Moosa, in a bluff point, and beyond it was continued a higher range, called Jebel Ahhmar, or the Red Mountain, from the colour of some of its cliffs. The former may be about 4,000 feet from the level of the sea; the latter, however, is nearer 6,000 in appearance, and is the only one around here that has snow on it in the winter, excepting only the very peak of Jebel Okrah. On the south-side, the whole range of mountain bears this name, from the sea to Antioch, as it is nearly one continued ridge; but the peasants have, of course, peculiar epithets for the several districts, which would not be noticed in a geographical division.

The northern range of Jebel Moosa and Jebel Ahhmar runs about E.N.E. and the southern one of Jebel Okrah N.N.E., until they approach near each other above Antioch. The plain between their terminating points at the sea-coast has been already described. On ascending to the N.E., the valley between them becomes a succession of smaller eminences, presenting bare hills and cultivated valleys, with the stream of the Orontes flowing along the foot of the southern mountains as it makes a circuit that way in its course. In about two hours we reached a narrow but deep and rapid river, called Nahr-el-Karatchiz, which rises in the side of Jebel Moosa and flows down into the Ahssy. It was barely fordable in the shallowest places, and its stream ran at the rate of at least five miles per hour. In the course of the next hour we crossed four branches of this river, as the rapidity of its course occasions it often to take new channels and multiply the number of its streams, and all were as deep and as rapid as the first. From the last of these we ascended to a hill, and reached a sort of opening or pass, near which was a paved road, probably an ancient work. From hence we possessed a commanding view of the vale of the Orontes, and for the first time saw that river winding along

its bed, here making the southern bend before described. A number of small hamlets and detached dwellings were scattered around; and the grandeur of the mountains, with the rich fertility of the plain they enclosed, was as delightful a picture as could be viewed.

Our road became now gradually less interesting, for after passing close to the edge of the river which makes a northern bend here, we went up on a high plain, covered mostly with wild shrubs, and uncultivated. The river appeared to be not more than fifty feet wide, and had, evidently, very little depth, its rate in mid-channel being about three miles an hour. We still saw, however, some few villages on our left, and still more on our right, along the banks of the stream. It was past noon when we first obtained a view of Antāky, or Antioch, which presented the appearance of a larger town than any on the coast of Syria from Jaffa to Ladikea, and equal in size to Jerusalem or Hhoms. It was seated at the foot of the steep and rocky extremity of Jebel Okrah, rising on a very gentle ascent. We counted twelve minārehs of mosques, besides several domes; the former were all high and slender, having a white body and blue pointed top, with round close galleries, in the Turkish and not in the Arabic style. The houses were generally pent-roofed and tiled, which is the case with all the dwellings we had seen from Swedeea thus far. A most striking feature of this place on our approach, was an ancient wall with square towers, which went up the steep side of the mountain to the south of the town, and there seemed to turn to the northward, as if to enclose the hill.

The range of Jebel Okrah here terminates in a ragged point, and the town is within a mile or two of its northern extremity. On the other side, the range of Jebel Ahhmar seems, also, to end in a high peaked mountain, of a pyramidal form. The space between them presents the appearance of an elevated plain, which is said to continue all the way to Aleppo. It is here about ten miles wide, and mostly uncultivated.

About two o'clock we crossed a three-arched bridge, over a stream called Nahr-el-Hannah, which goes into the Ahssy, and before El-Assr we came to the latter river, or the Orontes, which we crossed over a larger bridge, and immediately entered the gate of Antioch, when, winding through some narrow streets, we alighted at the house of a young Christian merchant, called Abd-el-Messiah, or the Slave of the Saviour, to whom we had been directed by our host, Abdallah, at Swedeea. Our reception was cool, and many enquiries were made of us, as if we were suspected; but as our stay was intended to be only for the night, we endeavoured to be content. During the interval which yet remained to us before sunset, I profited by our stay here, to see something of the town, and the remains of antiquity in its neighbourhood.



CHAP. XXVII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF ANTIOCH, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO ALEPPO.

The city of Antioch, now called by its inhabitants Antāky, is seated at the foot of a steep and bare hill, which terminates the range of Jebel Okrah, the Mount Casius of the ancients, standing on its north-western side, and having open before it a wide valley, and the range of Jebel Ahhmar from West to North, at the distance of from ten to fifteen miles. It thus resembles, very nearly, the situation of Bālbeck in the valley of the Bukhāh; as these mountains are not much inferior to Libanus and Anti-Libanus in height, and the valley between them is about the same breadth, and takes the same direction of N.E., leaving an unbounded plain in that quarter: but here the hill that overlooks the town is steeper and more abrupt than at Bālbeck, and the vale in which it stands is more

thickly wooded and highly cultivated, as the course of the Ahssy through it distributes fertility along its winding way.*

The town, though inferior only to Aleppo, Damascus, and Hamah in size, and, consequently, larger than any of those on the coast, is not so well built as these generally are, and has no large public buildings of any beauty. The houses are mostly constructed of stone, and are all pent-roofed and covered with red tiles; many of them are three stories high, but more generally two, and the upper part is then constructed of wood. The streets are narrow, having a high raised causeway of flat pavement on each side for foot passengers, and a very narrow and deep passage between these for horses, seldom wide enough to admit of two passing each other. The bazārs are mostly open, and resemble those of the country generally. They are unusually numerous, however, in proportion to the size of the town, as this is a mart of supply for an extensive tract of country around it. All the articles in demand are found here in abundance; and the manufactures of the town itself consist in coarse pottery, cotton, cloth, some silk twist, several tanneries, and sadlery; for which last article, particularly bridles, martingales, &c. of fancy work in leather, the workmen of Antāky are celebrated.

The population here is thought to exceed ten thousand, among which there are counted about 150 Christian families, and 20 Jewish ones. The language of the people is Turkish, the Mohammedans speaking no other, and the Christians only understanding Arabic from their connection with the country to

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* In describing Syria, as contradistinguished from Phœnicia, and alluding to the importance, as well as beauty, of the place, the historian says—

" La Syrie s'ouvre et s'étend en une belle plaine; elle se distingue par la fameuse ville d'Antioche, à la quelle il n'en est point qui puisse la disputer, soit par les richesses qu'elle renferme, soit par celles qui y abondent de tous côtés; par Laodicée, Apamée, et Seleucie, qui fleurissent depuis leur origine."—*Ammian. Marcellin.* liv. xiv. c. 8.

Antioch is described by Benjamin of Tudela to be situated in the valley of Jabok, upon the river Pir, which comes from Lebanon through the land of Hamath. It was thought, in his day, to be the best fortified place in the hands of the Gentiles.

the southward in their commercial transactions. The Mohammedans have fourteen mosques, six of which are ornamented with tall and slender white minārehs with round close galleries, and blue pointed tops, surmounted by the crescent, in the purely Turkish taste; six others have lower and thicker minārehs of octangular shafts, with open galleries, and a sort of flat dome or umbrella top, in the Syrian-Arabian style, and two are merely small venerated tombs used as places of prayer. There are two khans, and several fountains, all of them of a very ordinary kind. We noticed one of the last, called Ain-el-Omra, or the fountain of life, between the stones of which were driven in some thousands of nails. Its waters are, indeed, excellent, and, being esteemed as possessing several medicinal virtues, the afflicted who drink of them drive in a nail near the spot, either as a propitiatory offering, or a token of gratitude after recovery, to the supposed genius of the stream. There is a cavern, too, within the town, which is celebrated for bestowing fecundity on barren women, as well as opening the springs of life to the infant, in the breasts of mothers before destitute of milk; but, for the obtaining of these blessings certain rites are necessary to be performed, and women only are admitted to them. Both of these would seem to be vestiges of ancient superstitions, though now difficult to be traced up to their original source.

The Christians have made several unsuccessful efforts to build a church for themselves here; but, though they are not wanting in wealth, and successive firmans have been obtained from Stamboul for that purpose, yet, the fanaticism of the Turks and some unfortunate fatality which they think attached to the town itself, has hitherto always obstructed its execution. They resort, therefore, to a cave on the east of the town for the performance of their religious duties, in which they are additionally devout, from the apparent persecution under which they live, in this respect at least. The Jews assemble on their Sabbath in a small room devoted to

their synagogue in the house of their chief, and are there unmolested.

The government of the town is in the hands of a Moteséllem, subject to Aleppo, who has only 50 or 60 personal guards. The men dress mostly in the Turkish manner, with large cloth kaooks, long robes, red shalloon trowsers, and yellow boots and slippers. The women wear upper cloths of white muslin, and veil their faces with a stiff black gauze, also in the Turkish style. The fashion of their boots is to have them as small and tight about the foot and ancle as possible, while the upper part swells out suddenly to a size large enough to admit the thigh, and loosely overhangs the lower part; they are made invariably of yellow leather, reach to about the beginning of the calf of the leg, and are bound with blue, raised in front, and furnished there with a blue silk tassel, resembling very much, in general form, the wide mock Hessian boots formed in the loose overhauls of some of our dragoon regiments.

The amusements of all classes are also as purely Turkish as their dress and language; for, instead of the more retired and solitary pleasures of the Arab, either in the corner of the coffee house or in his own divan, the people here repair to the banks of the Ahssy, which flows immediately before their town, and there enjoy upon its banks the united gratifications of wood and water, shade and verdure, the freshness of the summer breeze and a cool and healthy air.

The river at the bridge is from 100 to 150 feet wide, and its stream flows at the rate of about three miles an hour. It might, if its channel be clear below, be easily navigated, as Pococke had before observed. It is remarkable, that Mr. Volney, who seems never to have been here, takes occasion to contradict that traveller upon a point in which he betrays his own ignorance of the subject on which he writes. The English traveller had observed, that boats might easily sail up here; but Volney says, " L'on pourroit rémontre ce fleuve à la trainée, mais non pas à la voile,

comme l'a prétendue Pococke,parce que son courant est trop rapid," —or words to that effect. He ought to have known that the sail is by far a more powerful agent than any force applied to tow; and on the Nile, the current of which at its height is at least twice as rapid, he must have seen that boats make a swift progress against its strongest stream in mid-channel, by sails only; while in parts of the river where they are obliged from want of wind to tow, it is with the utmost difficulty that they can stem the torrent in its eddy close to the shore, by the application of all their towing force.

After passing through the interior of the town, we went to see the ancient walls in the southern quarter. These appear to have enclosed a space of nearly four miles in circuit; the north-western one going along by the banks of the Orontes; the south-western one climbing up the steep side of the hill which overlooks the city; the south-eastern one going along its summit; and the north-eastern one descending again over the side of the hill at the opposite extreme of the city, to meet that which ran along the river's banks; the whole thus forming an irregular square. They are generally about from thirty to fifty feet in height in their extremes, and fifteen feet thick throughout, having also square towers from fifty to eighty feet high, at intervals of from fifty to eighty yards apart. These towers are ascended by winding steps, not of a circular but square form, going up by flights of four or five, and landing on a platform. Their interior is divided into stories or chambers, finely arched over at their roof with a solid masonry of thin Roman tiles imbedded in thick layers of lime cement, and having in their sides embrasures for arrows or other missile weapons. Thes tones of which these walls are constructed are not large, nor is the rustic work any where seen; but the masonry is, notwithstanding, solid and good. In some of the broken towers, alternate layers of thin tiles with lime cement, and the common stone work are seen in the construction, and the niches of the doors and windows are often formed of tiles alone. Around the inner

front of the city wall ran a projecting cornice, formed by the overhanging of the upper stones, which are longer than the rest. These leave a space that admits of a passage from one tower to another on the top of the wall itself; and where the ascent is steep, as on the side of the hills, these projecting stones of the cornice are arranged as a flight of steps for the greater facility of communication. In the S.W. quarter the walls and towers are in one portion perfect, and in another, close by, much destroyed; until they disappear altogether, leaving a wide space between their last fragment here and the portion that continues along the banks of the river.

In the architrave of one of the southern doors is seen a Maltese cross, coarsely sculptured, which probably gave rise to the opinion of these walls being the work of the crusaders. An examination of the masonry itself, and the general style of their construction, is sufficient, however, to convince any one the least conversant in antiquities, that the whole is either a work of the Romans, or of Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the city, at the death of Alexander, and that the cross is, therefore, a more recent addition. I remarked, as a great singularity, that the architrave, which is generally composed of one large stone reaching from postern to postern, is here composed of five, the two end ones about five feet long each, and the three central ones not more than a foot in breadth, being dove-tailed into each other in the Turkish and Arabian manner, as if a modern work, or as if done at the time of placing the cross there, this emblem being on the central of the three smaller stones. This was the idea which suggested itself on the spot, at first sight of this singularity; but the same thing was afterwards seen in the great southern gate of the city, where no cross was, and it then seemed to me quite inexplicable, as surely neither the strength nor the beauty of the fabric could be augmented by having these smaller stones dove-tailed into the centre, instead of having one single block for the architrave as usual. The doors themselves seem to have been hung exactly as the large stone

doors in the tombs at Jerusalem, at Oom Kais, and the buildings of the Haurān; they were double or folding ones, the upper sockets for the pivots still remaining in the bottom of the architrave, and the square sills for the inner bars being still seen in the sides below.

Near to the southern door on which the cross is sculptured, is a new fountain, built by Djezzar, the late pasha of Acre, and ornamented by Arabic inscriptions in marble tablets. Close by these, are also two ancient bridges, originally of Roman work, going across a little torrent coming down from the steep sides of the hill without the wall. The first of these is of four arches, the inner parts of which are now nearly filled up with large masses of petrified water in the form of stalactytes, as seen on the ancient aqueducts at Tyre. It has received a modern repair, and is still used as a common road. The other of these arches is more perfect, but both are evidently of Roman work.

The view of the town and valley from the towers above is highly picturesque and interesting. The northern portion within the ancient walls is now filled with one extensive wood of gardens, chiefly olive, mulberry, and fig-trees; and along the winding banks of the river, tall and slender poplars are seen; but the groves of Daphnis, once so famous here, are not now to be recognised among them. On the very summit of the hill, a ruined castle is spoken of as being nearly in the centre of the upper wall, but not seen from hence; and on the north-eastern quarter is the gate leading to Aleppo, called here, by all classes, Bab Boulous, or the gate of St. Paul. This name may probably have been conferred in the very earliest age of Christianity, as that apostle was himself baptized in the Orontes, and preached often at Antioch; and it was here that the disciples and followers of Jesus first took the name of Christians by which they are now known.

Our evening was passed at the house of Abd-el-Messiah, with a large party of his friends who had assembled to see the strangers; and the same free use of rakhee was practised here in pledge of

welcome as I had so often seen in the circles of Eastern Christians before.*

Sunday, May 12. 1816. — It being thought that we might travel from Antioch to Aleppo without an escort, we prepared to set out alone. It may be remarked as a striking proof of the singular changes and revolutions which so frequently take place in this country, that until about four years since the road from Antioch to Aleppo was one of the most dangerous in all Syria. The tract of country between these cities was then possessed by

* The following extracts from various writers, relative to Antioch, which I had made, as occasion offered, in the course of my previous reading, may, perhaps, be appropriately introduced here, as illustrative of some points of interest in the ancient history and character of the people described.

" In Syria, king Alexander, being far unfit for so high a station, by reason of his sloth and meanness of spirit, gave up the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus." — *Fragments of Diodorus Siculus*, B. xxvi. s. 95.

" This was Alexander Balas, a counterfeit son of Antiochus Epiphanes, before Christ, 140." — See also *Josephus*, lib. xiii. c. 8. and *Livy*, lib. xl.

" The Syrian king Alexander, after being defeated in a battle with Gryphus, (a son of Demetrius, so called from the greatness of his nose,) fled to Antioch; and being there destitute of money, he commanded the effigies of victory, being all of solid gold, to be taken down from the temple of Jupiter, laughing at the sacrilege, with the scorn of profane wit; for 'Victory,' he said, 'was lent him by Jupiter.' Not long after, when he commanded the effigies of Jupiter himself, being also all of beaten gold, and of an infinite weight, to be taken away, he was met with in the act of the sacrilege, and enforced to fly, by reason of the concourse of the multitude; and a great tempest following him, he was taken by thieves, being forsaken of his own men, and was by them brought unto Gryphus, who put him to death." — *Justin*, B. xxxix.

" Julien irrité contre les habitans de cette ville, comme contre des rebelles et des séditieux, composa un ouvrage satirique, qu'il intitula l'Antiocheen, ou le Misopogon (*c. à d.* ennemi de la barbe). Il y fait l'énumération des défauts de cette ville, et lui en prête même plusieurs. Cette ouvrage l'exposa à bien de railleries; mais forcé dissimuler, il n'en fut que plus outré intérieurement. On se jouait de lui, en l'appellant Cercops, petit homme à larges épaules, à barbe de chèvre, et qui marchait aussi fierment que s'il était frère d'Otus et d'Ephialle, dont Homère élève si excessivement la taille, (*Odys.* liv. xi.) Les Cercopes étaient un peuple qui habitaient une isle voisine de la Sicile. Ils étaient si méchans, que Jupiter les changea en singes."—*Ovid. Met.* liv. xiv. *Ammianus Marcellin.* liv. xxii. c. 14.

" The kingdom of Syria being now brought low, and Demetrius being the only surviving branch of the royal stock, believing himself to be out of all danger, dis-

Koord and Toorkman hordes, who levied contributions, or plundered all who went that way, insomuch that caravans composed of considerable force and numbers made a tour to the southward to get into the road from Ladikeia, by which they were five and often six days in performing a journey that may now be done by the same caravans on the direct road in three. The cause of this existing safety and tranquillity of the way, seems to be the retirement of the tribes that obstructed it, to the country farther east, rather than to any change in their manner of life, so that its duration is likely to be no longer than while their absence is continued.

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regarded the deportment of the former kings, who studied to ingratiate themselves into the good opinion of their people, by their affable and courteous behaviour. But he growing every day more and more unsufferable, fell at length to downright cruelty, and all sorts of heinous enormities. The cause of all which is not only to be attributed to his own corrupt disposition, but to one of his friends who had the management of all the affairs of the kingdom; for, being a wicked and rash fellow, he invited, by his flattery, the young men to all manner of wickedness. At first, therefore, he put to death all that had sided against him in the war with unusual sorts of punishments. Afterwards when the Antiochians taunted and jeered at him, as they were wont to do, he got together a company of mercenary soldiers against them, and commanded that they should be disarmed; but the Antiochians refusing to deliver them, some he killed as they fell into his hands, others he murdered in their own houses, together with their wives and children; upon which a great uproar being raised in the city, he burnt down most of the town to the ground, and many that were accused to be heads of the commotion were put to death, and their estates confiscated and brought into the king's exchequer."—*Fragments of Diodorus Siculus*, B. xxvi. s. 96.—See also *Josephus*, lib. xiii. c. 3. and 1 Macc. xi.

In the history of the Sassanides, translated from the Persian of Mirkhond by Silvestre de Sacy, it is said of Nauschirvan, one of the Persian monarchs who resided at El-Madān, a city built on the ruins of the two famous ones of Selucia and Ctesiphon, after describing his conquests in Jezireh or Mesopotamia,—"Il fit pareillement la conquête de Kennassérin et d'Alep, villes de Syrie. Lorsqu'il fut arrivé près d'Antioche, la plus belle ville de la Syrie, elle lui plut tellement, qu'il la fait dessiner sur un papier, et ordonna qu'on en construisit une absolument pareille, sans la moindre différence, à peu de distance de Madain. Cette ville fut nommée Roumia; et quand elle fut achevée, Nauschirvan ordonna à tous les habitans d'Antioche de se transporter dans sa nouvelle ville. Les rues, et les places de ces deux villes, se ressemblèrent si parfaitement, que chacun des habitans d'Antioche, une fois entré dans la ville de Roumia, se rendait, sans y penser, à sa maison. On dit qu'il n'y avait autre différence entre ces deux villes, si ce n'est qu'un blanchisseur de toiles, qui avait un arbre dans la maison qu' il occupait dans l'ancienne ville, n'en trouva pas dans la nouvelle. Ce trait est un de plus singuliers que l'on connoisse."—*De Sacy, Mémoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse.* 4to. *Paris,* 1793. p. 366.

We left the house of our host about nine o'clock, and going north-easterly through the town, went for nearly half an hour over a road hedged in by gardens on each side. This seemed to have been anciently the great street which passed through the city in a direct line from N.E. to S.W., and near its extremity still remains a portion of the original pavement; yet, in passing over it we had on our left, at a distance of perhaps a furlong, the city walls near the river, the towers now overgrown with a profusion of briars and wild shrubbery, and only seen at intervals through the thick wood of trees that often hid them. On our right, in the cliffs of the lofty hill before described, and at about an equal distance with the former, were a considerable number of sepulchral caves, so that the Necropolis must have been here within the general enclosure formed by the walls, though not within the immediate precincts of the city; as the foot of the hill, where its more abrupt ascent commenced, formed of course a natural boundary to the limits of the town in that quarter. The only apparent purpose for which the great wall was carried further up, was to enclose the summit of the hill itself, and to prevent its being possessed by an enemy, as it completely commanded the city below, and when once gained by an invading force, would lead inevitably to complete conquest or destruction. It is in one of the largest of these caves that the Christians assemble for prayer.

The portion of the ancient pavement spoken of as remaining near the north-eastern extremity of this great street, brought us to the gate of St. Paul, through which we passed on our way out. The walls, the towers, with the gate itself, and some fragments of other buildings within it, appeared to be all Roman; but from being considered, perhaps, more as a military enclosure of defence than as the chief entrance to the ancient city, all was plain and solid, and destitute of architectural ornament. Here, in the architrave of the gateway, the same singular dove-tailing of smaller stones between two larger ones was again repeated, so that it really might have been original and coeval with the building itself, if it were

not the work either of Christians or Mohammedans at some subsequent period. It is more in the style of the latter than the former, as such a mode of inlaying the stones is frequently seen in the construction of their private as well as public buildings; but the motive of such a work is not immediately apparent. All else, however, seemed to me so perfectly Roman, that the existence of this, though so frequently repeated, was not sufficient to shake my original persuasion of the walls and towers being more ancient than either the Mohammedans or the Crusaders who succeeded them.

From the gate of St. Paul, we continued our way beneath the gradual slope of the hills which fall or taper down from the more abrupt termination of the range of Jebel Okrah near the town. In these were many small springs, the streams of which went down into the vale below; and some were made to issue from fountains erected by the way side for the ablution of the devout, or the gratification of the thirsty traveller.

At about half-past ten o'clock we entered on a plain of light and meagre soil, chiefly producing a long wild grass, and but slightly cultivated throughout. From this we opened a range of hills in the distance before us, going about N.E. and S.W., though appearing to cross our track, which was nearly east, at almost right angles.

It was about noon when we reached the Ahssy, which we had yet kept on the south of, as it makes a wide curve to the north and north-west between this and the town. We crossed it by a bridge of four arches, on the south side of which are a few poor houses, inhabited by families who furnish the humble refreshments of bread, milk, &c. to passengers. There are two gates, one at each end of the bridge; that on the northern side more particularly seems to have been constructed for defence, having loop-holes in the walls, so that it might have been once used as a military post. The stream is here about 100 feet wide, and its rate about two and a half miles per hour; below the bridge a portion of it is made to flow through a hollow cage work of

wood, probably for taking such fish as may be brought down here by the current.*

Having crossed the bridge, we continued in nearly a S.E. direction along the bank of the river, which was of a dull yellowish white, and had its surface rising to within eight or ten feet of the highest brink of its banks. These were, as usual, a perpendicular cliff on one side, and a shelving slope on the other, changing alternately as the strength or eddy of the current directed itself in its winding course. Besides the swallows which skimmed its surface, we saw here great numbers of the beautiful bird, called by the French, syrens, and by the Arabs, war-war, from an imitation of their chirp ; and at the same time there floated silently down the stream one of the largest pelicans that I had ever seen. On first perceiving it at a distance, its white body appeared like the swoln carcass of a sheep or other dead animal, and its broad bag and bill seemed like some large bird of prey regaling on it. It came almost opposite to us without alarm, but on being roused to fly by clapping of the hands, it displayed a breadth of wing which appeared to be at least nine feet from one extremity to the other when expanded.

In half an hour after crossing the bridge we turned off E.S.E., leaving the river on our right, and continued for nearly two hours in that direction over a wide plain of light soil, chiefly covered with thick grass. We saw large flocks of the white bird about the size of a duck, but higher on its legs, which abound on the banks and islands of the Nile, and some few storks also. Our horses were here tormented by large green-headed flies, which fastening on their shoulders, neck, and haunches, drew blood by their bite, and left the hair quite clotted by the small but numerous united streams of it that oozed from the wounds.

On reaching the end of this plain these flies disappeared, but were succeeded by as numerous a body of common ones to feast

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* Ovid in his Metamorphoses, book ii., mentions the Orontes as one of the largest rivers then known.

on the blood thus drawn ; so that our ride was thereby rendered exceedingly unpleasant. We drank here, at the foot of the hill, from a clear and cool spring, and now ascended over a soil of a deep red colour, well cultivated. After passing this eminence, we came into a plain of similar soil, covered with rich clover grass in some parts, in others bearing corn, and in others ploughing for the second harvest. At the foot of the range of hills which bounded this plain on our right, we saw a small village embosomed in trees ; and as we knew not of any other, further on, that could be reached before sunset, we made towards it, for enquiry. We reached it with difficulty, as a portion of the way between was thickly covered with tall thistles, impenetrable to the horses, and a winding stream also offered repeated obstacles. We found it to be the remains of a once more important settlement, and called Khallet-el-Hhearim, from a castle, the ruins of which still exist there.

This castle is on the south of the town, and stands on the summit of an oblong pyramidal mound, exactly like that at Hhoms, and like it, too, cased with stone on the sides. Here, however, the base of the mound itself has been cut off from the side of the hill, leaving between a wide and deep ditch cut through a solid rock. The mound, and its casing of masonry, may, like that at Hhoms, have been originally a Roman work ; but the few remains of the castle on it here, is, as well as that at the former place, are evidently Mohammedan. Nothing would be more likely than the destruction of the inferior parts of military posts and places of defence by an invading and conquering people, except, perhaps, that of their taking advantage of the same local situations, to repair such broken works, or erect others upon their ruins for their own security, both of which seem to have happened here. On the west of the mound, and at a short distance from its base, is an octagonal tower, standing on a square pedestal, and looking at a little distance like a Greek column ; but this, too, is Mohammedan, though there are no marked remains of any mosque attached to it.

The town itself stood on the N.E. of the castle, at the foot and on the side of the hill. It was walled all around, and a great portion of the enclosure remains, showing loop holes in the upper part. On the inside there are seen the ruined arches of a khan, or other large public building, and a part of another old edifice is now used as a mill, turned by a fine clear stream, descending from the hills above. There were about twenty Mohammedan families here, governed by their own Sheick, and their sole occupation was in the culture of the plain before them. We could obtain no very satisfactory information as to the road beyond this ; for though every one replied that there were villages in the way at which we might pass the night, yet no two persons were agreed as to their distances.

We proceeded, however, in hopes of finding some place of repose, either early or late, going from hence in a N.E. direction, to turn round the point of the range of hills, at the foot of which the Khallet-el-Hhearim stood ; and in half an hour we continued our course about E.S.E. behind them. In half an hour more we reached a clear stream, over which were the ruins of an ancient causeway with low arches. Above it, after crossing the stream, we saw a considerable number of scattered fragments of former buildings ; and on an eminence near this stood the portion of a small fort, more complete. The base was formed of very large stones, and good masonry, and in a lower door-way was a fine Roman arch still perfect.

On these foundations was erected a modern building, appearing to have been deserted in an unfinished state ; for though prepared for a pent-roof, none had ever been placed on it. Such trifling features are too characteristic of the country and its government to be omitted ; for here it may be said, with the strictest propriety, that he who begins to build a house knows not whether himself or another shall finish it, and that he who sows is not always sure of reaping. Large hewn blocks, some sculptured stones, the cover of a Roman sarcophagus, and other vestiges, continued to line our road for

nearly half a mile; and half an hour beyond their discontinuance we passed through other ruins of a similar kind.

There was here still remaining the base of some large and fine edifice; and close by it several arches, fallen fragments of masonry, large hewn blocks, and other wreck of former days. These were, probably, the extremes of some large settlement now completely destroyed; but we could not learn its present name, as we met not a single passenger on the road.

We had scarcely quitted these remains half an hour, before we saw, about a mile on the right of our road, another group of ruins, in which were again seen Roman arches, and many portions of ruined buildings, still standing.

It was now sunset, and no habitable place had yet appeared to us on the road, since leaving Khallet-el-Hhearim. We still pushed on, however, in the same hope as before. In half an hour we passed a cluster of ruined dwellings on our left, and coming to the end of the plain began to ascend a bare ridge of limestone hills. We continued thus ascending and descending, for an hour and half, over rocky eminences, and the narrow and confined vallies between them, till we reached a deep hollow on our right, where was a mass of ruins, from the centre of which rose a tall square tower, like those in the towns of the Haurān.

As it was now late I intended halting here, and taking up our quarters below for the night; but neither arguments, threats, nor intreaties, could prevail on my servant to sleep in a deserted spot. We accordingly continued our way until we reached a few trees at the end of a barren valley; and the road becoming now indistinct, we halted here until the moon should rise sufficiently above the eastern hills to light us on our way.

Having both fallen asleep from fatigue, it was nearly midnight before we remounted, when, in half an hour, we passed a small Roman ruin on our right, and in less than another hour we came to a more extensive one. We listened with the utmost attention, and as we could neither hear the sound of dogs, nor per-

ceive any other marks of a village being near, I determined to catch a few hours' repose here until daylight, notwithstanding the objections that were made to it by my companion.

It may be observed here, by the way, that the Mohammedans, whom one may take either in the capacity of servants or guides on the road, must generally be admitted on a footing of much greater familiarity than is allowed to the same class of people in Europe. They almost invariably eat out of the same dish, and at the same time with their master, unless he be a pasha, a bey, or a person of similar rank; and I have seen repeatedly that, among the higher classes of merchants, who do not admit of such a freedom in their houses, it is practised when travelling on the road. On the halt of a party by the way, or on the arrival at a place of repose for the night, whatever is brought as a hospitable pledge of welcome is presented to all, and all sit around to partake of it, even the mule driver, or the humblest of the number. In the same way, when visits are made to pashas and the most distinguished personages, coffee is presented to the servant as well as the master; and the only distinction there made is, that the latter sits while the former either kneels or stands; but it is only among the very great that even such distinctions are ever made at all.

This custom of travelling-equality gives rise, therefore, to a degree of freedom on the part of servants, which is difficult to be borne by one accustomed to command rather than to reason with his dependants; but, to pass tranquilly through a strange country, the manners of that country, however strange they be, must be observed, towards its own race at least.

The ruins at this place of our halt, of which we could not learn the name, contained a portion of a high square tower with a building attached to it, on the right of the road. Behind it is a small square guard-post with a sloping roof, formed of large stone planks. On the opposite side, or on the left of the road, are lines of arcades and columns which seem to have surrounded some

mass of building now destroyed. The plan of the edifices of which these were the remains was extremely indistinct, and was but imperfectly seen by us at this hour of the night; but it appeared more like that of a military station than any thing else, and was also seemingly a Roman work.

Monday, May 13. 1816.— We could obtain no sleep from the cries of the jackals that surrounded us, and from the constant alarm which my servant expressed at being in a place haunted, as he thought, only by devils and genii.

We therefore started again about two hours before daylight, to continue on our way. From these ruins we went over a paved road, strewed with blocks of hewn stone on each side for about a quarter of an hour, which brought us to a sort of street, on each side of which the posterns and architraves of many square doorways remained standing, though the buildings themselves, or the connecting walls of these doors, could not be seen. Within those on the left were several lines of arches, as if of covered streets or bazārs, leading inward at right angles with the road itself; and between the front of these arched passages and the outer front of the street, formed by the square door-ways before-mentioned, were seen other arches at stated intervals, at right angles with those described, as if for a longitudinal covered way along their front, in the same right line as the principal street itself, or a sort of piazza to it. This was evidently connected by the street in question with the ruins below, and the arches here were all Roman; but whether the passages were those of a great public market, or of what other nature, it was not easy to determine.

After quitting this place we lost our road, and wandered about among corn fields until daylight, when we perceived a village to the north of us, and made directly for it. The stony and hilly tract over which we had passed, terminated just beyond the arches described, and beyond this was a plain of fine dark soil similar to

the mould of the Nile, in general free from foreign matter, and highly cultivated throughout. We reached the village, which was called Dāna, about sunrise, and even at that early hour found a hospitable meal at the house of the Sheick, who placed it himself before us, without even the common question of our destination being yet asked, though our appearance at so unusual a time might well have suggested suspicion.

The village of Dāna is built on an eminence of rock in the middle of the plain, like the towns generally in the Haurān. The houses here are almost all constructed of the ruins of former buildings, as this seems to have been the site of some more considerable settlement. A Roman gateway is still remaining perfect, and porticos of several other edifices are seen, some standing alone, and others built on, for the dwellings of the present inhabitants. Our attention was attracted by the site of a pillared ruin to the west of the town, which having all the dilapidated appearance and yellow hue of antiquity, promised much at a distance. We found it, on a nearer approach, to be a very singular building, with two tiers of columns in front, one over the other, the architrave of the under range serving for the base of the upper one. These columns were not more than two feet in diameter, they were placed on high square pedestals, and crowned by capitals of the most barbarous kind, each of them different, though all an attempted variation of the Ionic in the most corrupt taste imaginable.

Of the building itself there were not sufficient remains to decide on the purpose to which it was appropriated. It might, possibly, have been a Christian church, constructed in the very worst age of architecture, yet even for this it seemed too small, and too different from the usual and prescribed form of such buildings. Its roof, which was by far the best part of the whole, was flat, and composed of large beams of stone laid across from wall to wall, in the style of the Egyptian temples, and the dwellings in the Haurān.

In the rocky bed to the north-east of the town are many excavated sepulchres, with some fragments of Roman sarcophagi. One of the caves that we saw, had a descent into it by steps, like those at Ladikeia ; the others were entered by square, and sometimes arched, door-ways. Their interior arrangement was in long niches and recesses, formed for placing the bodies laterally along the walls, after the Roman manner, and not placing them endwise into deep and narrow cavities, like those of the Egyptian Necropolis at Alexandria, of the Sidonian tomb near Abra, or of the Arvadite sepulchres, opposite to the island, south of Tartoose.

We observed that two of the arched entrances of these caves were executed with greater care than usual, having sculptured pillars at their portals ; immediately over these was the most interesting monument that remains there, and, indeed, the only one that is perfect as an original one. From a base of about fifteen feet square, by eight feet high, and of good masonry, rise four pure Ionic columns, forming themselves a square, as standing at the angles of the base below, and supporting a roof composed of three large blocks of stone, the under parts of which are flat, and the upper formed into a pyramid, which terminates the whole. We noticed no inscription on this monument, though from want of time our search was not so scrutinizing as to be able to pronounce that no vestiges of one could be traced.

Near to this is a large subterraneous cistern, similar to those at Alexandria, and apparently formed here as a reservoir for rain-water, there being no streams in the plain. The roof of this is formed of large flat beams of stone, as in the monument described, and these are supported from below by several ranges of square pillars, the shafts of which, though unpolished and rudely hewn, are many of them in one piece of 20 feet in length.

The present town has a population of about 500 souls, all Mohammedan, for whose accommodation there is a small mosque with a square mināreh, and six domes in two ranges, probably

crowning two correspondent aisles within. The women here wear the open-front blue gowns, and narrow red aprons, with white upper cloths for the head, which are merely crossed over the neck, and leave their faces unveiled, like the costume of the female peasants in the villages near Damascus.

On the west and north-west of the town, at the distance of a mile or two, is a range of stony hills, branching off from those we had crossed in the night, and on these were seen many ruined villages, all, perhaps, the remains of old Roman settlements. To the south was also a large village, at present inhabited, called Ekbrihh, and distant, apparently, about three miles.

We left the village of Dāna about an hour after sun-rise, and went easterly over a plain of rich soil, partly covered with corn nearly ripe, and partly now ploughing for the second harvest. Agriculture seemed to be well understood here, and its labours performed with as much care and neatness as in Europe. The absence of enclosures occasions very large portions of ground to be ploughed on in continuance; but though many of the furrows were of a length not to be measured by the eye, they were all perfectly strait at regular distances ; such, indeed, as the best of our ploughmen might not be ashamed to have turned up.

The improved state of cultivation here was followed by its necessary consequence, a more abundant population. Besides the villages of El-Ekbrihh and Dāna, we passed, at the foot of the range of hills on our left, three other larger ones in succession, namely, El-Hhuzzeny, Tal-deady, and El-Hhaleaka, all at the distance of about a mile from each other, and the last at the foot of a high peaked mountain, the name of which we did not learn. These villages are all peopled by Moslems, and, as far as we had an opportunity of judging from the appearance of the peasantry at work in the fields, they were active, industrious, and far above the distress of want.

An hour after leaving Dāna, going always nearly east, we came to the end of the plain, and began again to ascend a ridge

of bare lime-stone hills, called generally by the name of Jebel Semān. We saw many scattered ruins here also, particularly one of a large town, called Dirrhmān, said to be Shookl Koofār, or the work of infidels, now entirely deserted, and standing on the summit of one of the ridges described.

Ascending and descending alternately for about an hour, in the course of which we passed one narrow valley cultivated with corn, and saw ruined villages and detached buildings on both sides of us, we reached the highest summit of the range. There was here a small inhabited village, and a larger deserted one, with several wells and cisterns hewn out of their rocky bed; the whole surrounded by small portions of the soil planted with fig-trees. We could see from hence, that the line of Jebel Ahhmar on the north was continued by a higher range of mountains running also nearly east, and having many parts of its summit covered with snow; the whole line being, no doubt, a ramification of the Great Taurus of the ancients, or that south-western branch of it which divides Asia Minor from Syria.

Continuing our way E.S.E. for about an hour and half over very stony and uneven ground, but slightly cultivated, and strewed with ruins of villages here and there, we came on the top of an elevated plain, from which we had the first sight of Aleppo; the minăreh of its high castle being but barely visible. It bore from us exactly E. by S., said to be distant four hours, and apparently about twelve miles off. The highest part of Mount Taurus, which was covered with snow, and resembled in form and size that portion of Lebanon occupied by the cedars, bore from us, at the same time, N.W. by N., and appeared to be distant about fifty miles. Our level was now at least two thousand feet above that of the sea, and, though on a plain, many of the distant hills around us looked comparatively low. The peak of Jebel Okrah could not be seen, nor that abrupt termination of the range which overlooks the town of Antāky, so that no bearing of it could be taken to fix the relative position of these points from Aleppo.

We had now gone over nearly the whole of the direct road from the port of Seleucus to the city of Antioch, and from thence to the Berea of antiquity, which Aleppo is thought to be. Every part of it, as may be seen, offer proofs of the once highly populated state of the country, and the corresponding existence of public roads, towns, and edifices by the way, under the government of the Romans, when Syria was but a small province of their mighty empire. The contests between their successors for the disputed triumph of the crescent or the cross, first began to sweep away that population, and demolish its monumental labours ; and those slower but equally certain destroyers, an overgrown military force and a purely despotic sway, have contributed to prolong that gradual decline, until no hope remains of this country ever attaining the abundance, the comfort, the wealth, and the strength it once possessed, until it shall pass into other hands.

From the plain last mentioned, we continued our way over a stony and barren road, until, about El-Assr, we saw the high castle of Aleppo rising from behind a round ridge, or wave of the land, that had until then intercepted it, and soon afterwards the whole town opened on our view. From the bareness of the hills around, and the general monotony of the city itself, when viewed at this distance, the prospect of the whole was far from prepossessing. The buildings seemed crowded in one indistinct mass of white; the minārehs and domes were few, in comparison with the number of those seen in Turkish cities in general ; and, excepting only some small gardens in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, there was neither wood nor verdure to give relief to the scene.



CHAP. XXVIII.

STAY AT ALEPPO, AND RECORD OF TRANSACTIONS THERE.

On entering Aleppo we proceeded through many streets, until we reached the house of Mr. Barker, the British consul here, where we alighted; and going up into the ante-room I desired the janissary to announce my arrival. There was a delay, and enquiries, and messages, for at least half an hour, which I did not at all understand, until I was at length desired to walk into the hall of audience. Here I was received with a very marked coldness, which I could not but notice; my questions were replied to with studied brevity, my observations often scrutinized, and, in short, the treatment such as could leave me no longer in doubt of there being some cause for it, of which I was entirely ignorant. A younger brother of Mr. Barker, whom I had known

at Smyrna, in the service of Mr. Wilkinson, was in the house at the time, but purposely absent, and all was too plain to be misunderstood. After a cup of coffee had been taken, the explanation came. Mr. Barker observed, that having no personal knowledge of me or of my family, and my not having been mentioned to him in any way by any of his correspondents or friends, he had refused acceptance to a bill which I had drawn on him for 1000 piastres from Damascus.

The circumstances under which that transaction took place were these: — I had left Alexandria with fifty sequins in gold, and a letter of credit furnished me by Mr. Lee, for any sum which might be necessary for my journey to India, addressed to Mr. Barker here. In my attempt to get across the Desert direct to Bagdad, that money brought with me was all expended, and on my arrival at Damascus I had even a debt to discharge to Georgis, the man who was my guide from Nazareth to Assalt, and from thence up through the Haurān. Having no duplicate of my letter of credit, and conceiving there would be always greater risk of its loss while in other hands than while in my own, as well as that, if so lost, my distress would be irretrievable, I forwarded to Mr. Barker a copy of that letter, at the same time advising him of my having drawn the sum in question, not doubting but that he would accept it. I had supplied my wants therefrom, and had now come safe to Aleppo on the remainder, where, for the first time, I heard of the bill being refused payment, and protested.

The motives assigned by Mr. Barker for such a step were these: — He said, upon the face of the thing itself, it appeared highly improbable, that a merchant from his cradle, as Mr. Lee was, would give an unlimited letter of credit to any man; that it was also usual in such transactions for a letter of advice to be forwarded at the same time by some other hand, limiting the sum, or making such other observations as might be thought necessary; but that, in the present case, no letter of any sort had reached him

(Mr. Barker) from Alexandria, since the date of this supposed, or pretended, letter of credit, of which I had sent a copy; that in all the correspondence of Mr. Lee, of Colonel Misset, of Sheikh Ibrahim, and of Mr. Bankes, each of whom I reckoned among the number of my friends, my name had never been mentioned in the most remote way; so that, except from myself, he knew not that there was really such a person in existence.

The protesting of this bill had been accompanied by orders to the consuls on the coast, not to suffer me to depart out of their district, without refunding the sum thus thought to be fraudulently obtained; messengers had been pursuing me all across the country; and it seemed miraculous that I should have escaped them all, without designing so to do, or, in fact, without knowing of their pursuit. As it was, however, the fact of my bill having been protested, had become publicly known to every one, and my character was, for the present, established as that of a vagabond and a swindler. Mr. Barker offered me so many repeated assurances that this rigorous measure was not founded on any knowledge of my deserving it, but purely from the most complete ignorance of my name or character in any way, that I could not construe it into a personal offence. I was stung, however, with the most mortifying regret, and Mr. Barker himself expressed the same feeling.

On my departure from Ladakeia, not knowing what would be the state of the roads from Antioch to Aleppo, I had been advised to leave whatever I might deem valuable with our consul there, that he might forward it after me by the direct caravan; being assured that, although it might arrive later than myself, it would be additionally safe in going under the protection of a large company. As I thought that my arrival in Aleppo a few days before my baggage would make no difference in my reception there, while it would enable me to make enquiries and preparations for my departure, which always require time, I assented

to this proposal, and left behind my small portmanteau, containing all my papers, to be forwarded by the way advised.

This had not yet arrived; and when asked for this letter of credit, which from the beginning was thought to be a forgery, the only explanation I could give of my not possessing it at the moment, was a simple recapitulation of the facts detailed. This, however, instead of being thought satisfactory, was looked on as a direct confirmation of guilt. Mr. Barker then added, that he had written to Lady Hester Stanhope on the subject, which letter, having reached a day or two after my departure, had been already replied to by express. In this her ladyship expressed her own entire conviction of my really possessing the letter of credit presumed on, and of my being truly the person and the character which I professed to be. She said, also, that I was furnished with letters from Colonel Misset to Sir Evan Nepean, but added, that she had, of course, seen neither of these documents herself. Her ladyship had, however, so far presumed on my innocence, as to issue orders to the consuls on the coast to let me pass in safety to Aleppo, where all would be arranged, and held herself responsible for the consequences.

So true is it that suspicion, like jealousy, views the most trifling incidents through a distorted medium, that even this reply of Lady Hester's, instead of being deemed satisfactory, was thought to cloud the affair with darker doubts; because, from this, it appeared that her ladyship had never seen, for herself, the documents pretended to be possessed.

My answer to all these united objections were successively these: — My departure from Alexandria for Aleppo was so shortly after my arrival from India, that no one knew of my intention even to visit that place; more particularly as it was at first intended to go by way of Constantinople, and, therefore, no mention of me had been made to Mr. Barker by his correspondents from Egypt. When I had so departed, it was thought that I should arrive there sooner than any letter by any other channel; and,

consequently, from the supposition of my having already passed through on my way to Baghdad, no further mention of me would be likely to be of service.

Mr. Lee having given me an unlimited letter of credit, I interpreted only as a pledge of his confidence in my integrity in the use of it; though, for his omission of the usual formalities of secondary advice by other channels, I could assign no competent reason, as that was a step, the importance of which rested purely and entirely with himself. My not having sent the original of the letter of credit from Damascus, was for the reason before stated, namely, my unwillingness to risk in other hands that on which the accomplishment of my journey depended. My not having shown this letter to Lady Hester Stanhope was still more easy to conceive, as I had been received by her Ladyship as a guest, and treated with that kind familiarity and warm hospitality which made me sure of her esteem being sincere; and to show to her a letter of credit destined for another, without any peculiar occasion suggesting such a step, was not likely to happen. Mr. Bankes's omitting to mention me to Mr. Barker in his letters, was, no doubt, from a belief that we should arrive at Aleppo together; as, if it had been consistently practicable, it was intended that we should have gone in company with each other to Palmyra, and returned here together from thence, if I could get no further; or go on to Baghdad without visiting Aleppo in person, if I could; either of which circumstances rendered any mention of me unnecessary.

Thus far, all was merely the conduct of one man to another who was a perfect stranger to him; and as such, I could only feel regret, without sufficient justification for anger. I considered myself, however, though a perfect stranger, yet an Englishman, in a foreign country, alone and without friends, in a large city, where there were neither lodging-houses nor convenient inns, and where we had a Consul in the pay and service of our government. As such, I expected that Mr. Barker would have treated me as one who, though he possessed no other claims upon him than these, yet

of whom he knew no positive ill, and of whose character he was, according to his own confession, totally ignorant. I thought, therefore, that he would have said, "Sir, until this doubtful affair be brought to an issue, accept of me the common rites of hospitality. Become my cool and distant guest, if you are willing to be received on such a footing; with this condition, that if you have deceived me, and proved the impostor I have supposed, you will be turned out from beneath my roof in disgrace, and punished as rigorously as my power to do so extends."

The Arabs of the Desert, and the poorest people of the country, give the stranger food and shelter, while he sojourns among them, be he Christian, Jew, or Infidel. What then was my surprise when Mr. Barker quitted me abruptly, desiring his servant to take me to some public khan, where I might find a lodging; and this too in the midst of a city where, besides his own family, I was the only Englishman amid a population of a hundred thousand souls!

I had heard from every body in my way, that Mr. Barker was one of the most amiable, most benevolent, and liberal of men; that his heart was capable of feeling tenderness towards those who did him evil, and that he was a model of all that was good and excellent in nature. This consideration only increased the poignancy of my own feelings, since, to receive such treatment from the hands of such a man, I must have been considered as the focus of all that was bad and execrable in the human race. I was stung even to the stealing down of silent tears, and my breath was occasionally choked by the conflict of feelings without a name. I returned, however, too proud and too innocent to murmur, and after supping with my servant on some bread and sour milk procured from the bazār, spread my mat in a small dark chamber, and lay down to be tormented by the swarms of vermin with which such places are always infested.

Tuesday, May 14. 1816.—To shake off as much as possible of the weight that hung upon my spirits, I left my dark abode at day-

light, and as new objects bring with them a greater charm for grief than almost any other medicine, I went into the great mosque at the hour of morning prayer. It is by far the most beautiful that I have ever seen, taken as a whole. It has not the fine Corinthian columns of the great mosque at Damascus, but its spacious court of mosaic pavement in marble, its long avenues richly carpeted within, and the general effect of all combined, is as beautifully impressive as any religious building could be made to be. I had enough to do to return the Mohammedan salutes, and avoid attracting observation by any gazing curiosity; nor, indeed, was I in a state of mind, had it been practicable, to examine and preserve details.

The rest of the morning was passed successively in three or four of the largest coffee-houses in this city, some of which are capable of containing at least 1000 guests. Here I met with one man from Yambo, and another from Macullah in Arabia, a third from Assiut in Upper Egypt, and one from Cosseir on the shores of the Red Sea; with each of whom I became immediately a friend, and was treated with a nargeel and coffee, not from being a fellow countryman, but merely from having visited the places of their birth. This conduct, contrasted with that of our Consul towards me, in a place which, though a large city, contained no other Englishmen than ourselves, augmented my mortification; and since busier scenes, instead of dissipating, had thus heightened my distress of mind, I returned at noon to the solitude of my chamber again.

A pacquet of letters was now put into my hands, which had been addressed to me "en route," by Lady Hester Stanhope, and sent by a messenger express, who had followed my steps throughout my journey, without having overtaken me by the way. This pacquet contained a letter from her ladyship, expressing her sincere regret at the temporary stain which had thus been thrown on my character, and advising me to hurry on to Aleppo with all possible speed, to clear up the doubts which hung thereon. Enclosed was a letter from Mr. Chaboçeau, nearly to the same purport, with

copies of Mr. Barker's protest, and of the letters sent by her ladyship to counteract his orders of arrest, and allow me to pass in peace, for which she held herself answerable. There was, also, a note from Mr. Bankes at Bālbeck, very kindly expressing sorrow for the illness which had detained me at Damascus, and regret at my not having joined him there, as intended for our joint excursion to Palmyra.* All these, after having read them, were sent to Mr. Barker for his perusal, who returned them without even a verbal answer ! !

In the midst of all this I received a letter from the young Frenchman whom I had found in distress at Jaffa, and relieved to the extent of my ability so to do. The warm expressions of gratitude which this letter contained, from one of whose very name I was before ignorant, afforded me some faint consolation, inasmuch as it reminded me, that though thus treated as a villain of the darkest cast, and denied the common rites of hospitality, from one of whom I had a right to claim assistance and protection, I had not myself been entirely insensible to the common duties of charity towards the poor and friendless stranger.

My afternoon was passed in the dark hovel to which I had been driven, yet here I was not suffered to be at rest, nor enjoy even the retirement which I courted. The khan below was filled with Arabs, and Turkish soldiers, as passengers through the town; and in the gallery above, in one corner of which my room was, were shoemakers, silkthread spinners, and other mechanics, who, not yet being wealthy enough to rent a better station, pursued their respective labours here in chambers similar to my own, for which the highest pay was three piastres per month, or about sixpence sterling per week.

All these having learnt, from the Consul's servants who conducted me here, that I was an Englishman, and judging from my

* This note will be found in the Appendix.

horses and servant that I was a stranger and a traveller on my journey, naturally expressed their surprise at my being turned away from his house, where all other Englishmen that they had before seen were always kindly and honourably received. Many of these forced themselves into my room, and sitting beside me asked a thousand questions ; a staring crowd was gathered round the door, and every one pointed their finger at me as a suspected character ; by far the greater part, however, openly pronounced me an impostor, saying either that I was not an Englishman, as pretended, or that if so, I must be some criminal escaped from my country, and arrested by the Consul, since they considered my being conducted here by his people, as a consignment to a sort of prison ; more particularly as one or other of these attendants came frequently to the khan, with a view, perhaps, to watch my motions, and prevent my making an escape. My refusal to enter into the explanations demanded of me, my having the appearance and manners of a Mussulman, with a full beard, and speaking the Arabic language, were all so many received confirmations of my guilt ; and the ultimate general impression was, either that I had been exiled from my country for crime, or had forcibly escaped from condemnation there, and sought refuge and protection in becoming a renegado, abandoning my faith, and giving myself up to the Sultan as a convert to Islam.

My situation was more full of misery than can be described ; and even the consolations of innocence and integrity, sweet as they may be, and as they are, under most circumstances of persecution, were scarcely sufficient to outweigh all the complicated evils of contempt, disdain, and public scorn, to which I was condemned.

Wednesday, May 15. 1816.— My night was almost as void of repose as the preceding one, and from the same causes, a foul and suffocating air, and crawling myriads of vermin, evils in themselves of but a temporary and even trivial kind when encoun-

tered in the common course of one's way; but here augmented more than a hundred fold, by the consideration that I was suffering them as a punishment for supposed crime:—so true is it that the lightest chains of iron, which fasten the captive to his cell, hang more weightily upon his neck than far heavier ones of gold would do, if worn like those of Daniel, as an emblem and a pledge of honour.

I remained within, during the whole of the day, and closed my door for greater privacy, preferring all the inconveniencies of darkness and a stagnant atmosphere, to the gazing stare of those who came to regard me as a beast of prey, secured to his den, after escaping and preying on his species. My appetite had now entirely failed; my health was beginning to be affected by languor, and I was alternately tormented by impatience for the arrival of my baggage, and by a longing desire to breathe again the free and hospitable air of the Desert.

As I was perfectly alone, and without occupation, I beguiled the time by committing to writing, in these preceding pages, the circumstances of my reception, my treatment, &c. They form no part, properly speaking, of such notes as are devoted to the collection of new information regarding the countries through which my route lay; but, since they show to what mortifications one may be subject in the way, and that, too, when least of all expected, the record of them may not, perhaps, be without their use, either to myself or to others, whom it may be my lot and duty to advise.

Aleppo, May 16 to 26.—During the ten days included within these dates, my stay having been prolonged for that period at Aleppo, from the difficulty of finding a safe and fit opportunity for proceeding, I was as much overwhelmed with the kindness and hospitality of Mr. Barker, as I had been before subjected to undeserved indignity and mortification by his unnecessary harshness and severity. To render his character ample justice, it is necessary

to place the acts alluded to on record, in doing which I shall observe the strictest possible impartiality.

It was on the morning of the 17th that Mr. Bankes reached Aleppo, from the southward; and waiting on Mr. Barker, his first enquiry was directed after me. His surprise was extreme to learn that Mr. Barker doubted my ever having been furnished with a letter of credit by Mr. Lee, in which doubt he had refused acceptance to my bill from Damascus, and denied me shelter in the Consular building until his doubts should be removed. Mr. Bankes said all he could to assure Mr. Barker of my being, as he believed, an honourable man, and enjoying the friendship of the individuals named; offering, as he afterwards assured me, to become surety, if required, for my really proving myself to be possessed of what I had asserted.

Mr. Barker was so satisfied with this, that he commissioned Mr. Bankes, in waiting on me, to signify his perfect readiness to receive me into his house; and hoped, that as he had acted under erroneous impressions, the past would be forgotten.

Mr. Bankes accordingly hastened without delay to the khan in which I was staying. In embracing me, which he did with the warmth of an old and sincere friend, he could not contain his indignation, as well as regret, though he qualified the former by saying, if any other man than Mr. Barker had acted in this manner, he should have his conduct represented to the proper authorities at home; but that Mr. Barker was so mild and amiable a man, that nothing, but a sincere conviction of his erroneous impressions being really correct, could have induced him to treat me as he had done. It appeared to me, however, that no impression, short of a conviction of guilt, could have justified his treating a fellow countryman in such a manner and in such a place.

Mr. Bankes very strenuously intreated me to receive Mr. Barker's visit in the khan, or to go with him to the Consular-house, as Mr. Barker would accede to either; so that an end might be put at once to this distressing scene. In proportion, however, as

I knew my innocence, so I felt proud and unbending. I resisted all his intreaties ; and declared that I would not quit my present abode until the arrival of my baggage from Ladikeia, when I should send my letter of credit to Mr. Barker himself; and if, after seeing it, he should be prepared to make me reparation by coming to wait on me first, and acknowledging his error, I should be glad to receive him, and would then be as ready to meet, as he could be to offer, any of those civilities due from one Englishman to another in a foreign land.

Mr. Bankes remained with me for several hours in this conference, and quitted me in the evening, with a repetition of his regret that an accommodation could not be made at once, though he did not venture to condemn the feeling which had induced me to form and adhere to my declared resolution.

On the following day (the 18th) my baggage arrived from the Consul at Ladikeia, and was instantly brought to the khan by the caravan-bashi, to whom it had been confided, accompanied by a servant from the Consular-house, where it was addressed to me, and where, indeed, it had been delivered. I immediately unlocked the portmanteau in which my papers were, took from thence, in the presence of the Consul's servant, the original letter of credit from Mr. Lee, and sent it by his hands, without note or message, to his master, desiring him only to authenticate the fact of its being taken out of the portmanteau in his presence on the moment of its reaching my hands.

Before an hour had elapsed, Mr. Barker came himself to me in person, accompanied by his janissaries, servants, and all the usual retinue of state; and on entering the apartment, before he took his seat on the floor, there being no elevated seats in the room, he made the most ample apology for having indulged such groundless apprehensions respecting me ; endeavouring, at the same time, to soften down or palliate its severity, by reciting some former instances in which he had been deceived by persons pretending to be what they really were not.

Mr. Bankes shortly after joined us ; and there being as great a disposition on my part to concede, as on the part of Mr. Barker to make amends, our reconciliation was soon completed. The genuineness of the letter of credit was fully acknowledged, and every thing else was supposed to be equally correct and well founded.

To repair, as soon as possible, the evil of any impressions that might have gone abroad respecting me among the Consuls of other European nations at Aleppo, Mr. Barker proposed that we should without delay commence a round of ceremonious visits to them all ; which, as they did not live far apart from each other, and these visits never occupied more than half an hour each, might be easily accomplished. I readily consented to this proposal, and Mr. Bankes accompanying us, we paid our personal respects to all the principal Consuls in the course of the day, and the secondary ones on the following.

I was now removed to Mr. Barker's country-house, at the distance of a few miles only from Aleppo, where Mr. Bankes and myself were admitted as members of the family, each having also a separate apartment in the Consular-house in town, and each being treated with all the respect, kindness, and honour that we could wish ; Mr. Barker, and all his family, appearing to do every thing in their power to obliterate the painful impressions of the past, and to make the present as agreeable as possible, without neglecting the exertion of their efforts to procure for me a safe and easy journey, through the rest of my way.

Mr. Bankes having heard of the death of some rich relative, by whose will he had been bequeathed a large property, in addition to his already ample fortune, had determined on hastening home ; and accordingly made arrangements for visiting Palmyra from hence, and returning direct to Aleppo, from whence he proposed going with all speed to England, while my journey had to be still extended farther eastward, even to India. Mr. Bankes was very desirous that I should accompany him in his journey to Pal-

myra, as we had always contemplated the probability of our going there together; in the belief that Arab guides might be found at Aleppo, who would take any person bent on the journey from thence to Baghdad, across the Desert, in eight or ten days at the utmost. Our enquiries were very assiduously directed after such a guide; but the troubled state of the whole Desert, south and east of Palmyra, then in commotion from the wars of the Wahabees, was such, that no one could be found who would venture to go beyond Palmyra, and not many, indeed, who felt disposed to go even so far. At length, however, a party or escort was got together for this purpose. Mr. Bankes again urged me to accompany him in the excursion; but, although it would not have taken more than ten days at the farthest to go and return to Aleppo, I resisted this highly tempting opportunity of visiting the most attractive ruins in the world, without the shadow of a hope of my ever having it in my power to repair this loss at any future period, merely from a sense of duty, which induced me to think that as my journey to India had been already so much delayed by circumstances altogether beyond my power to obviate or controul, I should not willingly add to that delay by any interruptions beyond the many that were still likely to occur without my agency or consent, in the future progress of my way. I accordingly yielded to this conviction, and thereby lost an opportunity of seeing Palmyra, which was never likely again to be enjoyed.

When the period of Mr. Bankes's departure from Aleppo had arrived, which was between the 20th and 26th of May, we passed the whole of the morning together in the most friendly conference. The high opinion which he then entertained of my character was such as to induce him to give me, unasked, a commendatory letter of introduction to Sir Evan Nepean, Baronet, the governor of Bombay, and a personal friend of his father, the Member for Corfe Castle; Sir Evan being a resident neighbour of the family in Dorsetshire, before he quitted England. He also intreated me to write him on my arrival in India, giving me his town address in

Old Palace Yard, Westminster ; and assured me that it would give him great pleasure to maintain, in after years, a correspondence with one whom he had known but for a short period, it was true, but whom in that brief space he had learnt sincerely to esteem. This disposition was reciprocal on my part, and was, therefore, met with corresponding professions.

"Before we separate, however," said Mr. Bankes, "and that, perhaps, for a very long period, there are two favours I have to ask of you, neither of which you will, I know, refuse me." I desired him to name his wishes, and assured him of my readiness to comply with them as far as they might be practicable. He then said, the *first* favour he had to ask was that I would allow him to receive back all the various letters and notes that he had written to me from time to time in Syria, from our first meeting at Jerusalem up to the present period. He observed that the request would no doubt seem to me an odd one; but he assured me that his real motive for making it was simply this: His naturally indolent habits with respect to writing, and the reliance he had placed on his sketches assisting his memory, had prevented his taking any notes whatever of his journies, excepting only the few unconnected remarks which he might have scribbled on the margins of his sketches and drawings from time to time as they were made. It was only when he sat down to write to me, that this indolence was overcome. He had never, he said, written to any one so frequently, nor ever communicated to any one, so fully and freely, his sentiments and opinions on points connected with his present pursuits, as to myself. His letters to me, he considered, therefore, as of more value than almost any he had ever written: and it would give him great pleasure to receive them back again for his own future use: "while," he added, "the loss of them to you will be of no importance, considering how copious and abundant are your own notes on every part of the country through which you have ever passed."

I saw nothing unreasonable in this request, and therefore promised immediate compliance; pressing him at the same time to use equal frankness in stating the second. He then said that his next wish was to receive from me all the information I could furnish him respecting Nubia, or such parts of the Nile as I had visited above the Cataracts of Assouan. In the course of our many previous conversations, I had informed Mr. Bankes that among my papers then in Egypt, but which would be sent to me in India if I should settle there, were many ground plans of temples, tombs, and excavations in Nubia, with very copious notes on the state and condition of the country, as well as descriptions of the monuments in that interesting and then almost untravelled part of the globe. He had learnt from me, also, that I had never entertained the idea of publishing these notes, having made them entirely for the gratification of my family, and for my own future satisfaction. On the other hand, he told me, that, independently of the joint work on Syria, proposed by him to be executed by Mr. Burckhardt, Mr. Bankes, and myself*, he had long determined to publish something on Nubia, having been more fortunate than most of his predecessors in his discoveries there; "and," he added, "if you have no intention of making any public use of the materials collected by yourself, during your stay in that country, you will confer a great favour on me by sending them to me from India, to be incorporated with my own." To this, also, I readily assented: and promised that I would embrace the earliest opportunity of complying with his wishes.†

As soon as this conversation ended, I repaired to my room, and after searching among my papers, I found a great number of Mr. Bankes's notes and letters addressed to me, and received at different places on my way, which I instantly returned to him,

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* See the first mention of this subject at page 303. of the present volume.

† These materials were subsequently sent from India to Mr. Bankes in England; as alluded to in a letter, which will be found in the Appendix.

though I felt at the same time that it would have given me great pleasure to have retained letters so full of compliments to my talents and understanding, and testimonies of my enjoying the good opinion of the writer, as these almost uniformly evinced. On Mr. Bankes examining these letters, he found only one missing, as he thought, out of the whole collection; but he remembered this particularly, as it was written in the Haurān, was pretty full on the subject of the ruins there, and supplied a blank that none of the others could fill. On his describing the letter to me, I remembered it also, and made a vigilant search after it accordingly, but without effect. Every article of my baggage was ransacked with the greatest care, and the letter not being found, it was supposed by us both to have been lost, or destroyed. As it was but one, however, out of a large collection, it was the subject of only a momentary regret, and was soon forgotten by us both accordingly.*

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* The history of this lost letter, which was afterwards found, is one of the most remarkable that perhaps ever occurred; and, in any other age than the present, would certainly have been regarded as being directed by the immediate agency of a superintending Providence. The consequences of finding this lost letter will be detailed at length in the Appendix. It will be sufficient, therefore, to say, in this place, where it was concealed, and how it afterwards came to light. Among the packages in which my baggage was contained, was a small portmanteau, lined with cotton ticking; and in the upper part of this, generally appropriated to dirty linen, loose letters and papers were also frequently put; this being the package constantly near me, serving often for my pillow at night, and being always in use. Mr. Bankes's letters being sealed with red English sealing wax, this particular one had, by its seal being next to the cotton lining, and the heat of the sun through the black leather of the outside melting the wax, stuck fast to the ticking, with another letter enclosed in it, written at Acre, which being of much less importance, neither of us had missed. In this state of adherence to the inner lining of the portmanteau, near one of the ends, and entirely out of sight, these two letters had remained fixed during eight or nine months, without being perceived, until, after the journey was at an end, I gave to my servant at Bombay all my old travelling baggage, now no longer of use to me, with permission for him to sell it on his own account. In the search which he made, however, into the corners of the packages in question, he found these letters stuck fast by the wax as described; and on bringing the portmanteau to me that I might tear them off myself, I was agreeably surprised to find the lost letter of Mr. Bankes, with another of an earlier date included in it. The result of this remarkable recovery will be told hereafter.

After parting with Mr. Bankes, all my attention was directed to securing a safe journey from Aleppo to Baghdad, in which Mr. Barker rendered me every assistance that I could desire. Through his influence, principally, a respectable merchant of Moosul, who had halted at Aleppo on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca to purchase goods, and was about to return to his native city with a large caravan, consented, for a moderate sum, to take me under his protection as one of his party; enjoining only a certain condition on my part, that I should conceal the fact of my being an Englishman or Christian from all but himself and his immediate dependants; and that I should conform in every respect to whatever rules he might think proper to lay down for the guidance of all the individuals of his party during the journey. To this I readily consented. I was to provide my own horse and baggage for the way; but as I could now speak the Arabic language pretty fluently, neither servant nor interpreter were needed; and I had the prospect before me of as safe and pleasant a journey as can well be expected in a caravan made up of all sorts of characters, and passing through so unsettled and uncivilized a country.

The day of our departure was fixed for the 26th, and I employed the short time that remained before this should arrive in writing letters to my friends in Europe, and in completing all the preparations that I thought necessary for the journey. The circumstances of my stay at Aleppo had been extremely unfavourable to the indulgence of my usual habit of visiting every place of interest, and preserving daily notes of what I saw and heard; from which alone faithful pictures of persons, places, or things, can be afterwards drawn. My confinement in the khan had so depressed my spirits as to render me absolutely incompetent to do more than preserve a narrative of that confinement itself. And after my removal to Mr. Barker's house, every successive day, from morning to night, was one entire round of entertainment and pleasure, excursions to gardens, visits of ceremony, evening parties, &c. which rendered it impossible either to read, write, or reflect with

advantage, so that these duties were necessarily abandoned. In consequence of these obstacles, I preserved fewer recollections of Aleppo than of any other place in which I had passed so many days; but, as this city has been much more frequently described than any other in Syria, and has had even a separate history of it written by Doctor Russell, who resided there as an English physician for many years, it is of the less importance.* I can only say that it appeared to me one of the best built of all the cities of the East that I had yet seen; and though a considerable distance from the sea, it has a greater number of European residents, and these all enjoying greater freedom, than any of the larger cities subject to Turkish government, excepting only Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria. The native population appeared also more actively happy, and in better condition, than the subjects of irresponsible despots usually are.

The character of the present governor was sufficient to account for all this. Though possessing unlimited power, like all his predecessors, it had been retained in the family of his immediate ancestors for several years back, and he wished to transmit it to his children. He silently acknowledged, therefore, the influence of public opinion, and thought it not derogatory to his dignity to consult the welfare of his subjects in most of the measures that he pursued. The result was increased happiness to

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* Haleb or Hhaleb was called anciently Aran Tsaba, according to Benjamin of Tudela, where the sultan Noraldin had a palace surrounded by a high wall. There were neither wells nor fountains in the town; and the inhabitants drank chiefly of rain preserved in cisterns, there called Al Gub. There were then 1500 Jews there.

On doit savoir, que le nom de Halep vient du Syrien, qui est Chalybon; et que, pour rendre la lettre initiale, il faut y employer l'aspiration dure, ou le *Hha* plutôt que le *Hé*, dont on ne fait usage ici que par adoucissement. Les Ecrivains Grecs du Bas Empire ont remplacé la lettre dont il s'agit par un *Chi-X*; et dans Robert de St. Michel, la voyelle que suit est precedée d'une consonne, en écrivant *Galapsa*. Sous les Seleucides, le nom de *Berœa*, tiré de la Macedoine, étoit transporté à cette ville.—*D'Anville, sur le Tigre et l'Euphrate*, p. 22.

Ptolemy had made Berœa separate from Chalybon, which was placed near Hierapolis: but this the French geographer has successfully combated and confuted.

them, and increased popularity and security to himself; and, though far short of the freedom which men ought to enjoy, the condition of the people at Aleppo appeared to me to be more favourable than in any other part of Syria, because their industry was less taxed, and their governor was more liberal and more enlightened than Turkish rulers in general.

The continuation of this comparative state of happiness depended, however, entirely on the continued life or continued disposition of the individual then at the head of affairs. Securities for good government there were absolutely none. The laws were uncertain and unknown; the people had no share whatever in the administration of their own concerns; and if the present pasha, from caprice, or evil disposition, should determine on taking off the heads of the most innocent individuals in the city, there was no power that could prevent the indulgence of his cruelty. Such are the blessings of absolute and irresponsible despotism!



APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

A REFUTATION OF CERTAIN UNFOUNDED CALUMNIES

INDUSTRIOUSLY CIRCULATED

AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF THIS WORK,

BY

Mr. LEWIS BURCKHARDT, Mr. WILLIAM JOHN BANKES,

AND

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

It may appear to many persons, unacquainted with the causes of the delay, as somewhat surprising that certain unfounded calumnies contained in The Quarterly Review so long ago as the commencement of 1822, should not have been publicly answered in England before the approach of the year 1825. As this impression, wherever entertained, cannot fail to be unfavourable, I take the earliest opportunity to remove it, even before entering on the merits of the case: being ready to admit, that whoever remains for a long period voluntarily silent under imputations that deeply affect his character, furnishes presumptive evidence of his indifference to the good opinion and esteem of mankind, and consequently deprives himself of all just claim to their sympathy and regard.

I shall state, therefore, that when these calumnies first appeared in January 1822, I was residing in India, where the number of the Quarterly Review in which they were contained (No. 52.) did not reach until August of the same year. It had not been landed in Calcutta, however, three days, before a most ample refutation, containing most of the important matter included in this Appendix, was issued from the press, and by sale and gratuitous distribution about 2000 copies were placed in the hands of the British Indian public.

Copies of these documents were then sent immediately to England, for re-publication here, either in any periodical work, or in a separate form. By the time of their reaching England, upwards of a year had elapsed; and it was then thought, by the parties to whom they were sent, that the interest of the subject had gone by, and that the refutation would not be extensively read if published in a separate form; while none of the periodicals could include it in their sheets in that perfect state in which alone it could be read with advantage. Funds were also sent to England at the same time for commencing a prosecution against the parties: but it was thought that this could not be satisfactorily conducted without my presence; and thus every step that I had yet taken to obtain reparation or redress had been ineffectual.

Towards the close of 1823, I arrived in England myself, and the very first step taken by me was to commence legal proceedings against the principal agents in creating and spreading the calumnies adverted to. From that moment to this I have never relaxed in my endeavours to bring the case to trial; but delay has succeeded to delay, in such a manner as to make it quite uncertain when the proceedings may be brought to a close.

During this interval, the present Volume of Travels has been passing through the press, delayed unavoidably, from time to time, in its progress, by the multiplicity of other occupations on my hands; and even now brought out under the most distracting and incessant cares, and perpetual interruptions, the most unfavourable to the satisfactory execution of any literary labours, but particularly those involving in their very nature great care and research.

The publication of this volume has always been regarded by me as the fittest and best opportunity for printing, in an Appendix, the calumnies of the several individuals named before, and the refutations which were instantly opposed to them, on the first appearance of the calumnies themselves in India. It is essential that the readers of the present volume should see the real grounds on which the accuracy of my preceding one has been impugned, and the facts and arguments by which such imputations on its fidelity have been repelled. It is desirable that the literary world in general should also see recorded, what authors can say of critics, as well as what critics can say of authors.

The Reviewers have carried their insolence and injustice to a pitch beyond endurance: and far beyond what any one of them would have dared to do, if writing in his own name, and under all the responsibility of open and avowed authorship.

It is one of the great evils of anonymous criticism, that masked slanderers dip their weapons in poison, and care not who they wound, provided their stabs are but considered to be skilfully made. The phrase of being "cut up" in a Review has, indeed, grown into common use, as if men's very hearts were there actually laid open with all the brutality of a butcher preparing a victim for the shambles.

The envious, form so large a class, that the more bitter the invectives of Reviews, the more extensive is their circulation likely to be. Ten thousand copies of The Quarterly will blast the fame of any man, and carry the stigma which it affixes to his name to the uttermost corner of the earth. If the object of its calumny be in another hemisphere, and at the distance of a year's voyage or journey in point of time, his reputation is damned throughout Europe, before even the rumour of the injury done to him reaches his own ears: and when it does, and he replies, however complete his refutation may be, he is told that the injury is irreparable; that his countrymen have seen the calumnies to remain unanswered for a whole year, and, therefore, they believe them true; while, now, other subjects engross their attention, and they will not turn aside to examine a question, the very name of which sounds stalely in their ears; which they have been accustomed to consider as long since decided; and which they will not, therefore, disturb themselves even to look at again.

This is no exaggerated picture. It has been my case; and will be the case of others, no doubt, who may be equally distant from their country at the time that their characters are assailed. The Reviewers have now and then had some severe castigations in return, from those who have been nearer at hand; but these, as compared with the number of others who have remained silent, and thereby given a colour of justice to their slanders, have been few indeed; while, like daring smugglers, or still more desperate pirates, the Reviewers think themselves sufficiently triumphant if they are successful in most of their iniquitous violations of the property and character of others, notwithstanding they may now and then, like the outlaws of the ocean, get a severe lesson taught them in an occasional conflict with one whose strength they had underrated, and who had, consequently, proved more than a match for them, and compelled them to abandon the encounter, or retreat under cover of their own noise and smoke.

Previous to entering on the publication of the documents necessary to the refutation of the calumnies before adverted to, it will be advantageous to give a brief narrative of the principal facts, for the information of those to whom the question may be entirely new.

In the year 1816, being at Alexandria in Egypt, and but recently returned to that country from India, where I had been on affairs of private business, partly connected with endeavours to restore the ancient commerce between Egypt and India by way of the Red Sea, I was solicited by Mr. Lee, the British consul there, and member of the firm of Briggs and Co. of the same place, to undertake a second journey to India by land, partly to be the bearer of a treaty of commerce drawn up between Mohammed Ali Pasha, the viceroy of the country, Mr. Lee, the British consul, and myself; and partly to be in Bombay at the time the first ships should come up the Red Sea, in order that I might navigate them through the difficult passages of the Arabian Gulf, with which I had made myself practically acquainted.

I consented to undertake this journey, on the condition of my bare expenses being paid; for which purpose an unlimited letter of credit was given me on Mr. Barker, the consul at Aleppo, the route by which I intended to go, although this was left open, to be determined as circumstances might direct.

Events altogether beyond my controul, and detailed at length in the volume already published under the title of "Travels in Palestine," as well as in the present, retarded my journey more than I either expected or wished. I arrived, however, safely at Bombay, where the notes that I had made on the journey having been read by some of the most distinguished literary characters of the place, I was advised to prepare them immediately for publication. I readily yielded to this suggestion, and at length completed the task. Some portions of the work were read at the meetings of the Literary Society at Bombay; and others were afterwards read at the meetings of the Literary Society at Madras. The whole of the manuscript passed through the hands of many individuals in succession, and approbation of its contents was very generally expressed.

I went soon afterwards to Bengal, where the materials were again shown to several of the leading characters in Calcutta, and I was urged on all sides to hasten its publication. I took immediate steps to effect this; and after a series of obstacles which will hereafter be detailed, the work appeared at the close of 1821. In the beginning of 1822, the Quarterly Review published its slanderous article on it; and on that Review reaching India, an immediate refutation was published there. On reverting to the whole series of discussions which arose out of this controversy in India, it is a source of great satisfaction to me to remember that my triumph was complete, both in the arena of written controversy and in the trial of my calumniators for libel in the Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta, where I obtained a verdict against them with damages, and where their libels were pronounced by the judge to be such as could not even be thought of without horror. It appears to me, therefore, that I cannot do better than republish here the principal articles that appeared in the Indian papers at the time, omitting such as are unimportant, amending the style of others; and changing the editorial plural "we" into the personal pronoun "I," as it is no longer as the editor of the Calcutta Journal, but as the author of the Travels in Palestine, that I now appear before the reader of the present volume. To this task, therefore, I shall at once proceed.

(*From the Calcutta Journal of August* 13, 1822.)

After the Travels in Palestine had been reviewed and eulogized by some of the most respectable periodical publications in England, I expected my full share of virulent abuse from The Quarterly, — and I have not been disappointed. I have been just permitted to glance over the article in this Review, a copy of which has been lent to me for perusal; but when I receive a copy of which I can make use, (for the purpose of reprinting it, accompanied with comments, in these pages,) I shall let the Indian public see how truly The Quarterly maintains its established reputation for malignant detraction,—and show them that it can publish known falsehoods with as much unblushing impudence as ever, whether the nature of its hatred and animosity be of a political, religious, or merely critical description. I shall then also give publicity to certain documents, which will illustrate the true character of the Editor of that publication, as well as of Mr. Bankes, who appears to have furnished the same scandalous and unfounded complaints to him as the groundwork of his Review, that were sent to India by a gentleman now in the country, and which were then most triumphantly refuted.

I must here, however, confine myself to a very brief outline of this disreputable transaction, which the details will show in all its glowing colours. In the year 1818, the notes of the Travels in Palestine, having been put in order for publication, were placed in the hands of the late lamented Dr. Middleton, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, whose piety and learning no man could doubt. The object of placing the MS. in his Lordship's possession was avowedly to ascertain his candid and undisguised opinion as to its merits and defects, and as to its fitness for publication in the state in which it was then presented to him. It remained in the Bishop's possession for several weeks, during which time his Lordship was confined to his room by a temporary indisposition, and during which he went through several portions of it, having a full opportunity at the same time, of inspecting the whole: when on returning it for transmission to England, he permitted the use of his name in the prospectus published in India, as well as in the preface of the work itself, approving generally of the nature of the whole, and never once raising a single objection either to its moral or religious tendency.

The original MS. was taken from Calcutta to England, by Mr. Eneas Mackintosh, formerly of this city, and the duplicate by Captain Sydenham of the Bengal army, and placed in Mr. Murray's hands for publication. This bookseller considered the work so likely to be acceptable to the public, as to undertake that it should be out in a few months; and he so far approved of it as to engage to give 200 copies, each value six guineas, for the MS., and take all the risk of publication on himself. After these terms had been fixed on, Mr. Gifford, the Editor of The Quarterly Review, had the examination of the MS. entrusted to him; and finding in it certain proofs of the blunders of The Quarterly Review in its remarks on Dr. Clarke's Travels, he wished Mr. Murray to allow him to *curtail* the work some forty or fifty pages, admitting, however, that it contained much that was new and interesting, and that deserved publication as such. Soon after this, Mr. Bankes set up a pretext of the work not being original, but being mostly compiled from his notes (although he had not seen the work at all); and from these joint causes, Mr. Murray declined the fulfilment of his engagement.

Reference being made to me in India, I collected a few of my friends, and exhibited to them such documents as convinced them that Mr. Murray's breach of engagement was unwarrantable; that Mr. Gifford's objections were wholly untenable; and that Mr. Bankes's assertions were in direct contradiction to his own letters addressed to me in Syria, the originals of which I fortunately had in my possession.

A notarial paper, stating all these facts, was drawn up by Mr. Smoult, of this city, Calcutta, and transmitted to England, with the documents in question. The result was, that Messrs. Longman and Co. to whom the MS. was then offered for publication, were so satisfied of the justice of the author's case, that they undertook the publication immediately, and got the work out with all possible dispatch. It was advertised in all the public papers as preparing for publication. It was announced in the most public way, when completed; and continued to sell rapidly, and to be reviewed favourably, by publication after publication, without Mr. Bankes offering it any public opposition, though he was in London during the whole of this time, and was fully informed of all that had taken place. His behaviour in this scandalous transaction will deserve a more detailed notice; and he deserves richly that his conduct should be shown in its true colours; because, although he has not had the courage or the manliness to come forward in his own name in a public manner upon this question, he has, under shelter of The Quarterly Review, sought to impress the public with the most unfavourable impressions regarding the character of one who was guilty of the great sin of being more active, more industrious, and earlier than himself in the field as a candidate for public favour. It may suffice here to say, that Mr. Bankes, after having paid the highest compliments that one man could pay to another, and bowed with deference to what *he* considered the superior judgment and understanding of his companion, traduces that same individual, and declares him to be incompetent, from his extreme ignorance, even to copy an inscription! This same Mr. Bankes, after having acknowledged in writing his own indolence as preventing him from making notes, and admitted his having derived information from consulting those of his more careful fellow-traveller, accuses that same individual of never having made notes, or even having paper to write them on, and of copying from him, who seldom made any!! The Quarterly Reviewers, under whose wing he has taken shelter, are of the same stamp and value as himself; for they, or Mr. Gifford, its editor, after having admitted in writing that the MS. contained much that was new and interesting, and that by curtailing it forty or fifty pages it would deserve publication,— now pronounce the same book, which has undergone no alteration since then, to be a tissue of ignorance and vulgarity, full of egregious blunders; and the conduct of the author, from beginning to end, as that of a dishonourable, infidel, illiberal, and pilfering ignoramus!!!

The world may well wonder at such irreconcileable contradictions as these. At an earlier period they might have done me irreparable injury, though I now regard them with as much indifference as scorn. But after the eulogistic testimonies of some of the most respectable publications in England in favour of the "Travels in Palestine," it would be a waste of time, perhaps, to show that the abuse of The Quarterly must fall pointless to the ground.

The Review from the Literary Gazette has been partly given to the Indian public: at the close of the second portion of the remarks offered on the Travels in that publication, is the following paragraph:—

"It is not possible, in a few desultory extracts, to do justice to this important volume. We have endeavoured, for the information of our readers, to furnish an outline of Mr. Buckingham's tour, but have been unable to record, in an abbreviated form, any of the numerous and valuable illustrations of the sacred writings with which this work abounds. If to throw a light upon the pages of the poet, historian, or philosopher, deserve our thanks, that writer has surely a greater claim to our countenance and acknowledgments, who, by his useful and important researches has illustrated several of the obscure texts of a book, the due knowledge of which can only enable us to become 'wise' in the best and most extended sense of the term."

The Eclectic Review, which is known to be one of the most exemplary publications of the day, as far as regards the religious and moral tendency of works in general, has the following paragraph:—

"His volume is both interesting and valuable in more than an ordinary degree. He has been enabled to suggest some important corrections of geographical errors, and to add considerably to our knowledge of the more distant and less frequented regions."—*Eclectic Review*, Jan. 1822.

The British Critic, a publication of some repute as a critical work, in speaking of the Travels in Palestine, has the following remark:—

"Mr. Buckingham has given ample proof, in the course of this volume, of his activity, resolution, energy, and observation."—*British Critic*, Dec. 1821.

The Monthly Magazine, published by Sir Richard Phillips, in speaking of the work, calls it one "of great interest and importance, forming a valuable addition to the numerous volumes of Travels into the Holy Land which have been published during the last ten years." It ends by saying:—

"To make amends for the want of novelty consequent upon all details respecting Palestine, Mr. Buckingham has introduced numerous and learned disquisitions illustrative of the sacred writings, and has corrected many errors, which, like the mummies of the Egyptians, have only been consecrated for their antiquity. Tyre, Acre, Nazareth, Mounts Tabor and Carmel, Cesarea, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Ramlah, and the holy places round the sacred city, have all been described by Mr. Buckingham's predecessors. Those portions of his volume, therefore, will be found to be most important, which are the details respecting the country beyond the Jordan, in which he has not been anticipated by other travellers. The minute descriptions of Geraza, Soof, Oomkais, the ruins of the ancient Gamala, Nazareth, Tiberias, Shechem, Mount Ebal, Gerizim, and the Wells of Samaria, are full of interest; and as they have not been touched upon before, afford valuable records of a country which has been an object of curiosity from the earliest ages. The style is worthy of the materials; numerous curious and erudite notes are scattered over the work."

The New Monthly Magazine, edited by the celebrated author of the "Pleasures of Hope,"—Mr. Thomas Campbell,—whose judgment and good taste on subjects of general literature will scarcely be disputed, commences and closes his notice of the Travels in Palestine, with the two following paragraphs:—

"Mr. Buckingham combines what are scarcely ever found to meet in the same individual, the fearless and hardy habits of a sailor by profession, with the reading of a scholar. Early smitten with a passion for travelling, he began to indulge it at the age of nine years, in a maritime capacity, and in the course of the succeeding years of his life he has visited most of the places of any note in the four quarters of the globe. From the mass of his observations during his extensive wanderings, he has selected those which regard Palestine, and the country which surrounds it, wherewith to commence the character of author. That part of his route which was directed through the country of Bashan and Gilead, east of the river Jordan, has hitherto been the boundary of all our knowledge regarding the ancient Judea. As this part of Mr. Buckingham's travels is the most attractive in itself, so likewise is it that which is the most pleasingly written. The exquisite beauty of the country which lay before his eyes, as he descended the second range of hills on the east of Jordan, its natural fertility, joined to an enchanting wildness, and the associations irresistibly connected in his mind with the ground over which he was passing, the most famed possession of the Jews, the scene of many of the most interesting events in scripture history,' and the seat of ten Roman cities, giving the name of Decapolis to the region in which they were placed, all warm his imagination into more luxuriant and animated description than he is in the habit of indulging in."

"We now take our leave of Mr. Buckingham, feeling assured that it is only necessary to draw the attention of the public towards his work, to make them anxious to judge of it for themselves, marked as it is by research, impartiality, and a sober simplicity of style, which makes amends for the absence of more attractive graces."

The British Review, which yields to none in its rigid criticism of all works on scriptural subjects (being understood to be edited by a body of divines of the Church of England,) has the following paragraphs:—

"Dissatisfied with the imperfect results of the labours of preceding travellers, and persuaded that he can add something new to our local acquaintance with the country of Judea and its interesting relations, Mr. Buckingham offers to the acceptance of the public the elegant volume of which we are now to give some account to our readers."

"At this period, the travels announced in the present volume commenced; and the preceding abstract of his introductory narrative, as well as every page of his elegant and interesting volume, will show that he undertook them possessed of that ardour in the pursuit of inquiry, that fortitude of mind, physical strength, competent knowledge of the native languages, and, above all, that intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom he was about to associate, and that capacity of adapting himself to foreign manners which are so essential to those who wish to explore a country lying unhappily under the dominion of the Turks."

"Mr. Buckingham bears testimony to the fidelity of Josephus's description of this lake (Tiberias), the features of which, he says, are drawn by the Jewish historian with an accuracy that could only have been attained by one who had resided in the country."

"Before we conclude this article, we cannot but advert to the contemptuous epithets which Mr. Buckingham very liberally pours forth in some of his strictures on the reputed holy places, and on the gross and absurd impositions practised in Palestine on the credulity of pilgrims and travellers. We confess, that we could wish such epithets and remarks had been omitted, as we have *heard* that they have been considered as 'displaying a contempt for religion itself.' As, however, this intelligent traveller, in his preface, disclaims any such intention, we have (to borrow his own expression) 'put the most favourable construction' upon the passages in question; especially as he has every where made a laudable application of his researches to the elucidation of the Scriptures, and (as our extracts will shew) has, in many instances, happily succeeded in throwing much light on sacred geography."

Lastly, the reverend Samuel Burder, D.D. author of a well-known work on the Illustrations of Scripture, which has passed through several editions, and which evinces an extent of reading on all subjects connected with the history, antiquities, and state of Palestine, beyond all former parallel; his book being, indeed, a compendium of every thing that is known on the subject in the writings of ancient and modern geographers, critics, and travellers; expresses himself to the following effect, in a note to the publishers, on returning the Travels in Palestine, which, had been lent to him for perusal just as the book was ready to issue from the press. The original note is now in this country, having been inclosed to the author by a friend in England, and is as follows:—

"Mr. Burder returns 'Buckingham's Travels in Palestine,' with many thanks to Mr. R— for the perusal of it. He has made many extracts from it for the new edition of the 'Oriental Customs,' and his new work in continuation of it. He considers Buckingham's Travels the very best book he ever perused of the kind, and thinks it will stand high in the first rank of that kind of literature."

I was content to receive all these unsought encomiums, in humble gratitude and silent satisfaction at having deserved well of persons for whose judgment I was compelled to entertain a feeling of respect. I would still have confined these complimentary and eulogistic expressions to my own private circle, and have suffered them to remain unnoticed, had not the rancorous spirit of The

Quarterly Review rendered it necessary to show that that bigotted and insolent publication stood *alone* in its malignant censures. In self-defence, therefore, I am constrained to publish my own praises, as well as to show the supporters of the work in India that they have a large majority of the most respectable opinions in favour of what they deemed deserving their patronage, and that the poison of The Quarterly is not without an antidote. The other publications before enumerated have indeed *reviewed* the Travels, supporting their opinions by extracts from the work itself, and not by bare assertion only: but to show that The Quarterly wages no such honourable warfare, it will be quite sufficient to give the article from the "Index," in which the book is again noticed almost as much at length as in the body of the Review itself, as if to secure the unfavourable impressions of the reader before he even entered on its perusal. In all critical publications except The Quarterly, an Index is merely meant to indicate where particular articles may be found, without applying abusive epithets in every line; but in the Index here spoken of, there is almost as much abuse and vilification as in the article to which it refers, a circumstance without a parallel perhaps in the history of criticism, and which of itself is sufficient to show the rancorous *spirit* with which the whole is written, and consequently to divest it of all claim to serious consideration. This elegant specimen of impartiality and gentlemanly candour is as follows:—

"Buckingham (J.S.) Travels in Palestine, 394—notice of an egregious blunder in the title page of this work, *ib.*—remarks on the blunders in the preface, *ib.* 375—geographical blunders respecting the site of Ramah, 375, 376, and Bosor, 376—specimens of his ignorance and bookmaking, 377—profane and infidel allusions to the Scriptures, 378—his account of the lake of Tiberias, false, *ib.*—blundering account of the ruins of Cæsarea, 379, 380—ignorance of Arabic, 380, 381—incorrect account of the convent at Jerusalem, 381—illiberal disparagement of Nathaniel Pearce, 382—dishonourable conduct of Mr. Buckingham towards his employers, and Mr. Bankes, *ib. note*—arrival of the latter gentleman and of Mr. Buckingham at what the latter calls the ruins of Geraza, 383—which, most probably, are those of Pella, *ib.* 384.—blunders committed by Mr. Buckingham in his account of the antiquities actually discovered there, 385—387—his plan of them, and transcripts of inscriptions pilfered from Mr. Bankes, 387—further specimens of Mr. Buckingham's blunders, 388—the ruins at Oomkais, which he gives for those of Gamala, proved to be the ruins of Gadara, 389—remarks upon the ignorance displayed in his plates, which are pilfered from those of former travellers, 390, 391."

On this tissue of censure and falsehood, so artfully mixed up with each other, I shall only say that simple assertion will not pass in India for proof, *even* from The Quarterly Review; and I have it in my power to show that the greater part of this is nothing more. It will not be easy to persuade the Indian public, (nor I hope the English community) that the editors of all the several Reviews and Publications, before enumerated, are such dolts and idiots as they *must* be if THEY are all wrong, and The Quarterly alone is right. For myself, I feel that the opinion of Dr. Middleton *before* publication, and that of Dr. Burder *after* it, from their eminence as men of learning, piety, and great critical research, are worth those of the whole of the Reviewers put together; but when the approbation of such venerable and estimable critics as these is joined to that of *all* the Reviewers who have noticed the work, excepting only one:—when, moreover, the disappointed rage of Messrs. Bankes, Murray, and Gifford, is so easily accounted for on other grounds than mere difference of opinion: the first being convicted from his own letters of wilful falsehood; the second from his own acts of a breach of faith and breach of promise; and the last being *proved* guilty of unpardonable ignorance on a subject on which he pretended to correct Dr. Clarke and D'Anville, wholly unworthy a public reviewer: it is not to be wondered at that they should spit forth their venom in concert, and endeavour to decry that which they have so much reason to dread.

For the present I shall be content to leave them to the ignominious fate that is likely to await their share in this transaction, and relying on the good sense of the public to exercise their own judgment on this subject, submit my reputation to that test of public opinion from which I shall never shrink, and without which I should hold neither praise nor censure to be of any value.

I have to apologize to several of my correspondents for a delay that must be still protracted another day, till I have disposed of The Quarterly Review, and of Mr. Bankes who fights behind its shield. I hope to do this satisfactorily to-morrow, accompanied with documents, which, when they are made as public in England as in India, will put them both to shame. The multifarious details inseparable from the management of a daily paper, are most unfavourable to the critical accuracy required in a literary warfare like this, where I am called upon to answer in a day, an article that it has taken the Reviewer perhaps months to prepare, and to hunt him from shift to shift, through pages of misquotation, misstatement, and misrepresentation. But I shall not shrink from the contest, shackled though I am by the claims on every moment of my time: well-knowing that—

> "Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,
> And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,
> Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

Though The Quarterly Review is perhaps the most powerful antagonist by which I could be assailed, with its favourite weapons of arrogance and abuse, it happens fortunately for me that the cause of my contest with it is the one of all others in which I have ever been engaged, from which I am sure to come out triumphant; and if my controversial labours have ever before entitled me to the laurels of victory over literary or political opponents, the present will, indeed, bring "crowning honours" on my head. I regret the impossibility of getting relieved from my daily duties so as to publish a volume on the subject; for many an accusing falsehood may be compressed into a *line*, which it would require whole *pages* for one defending himself to refute. As it is, however, I shall find time and space to meet assertion with assertion, oppose argument to arrogance; and out of their own mouths to convict them of the basest and most unprincipled falsehood and hypocrisy.

The foregoing observations were published in the Calcutta Journal of the 13th of August, after having a copy of The Quarterly Review in my possession for about an hour on the 12th. The Journal had not been issued many hours, however, before a copy was sent me by a friend to make such use of as I might require; and being determined that not a moment should be lost, I succeeded in preparing my reply in the course of the same day; so that the article from The Quarterly, and my refutation of its calumnies, both appeared in the same Paper, on the following day. I shall reprint them here, in the form in which they appeared then; hoping that the reader will make due allowance for the hurried manner in which the Reply was necessarily completed. The figures at the commencement of the paragraphs will be referred to in the Reply, for the more accurate indication of the parts commented on.

FROM THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. LII.

(Republished in the Calcutta Journal, Aug. 14. 1822.)

Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan; including a Visit to the Cities of Geraza and Gamala, in the Decapolis. By J. S. Buckingham, Member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and of the Literary Societies of Madras and Bombay. London, 4to. pp. 550. 1821.

1. It is a distinction reserved, we believe, for the work before us, to display a blunder of the first magnitude upon its title-page. The names of *two* ancient cities only (*Geraza* and *Gamala*) are there set forth in capitals; and of these two, the one is certainly wrong, and the other doubtful. We must, therefore, commence our strictures with assuring—'*the member of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and of the Literary Societies at Madras and Bombay,*' that he, decidedly, was never at *Gamala*, and very possibly not at *Geraza*, in the whole course of his journey. Such an outset is not encouraging; but let us nevertheless follow our traveller to his preface, where he presents us with some choice flowers of rhetoric: we cull the first that comes to hand:—

"Alexandria, at length, *received me into her port;* and *the Pharos,* the catacombs, Cleopatra's obelisk, and Pompey's pillar, were all objects of youthful veneration, which I now *beheld with correspondent pleasure.* I ascended the Nile with the *Odyssey* and Telemaque in either hand; and Homer and Fenelon never interested me more than upon the banks of this sacred stream."

"The proud capital of the Khalifs, 'Misr, the mother of the world,' 'Kahira, the victorious,' placed me amid the scenes of oriental story; the venerable pyramids carried me back to the obscurity *of ages which are immemorial. The ruins of Heliopolis* inspired the recollection of Pythagoras, and the Grecian sages who had studied in its colleges; and the *hall of Joseph brought before my view the history of Abraham and his posterity, of Moses and Pharaoh, and of all the subsequent events that befel the race of Israel.*" p. viii.

2. to 5. Almost every one, without visiting Alexandria, knows, what Mr. Buckingham, who has been there, it seems, is ignorant of, that the ancient *Pharos* does not exist, and that its vestiges are to be found only at the bottom of the sea! The Odyssey and Telemaque, it will be admitted, were very singular guide-books upon the Nile; and we can hardly imagine what confusion of ideas could recommend them as appropriate companions for such a voyage; they might, however, be sufficient for one whose classical perceptions were so acute, as to enable him to find *ruins* at Heliopolis, where a single obelisk still erect, and a small spring still flowing, are the only indications, to ordinary travellers, of the site; but when he mistakes the Saracenic hall, built and named after one of the Mahommedan governors of Egypt, not 800 years ago, in the heart of a city that is itself but little older, for a work of the patriarch Joseph, and the children of Israel, we must in conscience absolve his guides, incompetent as they are, and give the whole credit to himself. The ingenious personage who confounded Alexander the Great with Alexander the coppersmith, was but a feeble type of our author.

6. The main object of the preface, he himself informs us, is to give us some measure and standard of his qualifications as a traveller and writer! Upon these, he enlarges with an amiable complacency, as conceiving himself one destined, and even in a manner '*compelled,*' under the penalty of '*reproach, to add to the common fund of human knowledge;*' and '*one to whom the Periplus of the Erythrean sea offered a fine field for commentary and correction.*' We admit, however, that the preface affords a fair sample of the work, which, like that, is made up of *very large phrases,* and *very small facts,* with a copious admixture of extracts from some authors which are in every body's hands, and of the hard names of some others which, we are very sure, were never in Mr. Buckingham's; insomuch that we were constantly reminded of that first of 'cosmogonists,' the celebrated Mr. Jenkinson, and looked forward with anxious expectation for the names of *Sanchoniathon* and *Berosus.* These, however, do not appear: but that of Quaresimus (which is found in the second paragraph) frequently occurs in his erudite references, although there is internal evidence that he has not read this author, in a gross mistake which he could not have committed had he ever consulted him: a mistake into which it is hard to conceive how any person could fall, who has actually visited the Holy Land. At Ramlah, or Ramah,* in his way from Jaffa to Jerusalem, he enters into a long disquisition to prove this to be the birth-place and burial-place of the prophet Samuel. Now, so far as the site of any place in scripture geography is identified, the Ramah of Samuel is, and has always been, perfectly well known. It lies almost as wide from this place as Jerusalem itself does, being on the left hand of the road from the holy city into Samaria, and standing so conspicuously on an eminence, that any one of the monks ('ignorant' as he represents them to be) could have pointed it out from the convent at Jerusalem. The prophet's tomb is there shown in a mosque, and held in veneration by both Christians and Mahommedans. All this he might have found in Quaresimus; he might have found it, too, at some length in Pococke, whose name he frequently introduces without the slightest acquaintance with his work, unless perhaps with his margin and his index; and the reason that these have been of no avail to him in the present instance, is, that the place in question is not now called Ramah, but simply Samuele. An error *in name* is fatal to one who relies on an index, but not to one who peruses an author.

7. 8. Mr. Buckingham does not appear to be very scrupulous in examining the sense of his extracts, since we frequently find him setting down a passage in his note that makes directly against some sagacious conclusion in his text; as p. 335. where, anxious to identify a village called Boorza, with the Bosor of the Maccabees, he subjoins a Latin sentence, in which *Bosor* is termed a *city of the Moabites,* whereas he has just told us that he was now in the land of *Bashan.* At p. 323. he and his own witness are at issue upon a point of a similar nature; thus he either convicts his authorities of error, or himself, and we shall hardly be disposed to balance long between them. In order to establish that Emmaus was near to Gamala, he brings forward (p. 434.) a passage from Josephus, which neither says nor implies any such thing; and we can venture to assure him that Vespasian, in passing from one to the other, must have marched round nearly one half of the lake of Tiberias, (the two places lying on opposite sides of it,) and that the hot springs, in favour of which this notable extract is introduced, have no more relation to Emmaus, than the city, at whose feet they lie, has to Gamala. The complicated ignorance and absurdity of the following illustration will not easily be matched. Good *wine* from Libanus was, it seems, set before him *at Nazareth.* This simple fact provokes the following gratuitous information:—

* Ramah is said, by St. Jerome, to be in the tribe of Benjamin, seven miles distant from Jerusalem, near to Gibea of Saul, and not far from Bethel; all of which circumstances correspond with that place now pointed out, (as well as his interpretation of Ramah in Hebrew, i. e. *high*); but not one will tally with Ramlah (Arimathea,) which is three or four times farther from Jerusalem, is not in Benjamin, nor near to Bethel, and stands low. The passage is in St. Jerome's Commentary on Hosea.

The meaning of the word Ramlah, Mr. Buckingham's Asiatic scholarship should have taught him, is not '*high*' but '*sand.*'

"It seems to have been peculiar to the NAZARITES to suffer their hair to grow long, and to abstain from the use of *wine*, on making a sacred vow; and the story of Delilah, and Samson, who *was a* NAZARITE, *is familiar to all*."

9. Nazarite, this critical inquirer takes for granted, must mean a native of Nazareth! but there is yet no danger of his reader being deceived, since he makes, as usual, his appeal to a testimony that contradicts him; for all to whom the story of Samuel *is familiar*, well know that he was of Zorah, and had no connection whatever with Nazareth; and that consequently a Nazarite is not a Nazarean. This mode of producing evidence against himself really spares us so much trouble, that we cannot feel too grateful for it.

10. His field of compilation is not, however, confined to the writers of antiquity—'as the storm drives at any door he knocks.' Nearly six pages (367—373.) are allotted to a paper 'by an anonymous author in the Gentleman's Magazine;' and we know not whether we owe it to the ignorance of *Mr. Urban's ingenious Correspondent*, or to his own, or to both, that he writes '*Arena*,' for *Podium*, in his details of a theatre; and *Piræum* more than once for the *Piræus of Athens*.

10. We shall not be accused of bestowing an undue share of attention on the examination of the nature of Mr. Buckingham's citations, when we inform the reader that they occupy the full half of the volume. The day, however, is happily gone by when such a mode of book-making could pass upon the world for learning. *Pedantry* is not the name for it, because *that* seems to imply something, at least of erudition and research; whereas this is that sort of fitting *on* of ready-made extracts from indexes and margins, and gazetteers, and magazines, which is the legitimate resource of provincial guide-books, and tours to lakes and watering-places, where it is easy to gain a few pages by setting out from '*the Druids, and the Ancient Britons, and Boadicea*.' This class of literature, it fortunately does not fall within our province to notice; but we can hardly suppress our disgust when we find this beggarly process introduced into the classic and holy regions of the East, and obtruded upon our notice in the pages of a quarto volume.

11. There is yet a charge of a more serious nature which lies against this work, and which we will simply preface with an extract from the author's introductory observations:—

"At every step of a traveller's progress through Palestine, his indignation is so roused by attempted impositions on his judgment, and sometimes even on his senses, that his warm expression of it, in pouring forth epithets of contempt for such absurdities, may sometimes be conceived to display a contempt for religion itself."

"*Whenever the reader meets with such passages, he is intreated, in the true spirit of that Christian charity 'which is not easily provoked, which thinketh no evil, which heareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, crediteth all things' to put the most favourable construction on the passage that it will bear;* AND IF THE BEST OF THESE IS BAD, TO PASS IT BY."

"There are some anecdotes detailed, more particularly those witnessed at Jerusalem, which may be thought also unfit for the public eye, but they are too descriptive of the state of manners there to be wholly omitted. *If I have given a colouring to these, which is not in conformity with the reigning taste, I request the reader to pass them over in silence also*, and attribute both these defects rather to my *ignorance of the state of public feeling on these subjects, among my own countrymen*, from having mixed much more with foreigners, than to any wish *to shock the prejudices of the one class, or the delicacy of the other.*" p. xviii.

Decency and piety, then, are conceived by Mr. Buckingham to be mere matters of local fashion and convention; and should the reigning taste not revolt at it, he holds an author fully justified in disregarding both! He does, indeed, (in a wanton profanation of one of the most tender and beautiful passages of Scripture), obligingly invite us 'to pass over such passages as offend.' As readers, we possibly might; as reviewers, we cannot: and we have found accordingly, as he had led us to expect, a sneering and irreverent tone in almost every paragraph where matters connected with sacred history are spoken of, and this upon those spots the most calculated to inspire very opposite sentiments in a well-regulated mind. Not unfrequently we detect him covertly aiming a side-blow at the miracles of the gospel.

"This lake (of Tiberias), *like the Dead Sea*, with which it communicates, is, *for the same reason, never violently agitated for any length of time.* The same *local features*, however, render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the hollow of the mountains, which, as in every other similar basin, are of momentary duration, *and the most furious gust is instantly succeeded* BY A CALM."—p. 468. (*Note.*) "And they launched forth: but as they sailed, Jesus fell asleep, and there came down a storm of wind on the lake, and they were filled with water and were in jeopardy, and they came to him and awoke him, and said, Master, Master, we perish: and he rebuked the wind, and the raging of the sea, AND THERE WAS A CALM. — Luke, chap. viii."

The drift and intention of this commentary cannot be mistaken, but *the assertion itself is untrue;* since, first of all, there are *not* the same causes of stillness in the waters of this lake as in that of the Dead Sea, whose specific gravity is so much greater, that it has been proved, by recent experiment, that persons unable to swim elsewhere, will actually float upon their surface: the ridges of mountains, also, that border the Dead Sea, are higher, and more continuous, and nearer to the margin; so that there are fewer directions in which the winds can act upon it; while the effects from the snows on Libanus and Antilibanus, which are so near as to be sensibly felt at Tiberias, are too remote to extend to the other. These constitute very broad lines of distinction; and the fact is, that the lake of Tiberias *is as subject as other* lakes to violent and continued agitation, especially by winds blowing from the snowy summits to the northward; and whoever has seen the waves of the Lago di Garda, or even of Como, under such circumstances, will not talk slightingly either of the force or duration of a freshwater tempest.

We have not room to comment upon the traveller's very tender and pathetic parting from his 'tried and well-loved' friends at Alexandria, which he terms '*the most painful of all* GUILTLESS *feelings*,' nor upon the thirty-two succeeding pages, which are consumed in a passage by sea, from Egypt to Syria, enlivened as they are with the customary ingredient of a storm; and shall therefore pass at once to the middle of the volume, where we first find him attached to Mr. Bankes's expedition. All that precedes, is drawn from Maundrel, Le Bruyn, Dr. Clarke, or the Gazetteer, with the exception of a few embellishments and errors, which are the writer's own.

12. We have early opportunities of remarking a rare degree of architectural and antiquarian sagacity. At Tyre, an aqueduct *upon arches* is ascribed to the time of the *Macedonian conquest!* it is, indeed, modestly termed:—

"*Merely a conjecture* that both the fountain and the aqueduct are the work of the same lofty and magnificent genius who connected the Island of Tyre, like that of Clazomenæ, in the Gulph of Smyrna, to the Continent, and whose works of grandeur, made subservient to public utility, soften, in some degree, the darker shades of his all-conquering character."

13. to 16. He is still more fortunate in his discovery of '*Canaanitish remains in the ditch at Acre*.' Whether it was the circumstance, *alone*, of their being in the 'ditch,' which led to this conclusion, he has not given us the means of knowing; and has thus left us with a painful misgiving upon our minds, that we may possibly ourselves have occasionally seen such 'Canaanitish remains,' without once suspecting it. Our faith, however, in his antiquarian re-

ferences is somewhat shaken, by observing how short a time he adheres to them himself. He says (p. 137.) of Cæsarea, 'the fort itself, as it stands, is EVIDENTLY *a work of the Crusaders*:' — two pages afterwards, describing a ruin at El Mukhelid (Antipatris), he tells us that it 'showed equally good masonry with that of the FORT OF CÆSAREA, THE STYLE OF WHICH IT RESEMBLED, and then goes on to enlarge upon a tower called 'Aphek,' by Josephus (misconceiving this to have stood at Antipatris *), and concludes, that 'the portion of the fortified building which still exists here, may be the remains of the identical building.' Thus of two structures, the style of which he himself observed to be similar, he would ascribe the one to the Crusaders, and the other to we know not whom, before the reign of Nero! Whatever objections there may be, however, to his inductions, two grand architectural discoveries in two buildings, which we had conceived to be sufficiently well-known, are enough to establish his reputation. The dome of St. Pauls is said to be of the same form with that of the great mosque at Jerusalem, that is to say, it contracts and curves inwards towards the bottom, a fact of which Sir Christopher Wren was not, we believe, aware: and 'a pair of stone doors (he assures us) are still hanging in the Pantheon at Rome!' †

17. As he seems to have had no suspicion that the existing walls at Cæsarea do not coincide with those of the Roman city, we are not surprised to find him asserting, that the 'forum, theatre, &c.' are not 'distinguishable;' whereas, had he strayed but a few paces beyond their circuit to the southward (if he knows the form of a Roman theatre at all), he would very plainly have distinguished one. But we should weary the reader were we to enter into the wide field of all that he *did not* see, and *did not* inquire for. Neither have his inquiries (when he did make them) led to very accurate information. He says (p. 90.), that 'the very ruins which remained of the house of St. Anna (at Sepphoury) had been entirely demolished:' whereas they then were, and probably still are, in precisely the same state as when visited by Dr. Clarke.

18. Our author would have us believe (p. 213.) that *he understood and spoke Arabic better than Mr. Bankes's interpreter*, who, he himself tells us, had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and who, we happen to know, had been resident several years at Cairo, and married to a wife there who spoke Arabic only. So high a degree of proficiency must (one would have supposed) have ensured great accuracy in all that he tells us of the local customs of the country. Did he then at Caypha, make no inquiries? or did his Arabic scholarship extend no farther than a few stammering names for the mere necessaries of life? The population of Caypha he says, (p. 115.) being made up of Mahommedans, Christians, and Druses, the women of the last-named sect are distinguishable from both the others by a horn worn upon their heads, and from those also of their own persuasion upon Mount Libanus by the fashion of pointing it backwards instead of forward. Now as far as accuracy is of any value in such trifling details, here are, at least, three false statements. First, though Druses do frequent the markets, both of Acre and Caypha, they form no part of the population of either, and any women seen there wearing the horn, were most certainly not natives of the place: secondly, this could not serve to distinguish the Druse women from the Christians; since, in every village where the two sects are intermixed (and there are very few on Mount Libanus where they are not), this form of head-dress obtains equally with those of both religions: and thirdly, in the different districts of Libanus, the horn is worn in every direction in which it is possible to protrude it; to the front, to the back, to the right side, to the left, and in every fanciful variation of obliquity.

19. Our accomplished traveller (designated, as he tells us he was, by the prior of Nazareth, as '*Milord Inglese, richissimo, affabilissimo, ed anche dottissimo*') repays the compliment of the fathers to his learning, by continually harping upon their lamentable ignorance. We must remind him, however, that ignorant as those monks may be, there are many points upon which it is not probable, and some upon which it is not even possible, that they can be so ill-informed as himself. For instance, when he is willing, at Jerusalem, to bring before us no very decorous picture of their manners and morals, he introduces us to the cook of the convent, not at all aware that the said *cook* was (and is always) *simply a servant* of the society, and a *layman, wearing the habit*, so that it is just as judicious in him to give us the details of this cook (even supposing them to be true) as a sample of the lives of the friars, as it would be in a foreigner to cite as a picture of an Oxford education, the incidental view of a scout tippling in an ale-house.

20. Whilst we remark so much ignorance as to the internal economy of the convents where he resided, we give full credit to the penetration manifested in discovering, among its external dependencies, what is delicately termed (p. 245.) '*the brothel of the Catholic monk's*;—an establishment, of which we are assured, that travellers who have been often at Jerusalem, and long resident there, had never the good fortune to hear before. On his amour with the Abyssinian lady, 'which was so conducted that,' as the fortunate object of her passion himself tells us (and as we are inclined to believe), 'it could not be perceived even by those who were in the same room at the time,' we should have made no comment, had it not given occasion for his speaking in terms of disparagement of poor Nathaniel Pearce, whom he represents as a 'common sailor, who could hardly read.' That Pearce had been a *common sailor* is true, but he was very far from being a *common man;* and not only could he read, and that in French as well as in English, but he wrote a very beautiful hand. He has left behind him journals of all that passed during his long residence in Abyssinia, which, when given to the press, as we trust they will be, by Mr. Salt, to whose care he bequeathed them, will, perhaps, throw more light upon the actual state of that singular country than any other work that has been written. Gladly would we exchange ten such quartos as this, *got up* by this 'member of so many flourishing literary societies,' for a few pages from this '*common sailor who could hardly read*.'

The charge of 'low origin and ignorance' (with however odd a grace it may come from such a quarter) is not restricted to Nathaniel Pearce: two respectable Germans, who seem to have committed no other offence than that of having been assisted by Mr. Bankes, in the very same manner as the writer himself was almost immediately afterwards, are described as 'young men, who were evidently persons of *low origin and confined education, and their manners* WERE DECIDEDLY VULGAR,' 'Although travelling (he indignantly adds) without any professed object beyond their own pleasure, they were both so poor and destitute as to SUFFER Mr. Bankes to pay their expenses.' It is to be hoped that Mr. Buckingham does not intend to upbraid them, in this place, with a degree of SUFFERANCE, which he soon found it convenient to imitate, more especially as we have the best assurances, that these young men neither violated the confidence of any employers to whom they

* This Aphek was, from the context of the passage in Josephus, a place quite distinct from Antipatris, and apparently in the road from thence to Lydda. The king of Aphek is enumerated among those whom Joshua smote, (Josh. xii. 18.) and Apheca is spoken of, Joshua xv. 5., as allotted to the tribe of Judah; Πυργος should be rendered here, therefore, not a tower, but a fortress, or strong hold. It is, probably, in the same acceptation of the word, that Στρατωνος πυργος was the name of the place upon whose site Cesarea was afterwards founded.

† These two curious particulars will be found in pages 205. and 298.

were responsible *, nor abused the indulgence of their benefactor, by procuring tracings from his papers, in order to turn them afterwards to account.

On entering upon the journey beyond Jordan, to which we have more than once referred, it may not be amiss to premise, that the term *we*, which, up to this place, must be shared between the writer, his muleteer, and an old man from Tocat, henceforward signifies himself and Mr. Bankes, he having generously allowed that gentleman to become the associate of his labours. We acquit him, however, of deriving any material benefit from such assistance; since, whatever he may have drawn from that source, he has made his own by such a felicity of misapprehension, and overlaid with such a cumbrous drapery of fustian and common place citation, that we believe it would be very hard for his companion to recognise much of his own, excepting the groundworks of what he has given as his plans, which have also undergone their full share of embellishment for effect.

21. Our travellers, having crossed the Jordan, found themselves, on the fourth day, among the ruins of Jerash, which Mr. Buckingham assumes (upon no other grounds than the resemblance of name) to be those of Geraza; and turning to his geographical dictionary, pours out upon us all that he can find there about that obscure city: this dictionary, unfortunately, did not furnish him with the only passage that gives any colour to the supposition that it really was Geraza.

In the mean time, many concurring circumstances might appear rather to fix Pella at this spot. First, that city being much oftener mentioned in history than Geraza, it seems reasonable to presume that it was more considerable. The geographical position would correspond sufficiently well. Pella was termed '*civitas aquarum*.' The fine spring rising in the heart of these splendid ruins (no ordinary appendage in those climates) accords well with such a designation; but, above all, a feature in the remains there which Mr. Buckingham (inconceivable as it is) has totally overlooked, gives a very strong presumption upon that side. There exist the ruins of seven or eight Christian churches, more or less preserved, some with crosses and legendary inscriptions on them. It was to Pella that the Christians retired, when the holy city was besieged by Titus; and they established themselves there, and called it the New Jerusalem. No such thing is recorded of Geraza; and so great a number of considerable Christian edifices seems to offer additional ground for placing Pella here.

22. That Pella and Geraza were places distinct from each other, there are abundant passages to prove. We have stated the pretensions of Pella. Upon the side of Geraza, we know but of one passage that makes it at all probable that these are its remains. It is that in which Ammianus Marcellinus praises the walls of Geraza, coupling them with those of Bostra. It is surprising, that Mr. Buckingham should have missed this passage, since it might be found *in the index* to Gibbon. To have been coupled at all with Bostra, proves Geraza to have been a place of some consequence. The walls remaining at Jerash are worthy of the commendation bestowed on those of Geraza; and as there are no others at all comparable to them within that district of the Decapolis, which must certainly have included this city, this may, perhaps, strike the balance upon that side, especially as it is doubtful whether Pella was walled. Should this evidence, coupled with the similarity of name, be deemed decisive, we are left in full possession of the surprise which it must occasion, to find ruins of an extent and multiplicity almost without parallel, at a place of which history has recorded so little beyond its bare existence.

23. Let us now see how our traveller acquits himself in the description of those extraordinary remains. At the outset (p. 343.), in his notices on the triumphal arch, we find him retailing an observation, which it is fair to suppose not his own, as it is very evident that he does not understand it. 'This bore (he says), a striking resemblance to the work seen in the ruined city of Antinoe, in Upper Egypt.' He does not inform us *by whom* it was seen, or what was the nature of *the work*. This is very guarded we must allow; but the fact is, that the resemblance which he *heard cited* was not in the 'work;' it was in that peculiar and florid taste only of decorating the lower part of the shafts of Corinthian columns with foliage, of which there are a few very large and striking examples at Antinoe, which, if our author had ever walked through those ruins he must have seen and remembered.

24. to 26. We cannot refrain from noticing, in passing, the audacious imposition attempted upon the reader, in referring him to '*the vignette at the head of the chapter*,' as to a view of this triumphal arch. We have not ascertained from what obsolete work this pretended view is purloined; it is not among Le Bruyn's, to whom we have traced almost all the others; but we have only to confront the print with his own description, and the ground-plan given, to be satisfied that Mr. Buckingham is *not* in *possession of any* sketch whatever made on the spot, and of the impossibility of its having any resemblance. Over each of the 'side arches for foot passengers,' he says, was 'an open square window,' and that '*as all the columns were broken near their tops the crowning capitals were not seen*;' and he adds, that 'the frieze was destroyed.' Upon turning to the vignette, we find two out of four of the 'crowning capitals' (as he terms them) still in their places: there is nothing that the most ignorant could possibly describe as 'an open square window over the side arches;' and the frieze is very entire! The next point to which he comes he calls a naumachia, because he found that word marked upon the plan from which he traced. The form itself was sufficient to denote it for a stadium, and it was only necessary, upon so hasty a draught as this seems to have been, to note down the peculiarity of its being occasionally floated for aquatic exhibitions: but our unfortunate friend had no notion that a naumachia might, possibly, be exhibited in a circus.* Be this, however, as it may, it is clear that he never looked at it on the spot; since he says, (358.) 'there are no appearances of seats or benches for the

* Mr. Buckingham had undertaken to carry letters for a mercantile house to India, over land, by the most direct and expeditious route, and with all attention to economy, the firm agreeing, on their part, to bear his expenses. From the first moment, however, of his setting foot in Asia, we find him acting as if both his time and funds were his own. How he may have since arranged matters with his *tried and well loved friends* at Alexandria, we know not; but this we *do know*, that so soon as his conduct reached their ears, Mr. Barker, the British consul at Aleppo, was authorized to take from him the dispatches, and to dismiss him; and that he being now already on his way to Bagdat, a Tartar was sent expressly after him for his recall, but died accidentally upon the road! So that it is to the timely death of this Tartar that 'the Asiatic Societies at Calcutta, and Literary Societies at Madras and Bombay,' are indebted for their distinguished member.

His transactions with Mr. Bankes seem to have been an episode in his plan; we have not only the statement of that gentleman with respect to them, but have seen also the deposition upon oath, of his servants, (the same who are spoken of in this work,) that Mr. Buckingham bore no part whatever either in the dispositions or the expences of the journey beyond Jordan, &c.; that he never made a single sketch during this time, nor had materials for doing so, and has, moreover, been heard to lament his inability; that the plan, which is the groundwork of that here given of Djerash, was made by Mr. Bankes, and traced, by his permission, at a window of the convent of Nazareth by Mr. Buckingham, upon a direct promise that it should not be published!

* Calpurnius mentions, that he had seen such exhibitions in the Circus Maximus at Rome.

spectators:' whereas, we believe, that there is no other circus known (excepting, perhaps, one at Laodicea), where the seats are so well preserved as they are in this. 'Nor (as he confidently assures us) are there any conclusive appearances of there having been any other than these TWO entrances to the city.' We venture, in all humility, to suggest that there are *four*, all principal gates. Again, '*in the centre, or nearly so, of this central space, was a noble* PALACE, *probably the residence of the governor*.' This is to be in luck! The edifice of which he is speaking, is the great propylæum to the temple on the hill, probably the most entire example of that kind of structure extant. He describes (356.) '*an aqueduct that crossed the stream upon arches*.' There is not any such thing, nor any necessity for one; what he mistook for it, is a tall bridge, over which passes the great transverse street of the city.

On what he terms 'the most imposing edifice among all the ruins *for size*,' (which it is not,) we have the following passage:—

"The impression which the noble aspect of this building made on us, as we beheld it from every quarter of the city, was such, that WE BOTH constantly called it the temple of 'Jupiter,' in *our* conversation and in *our* notes. This was done without *our* ever suggesting the propriety of the title to each other, without *our* having sought for any reason to justify its adoption, or at all arguing the claim in OUR minds." (382.)

All this may be very true, so far as respects Mr. Buckingham, who appears to have echoed what he heard, without knowing why or wherefore. But we may very safely take upon ourselves to hint to him, what his companion's reason was. Vitruvius assigns such elevated situations as command a view of nearly the whole circuit of the walls, to the temples of the tutelary deities; and of these he enumerates Jupiter as the first; whilst of temples contiguous to theatres, he says, that they should be dedicated to Apollo or Bacchus. There are but two principal temples at Jerash; the one almost abutting on a theatre; the other, of which he is speaking, detached and central, and on such an eminence as to command an uninterrupted view of the whole walls; it was natural in any one, conversant with this passage, and wanting names on the spot to distinguish the one from the other, in speaking of them, to term this the temple of Jupiter; though, we cannot conceive, that Mr. Bankes could have had the ill taste to assume his conjecture for a fact, and boldly give it this title upon two ground-plans. But there is nothing so positive as ignorance. We have to remark, on the pretended ground-plan of this temple, (p. 382.) first, that there are no doors (as there given) opening from the exterior to the back of the cells, either in this or in any other temple; secondly, that there is not the least appearance of there having been any peristyle; and thirdly, we must suggest, that it is one of the 'curious felicities' of our author's mode of observation, that he uniformly, in describing it, represents this as much the largest of the temples, whereas it happens not to be so in any one respect, but inferior to that near the theatre, in every proportion, by at least a third.

27. He has also mistaken a portion of the city wall for a military guard-house, and a Christian church in the valley for a Corinthian temple! but all the stores of his learning are lavished on the details of the theatre. He has astonished us with a discovery, that '*the theatre of Bacchus at Athens was called Hecatompedon*.' (367.) We were taught, or as it now appears, mistaught, at school, that this designation belonged not to the Theatre of Bacchus, but the Temple of Minerva. With such exactness does he give us the dimensions of the seats, and other minutiæ of the '*Hecatompedon*' *Theatre at Athens*, that it may be some disappointment to him to learn, that no such edifice exists, nor did exist there 'upwards of two centuries ago,' when he tells us that it was measured. A smooth turf then covered, as it does now, the site of the Theatre of Bacchus; and the only theatre existing there, that of Herodes Atticus, had not seats in it, when Spon and Wheeler saw it, any more than it has now, so that neither will *that* serve his turn. He, however, balances his accounts with theatres; for while he ascribes to one at Athens what it has not, he suppresses in one at Jerash what it has, both describing and engraving one of those there without any proscenium!

28. Besides quoting the two ingenious anonymous writers in the Gentleman's Magazine,' (one of whom treats by-the-bye, not of theatres, but of an amphitheatre, and measures the seats at Nismes, where there are not any,) he has the courage to extract very largely from De la Guilletierre's Travels. He could not possibly have made a more appropriate choice. We know of no book of travels to which we can so well compare his own as to this of De la Guilletierre. Dr. Spon published, so long ago as 1679, a catalogue of 112 errors in that little volume, replete as it is with disquisitions and learning, after the manner of Mr. Buckingham. One broad line of distinction we must, indeed, admit, and that is, that on the one hand it has been pretty satisfactorily made out that no such person as this De la Guilletierre ever existed; whereas the house of Briggs, at Alexandria, we believe, and Mr. Bankes, could furnish evidence of the reality of Mr. Buckingham.*

The ground-plan given of Jerash is founded on a tracing obtained from Mr. Bankes at Nazareth †; but so little did the borrower comprehend what he copied, that, hasty and incorrect as the original necessarily was, its errors are multiplied tenfold, both on the general plate, and in those of separate edifices, which are only enlarged from it. There is a zeal for deception in this, altogether extraordinary, for the alteration is systematic, and not accidental. In this general plan, when reduced to the size of a quarto page, it was found that the individual buildings would make but little figure if kept to their proportions, and perhaps disappoint expectation. The precaution has, therefore, been taken of exaggerating all in a twofold and threefold, and some even in a sixfold proportion, and upwards. He has himself given us a scale for detecting this, by telling us that the length of the city is about 5,000 feet. If what he is pleased to call the greatest temple (which is, in reality, the second only) be compared with this scale, it will appear to be of larger dimensions than any existing temple in the world; and some of the arched vaultings in the bath would prove, by the same proportion, to be at least *one hundred and fifty feet* in the span. And yet this

* It may possibly have been the adroit manner in which the 'supposed traveller' represents himself to have made use of some Englishman whom he met, and joined company with, that has so charmed our author, as to make him almost identify him with himself during several pages. 'My fellow travellers supplied me, and all things went on very well, and *very honourably for me*;' 'however, I would needs *have it thought* that I borrowed it only, though, perhaps, they might have given it as well.'—*Athens, Ancient and Modern*, by M. de la Guilletierre, p.6.

† Of his plate of inscriptions, he says, 'these inscriptions were given by Mr. Burckhardt to Mr. Bankes, *as well as to myself*.' This we know to be totally false, so far as respects *himself*, and that he obtained them only from a transcript in the margin of Mr. Bankes's ground-plan, who, not wishing to hazard the loss of the originals in a dangerous journey, had copied them on that paper for the purpose of collating them on the spot. It happened, as we also know, that, from many inscriptions belonging to Jerash, given to him by Mr. Burckhardt, Mr. Bankes extracted four or five only, and these are the very same that are here given; whilst of the remainder, which equally belong to Jerash, and were equally communicated by Mr. Burckhardt, not one makes its appearance.

writer seriously tells us, in his preface, that he is sure that Mr. Bankes's liberality would have 'admitted of' his drawings being brought before the public in such a work as this !*

29. We now proceed towards the site of another great mass of ruins, called at present Oomkais. In the way thither we are told of a place named Abil; this, it was suggested to Mr. Buckingham, might be Abile, and he, having never before heard of any other Abile but that of Lysanias mentioned by St. Luke, concludes, of course, that the Abilene was hereabouts. His proofs of this are most unfortunate, for he himself cites a passage which places Chalchis in the Abilene; now Calchis, we know, was in the Hollow Syria, under Mount Libanus. But there is not, in fact, any position more certainly ascertained than that of Abila of Lysanias. It stood upon the river Barrady, on the road between Damascus and Baalbec, where its tombs are still to be seen; and Mr. Bankes has brought home a long inscription, not observed by former travellers, copied from the face of the rock there, in which the Abilenians record the making of a new road to their city. The very circumstance of its being termed Abila 'of Lysanias' might have wakened a suspicion that there were two of the same name, the other was the Abila of the Decapolis; (so styled in a curious inscription in Greek and Palmyrene, in Lord Besborough's collection;) it is enumerated in Pliny's list of the ten cities, and there can be little doubt that the Abil, upon which all the common places belonging to another city are thrown away, is really that Abila. We believe that our author is only retailing a conjecture of Dr. Seetzen, when he suggests that the district now called Adjeloon may, probably, answer to the Gaulonitis of the Romans. He is unlucky in what he borrows; for we apprehend this to be a mistake; Adjeloon is, probably, within the ancient Batanea; Gaulonitis, we conceive, lay farther to the north; and that the modern district of Jolan, which is extensive, and includes some pretty considerable places, is more likely to represent it.

30. We now reach the consummation of Mr. Buckingham's blunders. The ruins of Oomkais he gives us for Gamala. What obliquity of intellect could have led him to such a conclusion, when Dr. Seetzen had already given the place its right name, it is impossible even to conjecture. He cites a number of second-hand passages, and they every one make against him! The case is so clear, that it is hardly worth stating the grounds of it as a question. Gadara stood high, the Hieromax ran below it, and at its feet were hot baths, so celebrated as to be considered second to none, excepting to those of Baiæ: its remains were likely to exhibit traces of magnificence, since it was restored by Pompey the Great in honour of one of his freed-men. It is not possible for any remains to answer all these conditions more exactly than those at Oomkais do; two theatres are in the body of the city, and one below, near the bath, which Mr. Buckingham contrived not to see.

Gamala was situated on the lake of Gennazareth, and on the opposite side of it from Tarichea. The Hieromax cannot, therefore, have flowed near it, nor are hot springs any where spoken of as connected with it; we read little of any other edifices there except its walls. The vestiges of Gamala might be expected, therefore, to offer little besides a steep and fortified site. Such Mr. Bankes found them in one of his subsequent journies, (not at Phik, where Dr. Seetzen had conjectured them to be, but) at El Hossn, a remarkable but abandoned position on the east side of the lake. The remains are considerable, but not splendid.

31. We cannot help feeling a sort of pity for a traveller who can have wandered through the singular sepulchres of Oomkais, and have bathed in its hot waters, unconscious that those were the *tombs* and this *the bath of Gadara*. For, doubtless, it was among these very tombs that the Demoniac of the Gospel resided, and that our Lord performed his miracle; and in this very bath it is that the strange scene of incantation is laid in the life of Iamblicus, by which he is said to have called up the spirits of Eros and Anteros; a circumstance which our traveller is so far from knowing, that he gravely asserts his own belief that baths near to Gadara are not mentioned by any author. (p. 434.) Had he but looked into one half of those whom he cites, without going any farther, he must have known better. Oomkais becomes thus a field of most interesting and varied associations; adorned by the rival of Cæsar, and, by a strange coincidence, the scene of one of the most remarkable miracles which the Gospel attests, and of one of the latest which paganism *in its dotage* pretended to. But all this was lost on Mr. Buckingham; for he, forsooth, supposed himself at Gamala! We might here safely have dismissed him, did he not seek out one more opportunity for a blunder before he recrosses the Jordan, in boldly assuring us that Sumuk (Samek) is Tarichea. Tarichea it cannot possibly be, as it stands on the wrong part of the lake, and on the wrong side of the river; for we must warn the reader that Samek is improperly placed on the map, it really lying a considerable distance eastward from the issue of the river out of the lake, upon the very centre of the southern shore. It is a small modern village.

32. The real site of Tarichea Mr. Bankes both visited and mapped in another of his excursions; it lies as described by Josephus, both with respect to Tiberias and Gamala, and has now no inhabitants. It is a highly interesting fact with regard to it, that the trench which the Jewish general and historian dug, and has described, in order to insulate the city, can still be clearly traced, and is filled with the waters of the Jordan to this day when they rise. Other parts of Josephus's details of the Jewish war, Mr. Bankes was lucky enough to discover to be surprizingly illustrated at Tiberias; the walls built there by the historian remain, excepting precisely that part which we are told was razed at the back of the camp of Vespasian, which was near the hot springs of Emmaus: but we are wandering from the matter before us; for it was not in this expedition that Mr. Bankes ascertained those points, and consequently Mr. Buckingham remained as ignorant of them as his precursors; had it been otherwise, all this would, doubtless, have made a part of Mr. Buckingham's pretensions to 'contribute,' as he terms it, 'to the *common fund* of human knowledge.'

33. One word more upon Mr. Buckingham's plates, and we have done with him. The paragraph in which he announces them, in his Preface is most warily drawn up. '*Many* of the vignettes *are from original drawings made after sketches taken on the spot.*' (p. xx.) He carefully abstains from stating which of them, by whom made, and when: thus if his reader be deceived, the author has provided a retreat for his conscience, in not having hazarded the 'lie direct.' In a subsequent page we find the following burst of 'honest indignation' in his animadversions on the plates in an edition of Maundrell's Journal. 'Some well-meaning friend, or *some interested booksellers*, subsequently caused these drawings *to be composed* from the

* Mr. Bankes made, we understand, three subsequent visits at different times to Jerash, during one of which he was enabled to continue there during several days; and, with the co-operation of Captains Irby and Mangles, R. N. who were with him, and indefatigable in their desire of rendering him assistance, was enabled to lay down very accurate and detailed plans of every part of the ruins, so as to supersede what was hastily done in his first expedition. But without this, we must be permitted to say, that the work of Mr. Buckingham pleads strongly for the publication of this gentleman's papers and researches upon these interesting provinces, in order that such wretched and surreptitious substitutes as those before us may be done away.

printed descriptions and charts of the places they profess to represent, and thus embellished, they thought, while they really disgraced the book. This is the more propable, as no name is given either of the painter or engraver. Such a practice, however, cannot be *too severely reprehended, as these plates only give false impressions which are avowedly worse than none at all.*' Who would suppose it possible, after this, that 'no name should be given either of the painter or engraver' on any one of the plates in Mr. Buckingham's volume? Yet so it is. As 'the practice,' however, is so 'reprehensible,' we will do him the kindness to mention that most of them are copies from the prints in Le Bruyn's travels, published more than a century ago. These, then, are the vignettes *from original drawings made after sketches taken on the spot,* whether by Mr. Buckingham in 1815, or by Le Bruyn in 1681, matters not, of course. It is true, that this confusion of widely distant periods may lead to a few 'false impressions,' as for instance, where Tyre (chap. ii.) is presented to us as a mere heap of ruins (which it was when Le Bruyn visited it), though it is now a flourishing place; or where Jaffa appears (p. 144.) as it then was, an open scattered village, though it is now a walled city; still, however, as it is probable that Le Bruyn's sketches were really made on the spot, Mr. Buckingham's word is saved! As to all the remaining views (which do not exceed three or four), it is quite certain that *not one* of them *was* made upon the spot; though whether taken out of other books, or 'composed' in the manner the 'interested booksellers' (greatly to the scandal of our author) treated poor Mr. Maundrell, we cannot determine; the fraud, however, is as clumsy as it is gross, for had we never met with Le Bruyn, nor suspected our author to be no draughtsman, his own descriptions would have enabled us to pronounce that the views do not belong to his work.*

34. The map is D'Anville's with all its errors; for it is one of the least correct of the productions of that extraordinary genius: and the ground-plans of Jerusalem are taken out of a translation of Josephus. Upon the whole, we are compelled to say of this dull and tiresome volume, which we have gone through with more care than it deserved, that the plates are worthy of the letter-press, and both of them, we verily believe, of the author.

"So much for Buckingham!"

REPLY TO THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

(Published in the Calcutta Journal of August 14, 1822.)

Having now seen the article in The Quarterly Review, on the Travels in Palestine, which I have republished at full length in my paper of to-day, I think it so wholly unworthy the character of fair criticism, that it is sure, by its very dogmatism and arrogance, to defeat its own end; and instead of suffering any pain from such a tissue of assertions without proofs, I am rather pleased at the intemperate manner in which the whole is got up, as I may fairly expect the Travels in Palestine, like Lady Morgan's Italy, to have its sale extended and its reputation strengthened by the aim of The Quarterly Review to injure the one and destroy the other.

Had it been the intention of the writer of the article to which I allude, to *review* the work, he would have commenced, at least, with some appearance of a desire to set the merits and defects of the publication *fairly* before the reader; but the malignant *spirit* with which the task was set about, is so abundantly displayed in the 'Index' published yesterday, that no one, after seeing that specimen of the *animus* of the writer, could place any reliance on the value or sincerity of his opinions. I shall notice, however, as I go along, all the serious charges that he attempts to set up against me, absurd and groundless as they are, to show to the world that there is *no scrutiny* or criticism through the press, from which I would ever shrink, or which I have any reason whatever to dread.

1. The Reviewer says, that there is a blunder on the very title page; for, of the names of the two cities there mentioned, Geraza and Gamala, the one is *certainly* wrong and the other doubtful. To this *mere* assertion, unsupported even by argument or proof, I can only oppose the *reasoning* and *authorities* cited in the body of the work, to show the *grounds* of my belief, that the ruins so named are those of the cities in question:—and if argument and authority be superior to mere assertion, I have both on my side.*

2. He says, the Pharos of Alexandria is at the bottom of the sea, and, therefore, I could not have seen it. The *ancient* Pharos, as is well known, has long disappeared: but it was not *that* of which I spoke:—the *modern* building, which stands out from the point, and has over the castle a lantern and light for the guidance of ships entering the harbour, is still called the Pharos of Alexandria, by all writers, as well as by the inhabitants of the place, whose authority on such a point is worth more than that of The Quarterly Review, as most persons will, no doubt, be ready to acknowledge. In the Geometrical Survey of the City of Alexandria, by Henry Salt, Esq. the present Consul General in Egypt, who is considered by the Quarterly Reviewers themselves as unexceptionable authority on all subjects connected with the present state of that country, the *modern* building now existing, of which I spoke, is expressly called 'Pharos,' and the small tower on the opposite side of the harbour of Alexandria, is called the 'Little Pharos,' to distinguish it from the larger one.

3. The Reviewer considers the Odyssey and Telemaque to be very singular guide-books on the Nile; and can hardly imagine what confusion of ideas could recommend them as appropriate *companions* for such a voyage. He may enjoy his own opinion; but I put it to the good sense of all who know any thing of the scene of the Odyssey and Telemaque, whether those books could be ever read with greater advantage or pleasure than along the coast of Egypt, and on the banks of its classic stream.

4. The Reviewer insinuates that I was wrong in speaking of *ruins* at Heliopolis, although he admits that there is an Egyptian obelisk still erect there. I can add, that there are large mounds formed of the *débris* of buildings; but if there was nothing but the obelisk, which he admits, it would still deserve to be called a *ruin,* as such obelisks were always attached to buildings of some description, and never stood originally alone.

5. The Reviewer says, I mistook the Saracenic hall of Joseph, for a work of the patriarch of that name. I reply, that I did no such thing. The people of the country attach a traditionary story to this building, of its being the hall in which Joseph assembled his brethren, and in which the corn was laid up for the years of famine; and when I said that this hall, with the traditionary tales

* The *very first* vignette offers an amusing instance of this. In describing the vessel in which he had embarked, he says, 'small as it was it HAD THREE MASTS;' he then enlarges upon the rigging and appearance of them, and boldly subjoins, '*See the vignette at the head of this chapter,* p. 3.' We accordingly turned to it, and found *two* vessels represented there, of which the *one* has *one mast only* and *the other two.* It would he hard, however, to blame M. Le Bruyn for not having represented Mr. Buckingham's boat with fidelity.

* It should be added, that in the published volume of Mr. Burckhardt on Syria and the Hauran, the names of Geraza and Gamala are given to the same places to which I have affixed them. This traveller is, however, one whom the Quarterly Reviewers take every occasion to eulogize; and it would not suit their purpose to discover errors in any thing which came from his pen. With them, what is an unpardonable blunder in one man, is an excusable conjecture in another! Such is the impartiality of modern criticism.

attached to it (which I have no where said I believed), brought to my *recollection* the history of Abraham and his posterity, I spoke that which I felt; and no mind but the tortuous one of a Quarterly Reviewer, could possibly have said that this implied a belief on my part that Joseph the patriarch was the *builder* of it. The pyramids might remind some *future* travellers in after ages of the brilliant battle fought by the French at their feet, and of Buonaparte the leader of that expedition; but it is hoped, that no Reviewer of that age would be found stupid enough to say, that such a traveller meant to express his belief, that Buonaparte and his followers had *built* the said pyramids, instead of merely fighting near them. I may retort upon the Reviewer his own remark, and say of him, that the ingenious personage who confounded Alexander the Great with Alexander the coppersmith, was but a feeble type of this blundering critic of The Quarterly.

6. The Reviewer considers me wrong in having quoted *some* portions of Quaresimus, because I have not given *others*. To this I can reply, that quotation implies *selection*, and selection is generally confined to parts and passages that are considered applicable to the writer's purpose and illustrative of his point. It is already a subject of complaint against me that I have quoted too largely, yet the Reviewer's suggestion would have only increased the evil. On the disputed question of the situation of Ramlah, I can only say, that although Quaresimus and Pococke agree, the authorities cited in proof of the position being that assigned by me, are not even touched on by them; and there are abundant instances to prove that *names*, though generally founded on accurate tradition, are not *always* so. America is a striking instance of the discoverer of a new world being so far forgotten as to have his name supplanted by another; and if this may apply to a quarter of the globe, what weight could be attached to the *mere* name of a village when standing alone and unsupported by other corroboratory circumstances? The Quarterly Critic knows this well enough, but his object is detraction, not argument.

7. The Reviewer says, I have confounded Moab with Bashan, in calling Bosor a place in the land of Bashan, and citing a passage which proves Bosor to have been one of the cities of the Moabites. I have made no such confusion, though it is clear that a great deal exists in the Reviewer's own mind. The land of Bashan, and Gilead, and Moab, were all east of the Jordan; and their boundaries are even at present so imperfectly defined, from this part of the country being a perfect blank in our modern maps, that no one can say clearly where the one begins or the other ends. Besides, we know that cities, and particularly fortresses, as this Bosor is described to be, were as frequently called after the people who occupied them, as 'a city of the Hivites, Canaanites, Moabites,' &c. as after their local and geographical place; thus, Gibraltar is considered a garrison of the *English*, though it is seated in *Spain;* and Jedda is a garrison of the Turks, though it is in Arabia. Truth and candour were not, however, what the Reviewer aimed at.

8. It is asserted also, that I have quoted Josephus to prove that Emmaus was near to Gamala, and that the passage implies no such thing. I refer the reader to page 434 of the Travels in Palestine. Let the context be examined, and the argument on it will be seen.

9. I am accused of confounding a Nazarite with a Nazarene, or one of the country of Nazareth. I know, as well as the Reviewer, that a Nazarite was one who made a vow of separation to the Lord, and that this distinction existed before the Jews entered Canaan; but, I do not know still, whether Nazareth was not so called from being a city or town of the Nazarites, separated originally for their settlement*, as there are 'Yahoodeea' in several parts of the East, to signify a place or quarter inhabited by Jews. They may *not be* the same: and I never said that they *were;* but the Reviewer has shown no reason whatever for their *not* being so. He says, that 'Samson, who was a Nazarite, was of Zorah, and had no connection whatever with Nazareth; and *consequently* a Nazarite is not a Nazarene.' The *sequitur* is not warranted either by reasoning or analogy; because we all know that persons were as frequently called after the city of their parents, or their education, or childhood, or even advanced age, as after the city of their birth, and that though Samson was 'of Zorah' he might still be a Nazarene. Can they be ignorant that Jesus of *Nazareth*, the place which has given its name 'Nassara' to all the Christians of the East, was, strictly speaking, a Bethlehemite, as being born in *Bethlehem*, a city of David, and many days journey distant from the city after which he is always called? But Reviewers are not bound to remember so simple a fact, though known to the humblest child and believer in the religion of Christ, and yet these are the men to revile and put down others as ignorant, blundering, and idiotic.

10. The next subject of complaint is, my having made use of an ingenious and interesting paper from one of the most entertaining compilations in the English language, namely, 'Selections from the Gentleman's Magazine.' This is done, however, with a full acknowledgement of the authority to which I referred, and if there be errors in *that*, as the measurements of theatres, the terms used in describing them, &c. they are not mine, but the writer's own. 'This class of Literature (says the Reviewer, contemptuously, in speaking of a Magazine in which Dr. Johnson and some of the first men of his day frequently wrote), it does not fall within our province to notice.' It would have been more creditable to him if it did—'But (he adds) we can hardly suppress our *disgust* when we find this *beggarly process* (that of condescending to notice a paper in a Magazine, though his own work differs from it only in being called a Review) introduced into the classic and holy regions of the East;' as if it could be a matter of any importance whatever from *what* source information was drawn to illustrate a question of dispute in Palestine, any more than in any other country of the earth.

11. I am next charged with aiming a side-blow at the Miracles of the Gospel. The reader will hardly credit the possibility of such wilful perversion as the Reviewer here displays. It is this: I have stated that the local features of the Lake (Tiberias) render it subject to sudden gusts of wind, and sudden calms. This, as a question of fact, I repeat; and defy authority to the contrary. The passage of St. Luke (viii. 23.) describing the stilling the tempest, is added at the foot of the page in a note; but the malignant and perverted mind of the Reviewer alone makes the connection, and considers this introduced for the purpose of proving that the miracle was a mere natural event. I did not even insinuate, much less labour to prove, such an inference; but what to all others was innocent and harmless, was in the mind of this Reviewer devilish and abominable.

12. It is urged as a proof of great ignorance, to suppose that an aqueduct with arches could refer to the time of the Macedonian conquest. The writer seems to think the origin of arches quite a settled point, although he himself knows that it is still a disputed one, and that arches have been found in Egypt, supposed to have been

* I have since seen, in notes to an edition of the Bible (I think Mant and D'Oyly's) that the conjecture here assumed by me, of Nazareth deriving its name from its being originally a city, set apart for the residence of Nazarites, who separated themselves from the rest of mankind, and whose very name comes from the Hebrew verb נזר *nazar*, to separate, is entertained by others. While thus inhabited, therefore, a Nazarite and a Nazarene would be strictly synonymous.

of a date long anterior to Philip of Macedon or Alexander.

13. The joke on the ditch at Acre is quite unintelligible to me, though it would, perhaps, be worth laughing at, if I could understand it.

14. The supposed incongruity of a resemblance in the *masonry* of two works built at very different periods, Cesarea and Antipatris, implies no absurdity whatever. The *masonry* (by which is meant merely the quality and kind of work shown in the union of blocks of stone, without reference to the order of architecture) was nearly the same with the Egyptians and the Greeks, in the best works of each; and the front of Newgate Prison in London, has exactly the same kind of rustic masonry as is seen in what is called the Castle of the Pisans, a supposed Roman building at Jerusalem. All this the Reviewer knew well enough, but his aim and object is to *misrepresent*, and not to examine.

15. The resemblance of external form between the dome of the Great Mosque at Jerusalem and that of St. Paul's is very striking; but it is no where said, that *either* of these ' contracts and curves inwards towards the bottom.' This is the Reviewer's blunder or mis-statement, and one for which I am not at all responsible.

16. The mention of the stone doors at the Pantheon at Rome, was coupled with the phrase ' *said*, in this particular, to resemble the stone doors,' &c. (p. 208.) and evidently introduced not as a matter that I spoke of on my own authority, but as a thing spoken of by another, and that person was no other than Mr. Bankes himself.

17. The Reviewer questions whether I know the form of a Roman Theatre at all, although there are plans given of two at Geraza, which, whether original or borrowed, were at least *as* likely to have been seen and understood by the individual describing them, as by any other person; although sitting in his closet in London, the Reviewer pretends to see at Cesarea what I did *not* see, as well as to contend for the non-existence in other places of what I *did* see. In short, if I had spoken of a Theatre there, he would have declared there was no such thing; but not having spoken of such a building, he exclaims, ' Oh ! but if you had only strayed a few paces further, you would have very plainly distinguished it.' It was for this arrogant pretension of the Reviewer, in telling a traveller what he *did* and what he did *not* see, in opposition to the evidence of his own senses, that he was handled so roughly on his blunders in attempting to correct Dr. Clarke and D'Anville, and this is at the bottom of all this perverse and wrong-headed obstinacy on the part of this convicted critic, who pretends to tell a traveller from his elbow chair, that he cannot trust to the evidence of his own eyes on the spot, but must yield up his senses as well as his understanding to his implicit guidance. If this be reviewing, the office of a Reviewer is an easy one indeed.

18. Again, he says, ' Though Druses *do* frequent the markets of Acra and Caypha, they form no part of the *population* of either, and any women seen there wearing the horn, were certainly not natives of the place.' To this I can only say, that strangers and visitors of every place are considered a part of the *population* of it, as long as they remain in it; and that to say the population of any place contained at any given period a certain number of Druses, does not necessarily imply that all these Druses must have been *born* there. But, after all, how does the Reviewer know that Druses are not even *settled* in these towns? There is no law or rule to prevent it, or he would readily have urged that as a reason. Surely he cannot have a Directory of every Syrian village to tell him who are fixed residents, and who sojourners within its boundaries. The truth is, he knows nothing at all on the subject; and conceiving that his readers are equally as ill-informed as himself, he puts forth a bold assertion in the hope that its very boldness will make it pass for truth, and this is the key to his impudent and barefaced denial of the plainest facts throughout.

19. He next objects to my taking a cook of a convent as a specimen of the whole order. I did no such thing. The cook was spoken of as a brandy-loving friar, and described individually, and instances in abundance were given to justify the opinions entertained of the body to which he belonged.

20. Of the alleged disparagement of Nathaniel Pearce, as a charge of a moral rather than a critical nature, I shall speak hereafter; as well as of the accusation made against me of dishonourable behaviour towards Messrs. Briggs and Co.; and, above all, of being dependant, for information as well as the means of travelling, on Mr. Bankes. These charges are of too serious a nature to be passed over lightly, or dismissed with mere denial; and I shall go into them more fully hereafter. For the present, I resume the *critical* part of our dispute.

21. The Reviewer comes now to Geraza, and first accuses me of turning to a Geographical Dictionary, and then pouring out all that I could find in it about that *obscure* city. Can the reader suppose it possible, that a city can be at once *obscure* and yet be fully described in a Geographical Dictionary? This is something quite new. The truth is, and the Reviewer *knew* this, that there is no book extant in which *any description whatever* is to be found of this OBSCURE city. Its very name, Jerash, was unknown in Europe till Doctor Seetzen visited it but a few years before, and the best maps of the whole region were a perfect blank. There were no Dictionaries or any other books that could be referred to for descriptions of this place. The Reviewer would have been too happy to have quoted them if there were; but he *knows* there are none; and the *wilfulness* of his falsehood, and the *malignity* of his motive are, therefore, equally apparent. Here also HE sees what no man else had discovered, and transforms by a stroke of his wand a Corinthian Temple into a Christian Church, forgetting that the one is not at all incompatible with the other, as even Egyptian edifices have been used for Christian worship. But the *blindness* of his determined spirit of detraction is most apparent in *this*. He admits, that the doubt whether the city in question be Pella or Geraza is so nicely balanced, that we may incline to the one as readily as to the other. He then refers to a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, praising the walls of Geraza, and coupling them with those of Bosra, saying, immediately afterwards, with a sneer " It is surprising that Mr. Buckingham could have missed this passage, since it might be found in the *Index* to Gibbon." I *did not* miss the passage, although I did not find it in the *Index* to Gibbon, but in the body of the work; and if the Reviewer had *read* the Travels in Palestine for the purpose of giving an impartial judgment on it, instead of decrying it, he would find at page 402, that I had said ' Gibbon enumerates this city (Geraza) among the line of fortresses, from Bosra to Petra, which formed the frontier of the Syrian provinces in the Lower Empire, and the barrier which was opposed to the Saracen invaders of that country from the East." He most probably saw this passage; his object, however, was not fair criticism, but condemnation; and, therefore, he kept it out of sight. The only passage in Gibbon to which this *could* refer, is one in his account of the siege of Bosra, (vol. ix. c. 51. p. 383.) where he says ' The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade, by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered with a line of forts, and the populous cities of Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Bosra, were secure at least from a surprise by the *solid structure of their walls*.' It is for this passage that the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus is given in a note at the foot of the same page; and unless the Reviewer conceives that an author can, like him, read *one* portion of a sentence and wilfully shut his eyes to another, he *must* have believed that I *saw* the passage which he so impudently asserts that I missed.

22. The Critic goes on to admit that the similarity of name and the strength of the walls, are strong evidences in favour of Jerash being Geraza, (though he commenced his article by noting this as one of the blunders made by me on the very title page of the Travels), and says, 'Should this evidence, coupled with the similarity of name be deemed decisive, we are still left in full possession of *the surprise* which it must occasion, to find ruins of an extent and multiplicity almost without a parallel, at a place of which HISTORY HAS RECORDED SO LITTLE BEYOND ITS BARE EXISTENCE.' Here is a consistent Reviewer! In the page preceding that from which I make the above quotation, he accused me of turning to a Geographical Dictionary, and pouring forth all that I could find in it about Geraza; and only twenty lines farther on, he admits that nothing whatever is known of this place beyond its name, and that history has recorded nothing regarding it beyond its mere existence!!! Can it be necessary for me to proceed with such a blundering and self-condemning Critic as this, who is convicted out of his own mouth of such wilful perversion, and blind and heedless inconsistency? The reader will judge, however, how bad a cause must be, which is so clumsily defended. That the Quarterly Reviewers should desire to decry the Travels in Palestine, I had reason to expect; but that they should consent to the certain disgrace of themselves, for the doubtful chance of injuring another, is only to be accounted for by that headlong fatality, generally explained by the saying 'Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.'

23. I come next to the Critic's pretended corrections as to the actual remains, which he commences, by saying, that I was retailing an observation which it was *fair* to suppose not my own, as I did not understand it; namely, the resemblance between the triumphal arch at Geraza, and the ruins at Antinoë in Upper Egypt. He insinuates that I knew nothing of those ruins, and, therefore, must have merely repeated an observation which I heard *cited* on that subject, he does not say by *whom:* had the Reviewer *read* the Travels in Palestine, with any other object than that of decrying them, he would have remembered this passage in the Preface of the Work, which would have convinced him, that when I spoke of a resemblance to Antinoë, I referred to ruins with which I was well acquainted. The passage in the Preface is this: 'I did not pass Hermopolis and ANTINOE, Panopolis and Abydos, Diospolis and Tentyra, without an enthusiastic, and I may say a *minute, examination* of their fine remains.' But it was not the Reviewer's aim or intention to remember any thing that could be favourable. It was his object to throw all into shade, and not to leave even a single ray to light the picture.

24. Next comes the 'audacious imposition,' as it is called, of referring to a vignette at the head of the chapter, because it differs in two slight particulars from the printed description. The Reviewer, who had again already forgotten the expression of his surprise, that such fine remains should exist of a place, regarding which HISTORY HAD LEFT NO RECORD BEYOND A MERE NAME, and which he knew had never been visited, described, or delineated, in any book of Travels before the present, says of this sketch of a ruin in this unknown and unvisited city, 'We have not acertained from what *obsolete work* this pretended view is purloined.' Certainly, no one but a Quarterly Reviewer, to whom inconsistency is of no consequence, provided he can blacken his author, *could* have talked at this rate, or supposed it possible that there was any *obsolete work* which was not equally accessible to himself as to us, or that there was any work at all on a city of which the very name and existence was unknown up to the present period! 'It is not among Le Bruyn's' he continues 'to whom we have traced almost all the others.' No one but a person whose rage had blinded his recollection, would have thought of looking into Le Bruyn for any thing relating to a country in which he never set his foot; for ALL are agreed, even the Reviewer himself, that the Jordan was the boundary of all our knowledge of Judea until now; that no European foot had trodden the countries East of it; and that our very maps were either blank, or filled up from conjecture only. The simple circumstance of a want of exact correspondence between the printed description and the vignette itself, would, in any honest mind, have been taken as conclusive evidence that the one was not wholly made up from the other; because, in such a case, no one but an idiot could have failed to make them exactly correspond. The truth is, that a hasty outline sketch of this arch *was* taken on the first passage through it, made with a pen on a blank leaf of a small memorandum book, and done in the hurry and stealth which almost every thing requiring the use of pen, ink, and paper enjoined. Mr. Bankes's drawings, of which I always spoke with the admiration they deserved, were of so superior a kind, that if copies of them had been given to me, as they were promised, neither this nor any other of the rude sketches made by me on the spot, would have been afterwards finished into vignettes for publication: but not being able to obtain the promised drawings in question, the next best thing was to make use of the materials within my reach, and accordingly some very masterly and accurate views of a French artist, Casas, of various places on the *West* of the Jordan, as well as original drawings made from sketches taken with more care and leisure than they could be on the *East* of that stream, were sent home to be engraved for the larger plates; but the delay that took place in the publication, and the probable decline of interest in the subject by such delay, induced the booksellers, Messrs. Longman and Co., to omit all that Mr. Murray would have originally included, as tending to protract the publication in point of time, and add largely to its expense, and confining themselves to the vignettes only, engraving these on wood instead of copper, and considering them only in the light in which they were intended, as merely appropriate embellishments, after all the more finished subjects had been necessarily excluded, because of the time and cost it would have taken to get them properly engraved. The portion of the MS. Preface which related to these larger drawings, has been omitted along with the subjects to which it referred; and the *latter part* of the paragraph only, relating to the vignettes, has been published. In the part omitted it was explicitly stated, that the vignettes were among the least perfect of the subjects sent; but even in that which remains, there is sufficient to show that nothing like an attempt at imposition was made; for, after stating that many even of the vignettes were from original drawings, made after sketches taken on the spot; it is added, that 'as this was the least expensive and humblest way of adding graphic illustrations of the text, appropriate subjects had been selected from other sources, but invariably with a view to the elucidations of scenery, costume, or manners, and the accurate representations of places spoken of in the body of the work.' With respect to the plates, there is but *one* among the whole that is not original, which is the plan of the *ancient* Jerusalem, a thing that *must* have been borrowed, if given at all, unless it is supposed that a traveller could draw upon the spot in the present day, a plan of a city as it existed a few thousand years ago. But this is so distinctly stated in the Preface, as to leave the Reviewer without excuse. It is mentioned in these words:—'The plan of the ancient Jerusalem, from the best authorities, is that which usually accompanies the Works of Josephus, and it will illustrate better than any written description, the changes which have taken place in the site of this city.' Of the vignettes, *the whole* of those on the East of the Jordan are *original,* and the few which were from other sources, in-

cluding Maundrell and Le Bruyn, besides being acknowledged, were only used by the publisher as illustrations of the text in the manner that Dr. Clarke's and other Travels have been illustrated, without its eliciting from this Reviewer a single observation. He could not deny their accuracy and appropriateness, and he could not indicate a single error in their use; so that driven to his last shift, he has attempted to fasten on me the charge of borrowing from some "*obsolete work*" a view of a place never before heard of or described, merely because two square holes above the side arches of a gateway are mentioned in the text and not given in the view; and because the Corinthian capitals were said in the text to be broken on the top, whereas in the view they are clearly seen. I appeal to any one who has ever been placed in circumstances, where, desirous of conveying to others some idea of a ruined building or a general view, he could only obtain from haste or other causes, a dozen lines with a pen, to be filled up by memory, whether such a view would not, in his estimation, have all the merit he aimed at, if it were correct in substance, and merely inaccurate in some item of minor detail? The views in every book of Travels that I have seen, present some instances of this; and the Reviewer, if he had any experience, must have *known* this. But the sketch being made at one time, and the written description at another, their want of perfect correspondence throughout is not at all wonderful. Had there been any feeling of a dishonest tendency, leading to imposition, any person in his senses would have referred to the written details for the filling up required; but there was no such intention, and accordingly both were suffered to remain as they were, without attempting to accommodate the one to the other. Had the Reviewer one grain of gentlemanly feeling or candour about him while writing his article, he would have adverted to an exactly parallel case, in illustration of this honesty and plain dealing on the part of the author, but this would have defeated the end he had in view, which was to condemn me, right or wrong. At page 394 of the Travels in Palestine, there is the following Note on a similar disagreement between the plan and written description of one of the streets of Geraza. 'The written description here is not in perfect harmony with the plan. The last was laid down from a set of bearings taken with a good compass: the first was composed also on the spot. The error is in the point of bearing only; but which of the two is more correct, my recollection does not allow me to decide; so that I have suffered both the authorities to remain unaltered.' I ask whether this was not the most frank and honest course that could be pursued in any similar case of doubt? *That* is the course which I have pursued, and if the Reviewer had any other than a crooked and tortuous mind, bent on my defamation, he would himself have applauded it.

25. I proceed, however, with my task:—for there is not a single accusation that I do not hope successfully to rebut. The next error attributed to me is, that of having used the word *Naumachia*, for what the Reviewer would have to be a *Stadium*, although he admits that it might have been occasionally floated for aquatic exhibitions. It was *then*, at least, according to his own showing, as much a Naumachia as a Stadium, and since the same exhibitions might take place also in a *Circus*, it was as much a Circus as either of the former. The claims are so equally balanced, that either name might have been used with propriety, in the same manner as a Theatre in England might be used for an Opera, an Oratorio, Equestrian feats, or Aquatic exhibitions, and be designated by either of the names appropriate to these performances, according to the light in which it might most strikingly appear to any future traveller describing its ruins. No person can be so blind as not to perceive the shallowness of such criticism as this. I have called it Naumachia; it is then his aim to show it might as well have been called a Stadium: and if that name had been adopted by me, *he* would, no doubt, then have contended that it should have been called a Circus.

26. He next says, that whether it be admitted to be the one or the other, it is clear that I never looked at it on the spot. Without stopping to ask how he can possibly *know* this, I beg merely to refer the reader to the description of this work at page 344 and 358, and to leave him to judge whether the details there given, are such as could be collected without examining it minutely. After stating the dimensions (the accuracy of which the Reviewer does not dispute), after noticing the difference of masonry in the inner and outer faces of the building, and mentioning the depth (about 8 feet) now seen below the upper edge, I added, what I still repeat, that there was no appearance then above the soil of any seats or benches for spectators. The Reviewer says, on the contrary, that there is no other Circus known (excepting, perhaps, one at Laodicea) where the seats are so well preserved as they are in this. I again ask, who shall decide on a mere fact, tangible only to the senses? and is it likely on such a point, that a Reviewer in London should know better than a traveller on the spot? If it be Mr. Bankes, who has furnished this information about the seats discovered in some subsequent visit, by excavating below the surface of the soil, would it not be ingenuous to say so? and could a traveller be blamed for not seeing what was hidden beneath the earth and brought to light only by a subsequent excavation? It would be as just to blame an ancient traveller in Italy for giving no description of Pompeii or Herculaneum before they were uncovered; or to take all the various travellers in Egypt to task, for not describing the feet of the sphinx, before Mr. Salt and others had ascertained by excavation, whether it had any or not. The same reasoning will apply to the Reviewer's assertion, that there were four gates to the city, and not two. I never attempted to describe *more* than I saw; I leave to such men as the Reviewer, the peculiar felicity of bringing unseen things into existence, and annihilating those that are known, just as it may serve the argument or assertion that he wishes to enforce. So also of the *palace* and the *aqueduct*, which he will have to be a *propylæum* and a *bridge;* of the temple of Jupiter, which he will have to be the *smallest* instead of the *largest;* of there being *doors*, where I have described none; and *no* doors where I have marked them. Well might he say, indeed, that '*there is nothing so positive as ignorance;*' I was never more convinced of this truth than now; and nothing but his assurance of the general ignorance of the public on a subject, on which he well knows that no person but one who has visited Geraza *can* decide, would have permitted the Reviewer to hazard assertions like these, which can only be met by assertions of as bold and positive a kind. There is this difference between us, however, that *my* object was to *inform*, and I could have had no sufficient motive for mis-statement, because the account of Geraza would not be increased or lessened in interest by the position of a door, or an aqueduct, or a bridge; while the object of the Reviewer, which is seen by the first paragraph of his article, is to *decry* and *defame*, and he has, therefore, a very powerful motive for mis-statement, because it serves the only purpose he has in view. Moreover, when I wrote and ventured on publication, I knew well there would be critics on the spot to point out immediately any glaring errors; while the Reviewer, knowing that the author, who alone could expose him, was resident in India, and that no reply to his Review could reach England for twelve months, when thousands who had read his accusations would never see my reply, and the few who might see it, would have forgotten or lost all interest in the subject, was sure of a temporary triumph, which would serve his malignant purpose, and, as far as he could accomplish it,

damn the fair fame of one whom he had determined to revile. But, as I said before, he is, fortunately for me, too late in the field: for not even the readers of The Quarterly can be such dupes as to suppose that all the six Reviews which appeared before it, were edited by fools and blockheads, who had uniformly praised what The Quarterly *alone* condemns.

27. I am next taxed with error in putting faith in the description of a Theatre at Athens, said by the Reviewer to be the pretended work of a person who never had any existence. Be it so: I am answerable for no man's errors but my own. The reference to the description of the Theatre in question (made for the purpose of comparing it with those of Geraza), was clearly ackowledged at page 366 of the Travels, from a work recommended by Gibbon, originally contributed to by Dr. Johnson, and published by the celebrated literary character, Nichols, no mean names, even when contrasted with those of Gifford, Bankes, and Murray, the *trio* who are united against me on this occasion. If the descriptions of the Theatre at Athens, and the Amphitheatre at Nismes, there referred to, are wrong, I am not to blame. They are believed by the editor of that publication to be right, and I had no means of knowing whether they were so or not; nor have I now, indeed, any better authority than the *assertions* of the Reviewer. But, admitting this to be correct, I have only committed an error to which every man is liable, that of giving credit at one period to what is subsequently found not to have deserved it; and this, I hope, will be the case with all who may have placed any reliance on the accuracy or impartiality of this article of The Quarterly Review.

28. On the subject of Mr. Burckhardt, Mr. Bankes, and Messrs. Briggs and Co., who are all here joined together, to make as formidable an array as possible, I shall merely repeat in this place that the Reviewer is as wrong as in every other part of his assertion; but these charges being rather of a moral than a critical nature, I reserve them for the last. So also of the ground plan of Geraza, which I am said to have " pilfered" from Mr. Bankes. On these points there will be found documentary evidence to prove that the charges are not merely unfounded, but wilfully and gratuitously false.

29. The *conjecture* regarding Abil, which is only corrected by a Greek inscription taken home by Mr. Bankes from another place, after our separation, and another in Greek and Palmyrene from Lord Besborough's collection, of which I could know nothing, is of no importance. I merely mentioned this place in a paragraph of a few lines as being '*probably* the Abila of Josephus,' (p. 412); and I am neither so ignorant nor so positive as to suppose, as this Reviewer evidently does, that it is impossible, even in a conjecture, to be wrong. I therefore pass over this immaterial point, and come to the ruins of Oomkais, which the Reviewer calls 'the consummation of Mr. Buckingham's blunders;' had he said, 'the consummation of the Reviewer's perversity,' he would have been nearer the truth. Let us proceed.

30. He begins by insinuating that I either did not know, or did not attach any value to, Dr. Seetzen's account of this place; for he says, 'The ruins of Oomkais, he (Mr. Buckingham) gives us for those of Gamala. What *obliquity of intellect* could have led him to such a conclusion, when Dr. Seetzen had already given the place its right name, it is impossible even to conjecture.' To prove that I had neither obliquity of intellect nor of purpose, I shall show the reader in what a candid and straight forward manner I entered on the inquiry, with a *full knowledge* that this was not considered to be the position of Gamala by the maps, and that Dr. Seetzen had considered it to be Gadara. The passage which opens the dissertation on this subject in the Travels in Palestine is as follows, (pages 419, 420.) 'As the ruins here described are not immediately on the position generally assigned to Gamala on the maps, and as the only person who has given any notice to the world of having visited them inclines to think they are those of Gadara*, it may well be to insert the description of the former place (Gamala) by the historian who was contemporary with its destruction by Vespasian, and who indeed himself fortified and fought in it.' To this succeeds nearly twenty pages of investigation, comparison, and dissertation, on the relative claims of Gadara and Gamala, in which the following authorities are cited in favour of the decision to which this inquiry had led me: Josephus, Ptolemy, Grotius in his interpretation of a passage of the first as quoted by Dr. Hudson and Whiston the translator, D'Anville on the site of Gamala, Cellarius, Reland in Palestina Illustrata, Pliny, and Cluverius, each in several and various passages; so that there was neither blindness nor obliquity in the search, for the Reviewer is unable to cite *one* solitary instance of misquotation among all these authorities, or to show that I have misinterpreted or misunderstood any one of the various passages. And yet he has the impudence to say, 'He cites a number of second-hand passages, and they every one make against him:' but instead of selecting even *one* of those authorities to *show* that it made against me, he confines himself to a sweeping assertion of the most dogmatic and arrogant kind, by saying, 'The case is so clear, that *it is hardly worth stating the grounds* of it as a question.' If this *were* so, he would have been too happy to have made it as clear to others as he pretends it is to himself; but his object is to blind those who can see, and not to open the eyes of those who cannot. I cannot reprint these twenty pages of dissertation on the disputed claims of Gamala and Gadara, or I should gladly do so. All those, however, who can refer to the Travels themselves (and to such alone can this subject be of any interest) may then judge for themselves, whether I have assumed without reason, argument, and authority, the decision to which I was led; or whether the unbacked assertion of a Reviewer, with a mere dash of his pen, is to be considered as sufficient to overturn a patient, candid, and impartial investigation of a question, in which there could be no possible motive for preferring one decision to another.

31. The Reviewer, after admitting that Dr. Seetzen was *wrong* in a conjecture that *he* had made about Gamala (without attaching any importance to *his* being in error), goes on to say of me, 'We cannot help feeling a sort of pity for a traveller who can have wandered through the singular sepulchres of Oomkais, and have bathed in its hot waters, unconscious that those were the *tombs*, and this the *bath of Gadara*. For, doubtless, (he continues,) it was among these very tombs that the Demoniac of the Gospel resided, and that our Lord performed his miracle,' &c. Who would not suppose from this, that the story of the Demoniac, here alluded to, was wholly unknown to me? or at least that no allusion had been made by me to that affecting narrative? Yet, will the reader believe it? this very dissertation on the disputed claims of Gamala and Gadara is closed by the following paragraph: 'The account given of the habitation of the Demoniac, from whom the legion of devils was cast out *here*, struck me very forcibly, while we were ourselves wandering among rugged mountains and surrounded by tombs, still used as dwellings by individuals and whole families of those residing here.† A finer subject for the masterly expression of the

* "Vide a letter of Dr. Seetzen to the editor of L'Ambigu, inserted in number 253 of that work."—*Note to the Travels in Palestine.*

† "And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains; because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked

passions of madness in all their violence, contrasted with the serenity of virtue and benevolence in *Him*, 'who went about doing good,' could hardly be chosen for the pencil of an artist; and a faithful delineation of the rugged and wild majesty of the mountain scenery here on the one hand, with the still calm of the waters of the lake on the other, would give an additional charm to the picture."

32. The last effort, and a sad failure it is, is to attach blame to me for not knowing, at one period, what Mr. Bankes had subsequently discovered at another, with regard to Tarichea and Semuk, neither of which I pretended to describe otherwise than as to the supposed position of the one, and the actual bearing from Tiberias of the other. But the Reviewer is himself soon ashamed of such a feeble sally as this, and instantly corrects himself, by admitting that as these points were ascertained by a visit made *after* the period at which I wrote, no blame could attach to me for not being acquainted with them.

33. The charge respecting the plates has been answered before; and if it were 'to provide *a retreat for conscience* that I abstained from particularizing which were original and which were not;' what must be the motive of the Reviewer for steering *equally* clear of all particular indication? Can it be a crime in the one, and a virtue in the other? The truth is, that though the Reviewer has not succeeded in convicting me of misrepresentation in any *one* instance, he is himself without a retreat either for his conscience or his reputation; for when he says that there is not *one* of these plates that was made from sketches taken on the spot, I *can* give him the 'lie direct,' to use his own elegant phrase, and tell him that *all* the plates (with the exception *only* of the ancient plan of Jerusalem, which could not have been done by a modern hand) are original; that *fifteen* of the vignettes are from original sketches, namely, Harbour of Alexandria, Tomb of Rachel, the Pass to Jericho, Crossing the Jordan, Arab Camp in Gilead, Arch of Geraza, Ionic Colonnade, Sarcophagi of Geraza, Bath on the Hieromax, View of Tiberias, Ruins of Capernaum, Baths on the Lake, Sarcophagi of Esdraelon, Mountains of Samaria, Castle of Sanhoor; leaving *nine* to be divided among Le Bruyn, Maundrell, Pococke, and Casas, while many more of the originals sent home have been omitted altogether. The complaint urged by me as to some of the plates in Maundrell, evidently put into a later edition of his book long after his death, was a well-founded one, because these were not merely inaccurate, but bore no resemblance whatever to the places they were said to delineate; whereas, of the few that were selected by me to add to the original sketches, they were avowedly chosen because of their fidelity; and notwithstanding what is said of Tyre and Jaffa, the only two places named, they are still, though imperfect, the best views known to me of the places in qaestion. The wilful falsehood of the assertion, that 'the remaining views are only three or four,' instead of *fifteen*, and the gratuitous assertion of what he could not possibly know, that none of these were sketched on the spot, is a finishing stroke to the arrogant pretensions of a Reviewer, who affects to know as accurately what persons did not do, as what they did. The *amusing* instance, as it is called, of the description of a vessel with *three* masts, and reference to a vignette showing a vessel with only two, merely proves the Reviewer's ignorance of what he wrote about. The description says, 'the vessel, small as it was, had three masts, *two of them being fixed nearly at the extreme points of the frame*, and the principal one a little before the centre of the hull. On the *fore* and *mizen* masts were carried a *lateen sail*, exactly similar in *size* and *form* to those worn by the Egyptian jerms; and on the main-mast were a square course, a topsail, and a topgallant sail, all fitted like the central sails in a polacca ship, and the mast rigged in the same way.' Any one who will turn to the vignette will see that the headmost of the boats corresponds exactly with this description; there are two *lateen* sails (if the Reviewer knew what they meant) of a triangular form, at each extremity of the hull, with a small jib beyond the foremost one; and at the head of the jib, the upper extremity of a short mast raking forward at an angle of 45° is distinctly seen; the rest of the mast is hidden by the lateen sail: but because the dark stroke does not appear *through* the canvas, the Reviewer fancies there could be none intended. Yet he must know that in the finest sea pieces, whether in water colours or oils, the square masses of white sails are often represented without any stroke to indicate a mast at all, or a line to pourtray the rigging, it being, of course, inferred that sails could not be supported without masts, nor these without ropes, and that the exact delineation of these is no more requisite in a small object, than the distinction of human hairs on the head of a miniature. There was a more striking inaccuracy in a view of the Lake of Tiberias (at p. 464), if this blind Reviewer could have seen it; for *there* a boat is introduced on a lake, of which it is mentioned as one of the peculiarities, that no boat was to be seen over all its extent! This was a touch of the engraver or some one else at home, where it is far from uncommon, as I have understood, to have still greater liberties taken; but the general accuracy of the whole is still preserved.

34. The closing sentence of the Reviewer is worthy of himself. He commences it with a blunder, by saying that 'the map is D'Anville's with all its errors, it being one of the least correct of the productions of that extraordinary genius.' The Reviewer must have been reading the preface when he wrote this, instead of looking at the map itself. In the preface, it is said, 'The *ancient* map of Palestine is taken, with very trifling alterations, from D'Anville, as the most generally known and approved authority on this subject, and the most frequently referred to.' Unfortunately, however, for the critical reputation of the Reviewer, this map was thought by the publishers unnecessary, and has not been engraved at all!! The only map issued with the work is one that was wholly constructed from an original book of bearings and distances, here in the Surveyor-General's Office in Calcutta, and has a large portion of country and many places included in it wholly unknown to D'Anville, or any other authority, as any one may see by comparing them together. Such a discovery was, indeed, worthy of the sagacity of The Quarterly Review. Of the ground plan of the *ancient* Jerusalem from Josephus, I have before spoken; and should be glad to know *where* the Reviewer could direct me to find a better.

"Upon the whole, (says this writer,) we are compelled to say of this dull and tiresome volume, which we have gone through with more care than it deserved, that the plates (which he contends are not original) are worthy of the letter press (which he insinuates is also borrowed or stolen); and both of them of the author," who, (according to his own showing, could have no just claim to *either!*)

"So much for Buckingham."

Had he said, 'Off with his head,' he would have given utterance, probably, to the inmost wishes of his heart. But, as it is, never was Bathos, or the Art of Sinking, more strikingly displayed. 'To begin with a blunder,' was reserved, it would seem, as a distinction for my book! still I had abundant room before me, in which to *redeem* my error. But to begin with a blunder, and *end with an absurdity* is a distinction of a higher kind, and

asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off he ran and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice, and said, 'What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not."—*Note to the Travels in Palestine.*

reserved for my Reviewer, who, having exhausted his store of learning, is reduced to the necessity of proving that his Author's text is not his own, and his embellishments still less so; but that nevertheless he alone is answerable for the demerits of *both!* 'O! most lame and impotent conclusion.' We have before us an exact picture of this wretched critic in the Dunciad,

> 'He gnaw'd his pen, then dash'd it on the ground,
> Sinking from thought to thought a vast profound:
> Plunged from his sense, but found no bottom there,
> Yet wrote and flounder'd on in mere despair.'

I had thought at first that I should have found the Review too long to continue a close analysis of it like this throughout; but the specimens already given (and I have missed nothing intentionally, but have gone on from paragraph to paragraph in the order in which they follow each other,) will have shown that every portion of it can be refuted and put down almost without an effort. The Reviewers address themselves to general readers; and their attention not having before been drawn to the subject, they are led away by authoritative and dogmatic assertions, as if they were truths: while, because such *readers* cannot refute them, they may suppose them unanswerable. I have shown that almost every sentence contains a specimen of false quotation, perverted reference, or known and wilful untruth. But having now disposed of the details of their contemptible criticism, if such abuse can deserve the name, I come at once to the great and serious points of the accusations affecting moral character, which for *my own* sake, and not for theirs, I am bound to defend.

It is insinuated that I knew nothing of Arabic, although this is numbered among one of the qualifications that I had the good fortune to possess for such an undertaking. And if this were unfounded, I should, of course stand convicted of wilful falsehood. The best answer to such an insinuation is, perhaps, the fact that I came from Aleppo all the way to Bagdad as an Arab, without servant, interpreter, guide, or assistant of any kind, through a country in which Arabic was the *only* language spoken; and there are persons at Bombay, Madras, and even at this city (Calcutta), among whom are the Professor of Arabic, and the Secretary to the College of Fort William, who can testify, I believe, as to my capacity at the period of my arriving here (two years *after* this journey, and when disuse had impaired a practical fluency in the language) to maintain a conversation with a native of Yemen, the part of Arabia in which the Arabic language is still used in its greatest purity.

It is said that I have spoken in illiberal disparagement of Nathaniel Pearce, of whom I had only made mention to show the state of manners in Abyssinia, for I had been told that Mr. Pearce, when left in Abyssinia by Mr. Salt, as a common sailor, and therefore not to be *expected* either to read or write, any more than thousands of the bravest and best seamen in the British navy, was held to be a prodigy of wisdom! This is what is called illiberal disparagement. Surely the Reviewers must suppose their readers destitute of all understanding.

The next important charge, which I purposely reserve for the last, is, that of my having pilfered Mr. Bankes's notes, drawings, plans, &c.; of my having had my expenses paid by this same Mr. Bankes; and of the Reviewers having the *statement* of that gentleman, as well as the depositions on oath of his *servants*, that these accusations were true. The assertion of dishonourable transactions on my part towards the house of Briggs and Co. in Alexandria, ought to have been reversed, for *their* behaviour was fully deserving that epithet; and as to the story of the Tartar, who died on his way from Aleppo to Bagdad, it is quite new to me, and may or may not be true; but I happen to have possessed, up to the hour of his death, the friendship, good opinion, and esteem of the late lamented Mr. Rich, of Bagdad, to whom the Tartar was said to be despatched, and who subsequently was made acquainted with the most minute transactions between myself and Briggs and Co., on which both he and Mr. Bruce, the East India Company's resident at Bushire, to whom these explanations were made, never expressed but one opinion, namely, that my conduct had been honourable and correct throughout: and there are many besides Mr. Bruce happily still alive to confirm what I say.

But to return to the transaction with Mr. Bankes, which is the main part of the whole, and is, indeed, almost the only thing worth *serious* notice in the whole Review, I shall give at length the documents, long since drawn up and sent to England, on that affair, which I hope will show that person in his true colours, and set the matter at rest for ever.

I must here intreat the indulgent forgiveness of those whose names will appear in these pages, as bearing testimony to the accuracy of the documents in question; but, however I may hold in contempt the critical confusion of The Quarterly Reviewer, who has even outdone himself in virulence and blindness in his pretended criticisms on a work that he did not read to *understand*, but purposely sat down to *decry*, I cannot remain silent under accusations which must, if unanswered, go to throw *doubts*, at least, on my moral character. I shall have to request, therefore, the patient attention of all who think it of any value that I should be able to defend my reputation from the suspicion of dishonour, to the documents that will follow this to-morrow, as a want of space obliges me to break off here to-day; and to their impartial judgment I shall be willing to submit my case.

On the following day, August 15, the Notarial Documents, before alluded to, were published in the Calcutta Journal, accompanied by several explanatory letters, and preceded by a brief introduction. Copies of the whole are here submitted.

NOTARIAL DOCUMENTS,

IN REFUTATION OF THE CALUMNIES OF MR. BANKES ON MR. BUCKINGHAM.

I have now the satisfaction to present to the Indian public the documents adverted to in the Journal of yesterday. I shall preface them with one observation only,—namely, that feelings of delicacy towards even the person who had forfeited all claim to such consideration, as well as a sense of the unmanliness of attacking the absent on points affecting moral character, which should only be done where the individual possessed the means of immediate defence, have hitherto deterred me from making these documents public. Since, however, Mr. Bankes has been restrained by no such feelings of delicacy or justice towards me, but on the contrary has lent the authority of his name, as well as his information, to The Quarterly Review, in order to spread throughout England and the whole civilised world, accusations which cannot be replied to for months after their appearance, and which will be seen and believed by thousands who will never have an opportunity of seeing my defence, it would be injustice to myself to preserve silence for a moment longer. I have only now to intreat again the indulgent forgiveness of those whose names will necessarily appear in these pages, bearing testimony to the accuracy of the documents in question, as without these proofs of authenticity the documents would lose much of their weight; and to beg the attentive and impartial perusal of all that follows, relying on the good sense of the public to examine for themselves, and decide according to their conscientious estimate of the evidence laid before them.

NOTARIAL PREAMBLE.

I, William Hunter Smoult, notary public, by royal authority constituted and appointed, and duly admitted and sworn, residing and practising in the town of Calcutta, Fort William, in the province of Bengal, in the East Indies, do hereby certify and attest unto all whom it may concern, that the paper writings hereunto annexed, marked respectively with the letters A, B, C, and Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, are true and faithful copies of several paper writings which were produced and exhibited to me by James Silk Buckingham, of the town of Calcutta aforesaid, Esquire, as and for original documents; the paper writing marked with the letter A, being a copy of a letter from the said James Silk Buckingham, addressed to Benjamin Babington, Esquire, London, dated Calcutta, the 3d and 10th days of June, 1820; the paper writing marked with the letter B, a copy of a letter from William John Bankes, Esquire, to the said James Silk Buckingham, dated Thebes, June 12th, 1819; the paper writing marked with the letter C, a copy of a letter from the said James Silk Buckingham to the said William John Bankes, dated Calcutta, June 22d, 1820; the paper writing marked No. 1, a copy of a letter from the said William John Bankes, addressed 'Al Senor Buckingham, Caballero Yngles, en el Conbento de la Terra Santa, Damasco,' dated Acra, February 28, 1816; the paper writing marked No. 2, a copy of a letter from the said William John Bankes, addressed to the said James Silk Buckingham, 'to be sent forward should he be on his way to Bālbeck,' dated Damascus, April 12, 1816; the paper writing marked No. 3, a copy of a red book of disbursements, containing an entry of the payment of the said James Silk Buckingham's portion of joint expenses on his journey from Jerusalem to Jerash with the said William John Bankes; the paper writing marked No. 4, a copy of the Tracing of the Plan of the Ruins of Jerash; the paper writing marked No. 5, a copy of a Tracing of two Tombs at Oomkais; the paper writing marked No. 6, a copy of a letter from the said Benjamin Babington, written at Madras to his brother Stephen Babington, in Bombay, refuting Mr. Burckhardt's calumnies on Mr. Buckingham; the paper writing marked No. 8, a copy of original notes contained in a memorandum book of Arabic paper, marked thus on the outside, 'No. 11, from Assalt to Jerash, Adjeloon, and Mezereibe, in the Hauran,' stated to contain all the notes made by the said James Silk Buckingham on his visit to Jerash, when the said William John Bankes was not with him; the paper writing marked No. 9, a copy of a supplementary letter from the said James Silk Buckingham to the said Benjamin Babington, in London, dated Calcutta, July 4, 1820; the paper writing marked No. 10, a copy of declaration of Mr. Henry Hamilton, assistant surveyor in Calcutta, as to his construction of a Plan of Jerash, wholly from MSS. notes and bearings furnished to him by the said James Silk Buckingham, without any aid whatever from the tracing of the said William John Bankes; the paper writing marked No. 11, a copy of a letter of the said James Silk Buckingham, addressed to John Murray, Esq., publisher, Albemarle Street, London, dated Calcutta, July 7, 1820, complaining of breach of confidence, and acquainting him that Mr. Benjamin Babington had been authorized by him, the said James Silk Buckingham, to withdraw the MSS. of the Travels in Palestine from his hands, and to seek redress for any injury sustained by him the said James Silk Buckingham, by the conduct of the said Mr. Murray: — all which said several documents are more particularly referred to and described in the said paper writing marked A. And I, the said notary, do further certify that I know and am well acquainted with the respective hands writings of Sir Charles D'Oyley, Bart., John Palmer, James Young, James Calder, John Melville, John Young, Henry Chastenay, George Chinnery, and Paul Marriott Wynch, whose names are subscribed to the several original certificates, of which copies are annexed to the said paper writings marked Nos. 3 and 8, and that the said signatures are of the proper hands writing of the said several parties whose names appear subscribed to the same respectively; and I do further certify, that the above-mentioned Henry Hamilton, an assistant surveyor in the office of the Surveyor-General, in the service of the Honourable East India Company, personally appeared before me, the said notary, and declared for truth that he has held such situation for upwards of thirty years, and is therefore well acquainted with the drawing of plans, and that he has carefully examined the paper writings hereunto annexed, marked Nos. 4 and 5, with their respective originals, and found them to agree in every respect. And I do further certify, that the originals of the said paper writings marked Nos. 3 and 8, have been carefully perused and examined by me, and that the same bear every mark of authenticity as original documents, and are respectively in the proper hand writing of the said James Silk Buckingham. An act whereof being requested, I have granted the same under my notarial form and seal of office, at Calcutta, aforesaid, this twenty-eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty, to serve and avail as occasion shall or may require.

Quod Attestor,

(Signed) W. H. SMOULT, Notary Public.

Notarial Seal.

B.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. W. John Bankes, dated Thebes, June 12, 1819, sent by the hands of H. W. Hobhouse, Esq.

Mr. Buckingham,

After some anecdotes respecting your conduct, which you cannot but suspect must have come, however late, to my knowledge before this time, you cannot expect that I should address you otherwise than I should the lowest of mankind. It is, indeed, with reluctance that I stoop to address you at all. It will require, however, no long preface to acquaint you with the object of this letter, since your own conscience will point it out to you from the moment that you shall recognise a hand-writing which must be familiar to you, since you have copied it, and are about to turn the transcripts to account. You have hoped that the distance of place would befriend you; you have hoped that I should shrink from proclaiming that I have been imposed upon. It would have been far more politic in you to have shrunk from being proclaimed the man who has imposed.

In that advertisement by which you announce as your own the works of another, you have at least spared me the humiliation of being named in the list of your friends (the motive of this is sufficiently obvious, and it furnishes in itself both a proof and an aggravation of your culpability). Yet some of those who are made to appear in that list would rather, I am persuaded, that you had invaded their property as you have mine, than have subjected them to so unmerited a stigma. One amongst the number (whom you would not have dared even to allude to had he been alive) is unhappily unable to repel the imputation in his own person, I mean the late Mr. Burckhardt, whom you so imprudently cite as your bosom friend. The boast is rash and ill-timed.

Are you not aware that copies of a letter are extant in which he styles you a villain, in which he says that the rogue can be brought to a sense of duty only by a kick. Do you wish then to publish your own disgrace by letting the world know how well you were known to that excellent person, who, during the two last years of his life, lost no opportunity of testifying his contempt and aversion for your character. Do not imagine that these sentiments were confined to the pages of a single letter. Sheik Ibrahim was too open and too honourable to wish others to be deceived as he had been for a time himself; had his letters to me reached me sooner than they did I should have had timely warning to beware how I trusted you, and you would never have had the opportunity which you have seized of abusing my kindness and confidence.

It is beneath me to expostulate with you, but I will state some facts to yourself which I have already stated to others, that the Journey beyond Jordan to Dgerash and Oomkais was arranged, and the Arabs under engagement to conduct me thither, before I ever saw you; that you introduced yourself to me by letter, stating that you were intimate with some of my best friends, and studiously concealed from me, both then and afterwards, that you were in any person's employ; that it was at *my invitation* (I being always under the supposition that you were a free agent) that you went with me, *having previously agreed to take down my notes* and the journal, when I should wish it; that the expenses of the journey were upon me; that the notes and journal were in great part *taken down from my mouth* (especi-

ally what relates to Dgerash), with the exception of that of the two or three last days, which were *written with my own hands and afterwards copied fair by you*; but above all, that the plan of the ruins of Dgerash was constructed and noted with my own hand, and that the assistance that I derived from you, even in collecting the materials for it, was in your ascertaining for me the relative bearings of some of the buildings with *my* compass; that, as to the plan of the theatre, you did not even know that I had made it till you saw it at Nazareth.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that you neither copied a single inscription, nor made a single sketch on the spot, since you are, I know, incapable of the one, and your *ignorance* of Latin and Greek must, I should suppose, unfit you for the other: add to which, you had not a single sheet of paper on which you could have done either, if I except a POCKET-BOOK about four inches square.

The great ground plan was traced at a window of the Convent of Nazareth (as both my *servants* can testify), and you have copies from my drawings of the tombs of Oomkais, taken at the same time; these last are probably to furnish the vignettes and appropriate engravings which are announced.

Surely you must laugh at the simplicity of your subscribers, when you are alone, with whom you are to pass for a draughtsman, being ignorant of the very first principles of design; for an accurate copier of inscriptions, being ignorant of all the ancient languages; and for an explainer of antiquities, being *incapable of even distinguishing between the architecture of the Turks and the Romans.* I have said enough; it is in vain to attempt to make a man sensible to ingratitude, who has been guilty of fraud. What I demand is, the immediate restitution of those copies from my papers without exception, and without your retaining any duplicate of them. Let them be put into the hands of Sir Evan Nepean, whom I have begged that he will do me the favour to take charge of them; and let all that portion of the work advertised, that treats of a journey made at my expense and compiled from my notes, be suppressed. I leave you otherwise to take the consequences; should you persist, the matter shall be notified in a manner that shall make your character as notorious in England and in India, as it is already in Egypt and Syria. You will find that you have not duped an *obscure individual* who is obliged to bear it and hold his tongue.

WM. J. BANKES.

When this letter was written I did not know that the person to whom it is addressed, was editor of the paper in which his long-winded advertisement appeared, but supposed him to be still at Bombay.*

C.

Copy of Mr. Buckingham's Reply to the foregoing.

SIR, Calcutta, June 22, 1820.

I received your insulting and infamous letter, dated Thebes, June, 1819, only a few days since, as well as its copy sent here by the hands of Mr. Hobhouse.

I shall enter into no further remarks here on the subject, than to state that it contains a tissue of most abominable falsehoods; that I regard you, therefore, as having forfeited the character of a gentleman; and that I shall use the means which your own previous letters to me in Syria (fortunately preserved) furnish, of proving to the world the baseness of your conduct.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

To W. John Bankes, Esq.

A.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Buckingham to B. Babington, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Sunday, June 3, 1820.

MY DEAR BABINGTON,

I have just received a most insulting letter from Mr. William J. Bankes, dated Thebes, June, 1819, a whole year ago, in which, having received all that Mr. Burckhardt had so falsely said of me as true, he sets me down as having also announced to the world the publication of what is not my own, namely, the plan and description of Jerash, upon these grounds: — *First,* 'That I never knew of the name or existence of the place till I met him at Jerusalem;' — *Secondly,* 'That I rendered no assistance in making the plan, except taking the relative bearings of some of the buildings with *his* compass;' — *Thirdly,* 'That the whole expense of the journey was defrayed by him;' — and *Fourthly,* 'That I traced the copy of the plan from his own in the convent of Nazareth, and copied all my notes from his manuscript.' Consequently, he commands me to desist from using any of the information so obtained, regarding Jerash, as my own; — insists on my giving up every scrap of paper I ever had belonging to him, to Sir Evan Nepean, at Bombay; or, on refusal to do so, he threatens that he will take such public notice of it in England as will blast my character for ever.

The readiness with which you stepped forward to do me justice against the unfounded calumnies of Mr. Burckhardt, and the pleasure which every honest man must feel in seeing equity rendered in similar cases, are my best hopes for your receiving readily my replies to these false and foul accusations, which I shall answer in regular order as they are above stated.

First.—That the Hauran generally, and consequently one of its principal cities, Jerash, was long contemplated as the subject of my examination, I need only to refer to a letter from Mr. Burckhardt, written to me at Esne, dated December 13, 1813, the original of which is with Mrs. Buckingham, and the copy to be found in the Calcutta Journal of November 24, 1818, since reprinted in the Quarterly Journal of Science, published at the Royal Institution, and in the Journal of Voyages and Travels, published by Sir Richard Phillips in London. In this Mr. Burckhardt says, 'I shall be much interested to receive from you some details relative to your excursions in Syria, more particularly those *trans-Jordanem,*' alluding to our former conversations about Jerash, and other remarkable cities of the Hauran.

Secondly.—Mr. Bankes admits, in his own letter, that I did at least take the relative bearings of the principal buildings of of Jerash with *his* compass, which all who know any thing of plan drawing will admit to be of some assistance; but I assert that I did much more; I traversed the city on foot from end to end, measured the length and breadth of streets and buildings by paces, took the bearings of buildings with *my own* compass, the one I bought in Bombay and used with you in our joint voyage, and, moreover, measured the proscenium of the theatre with a line (the *cord* was Mr. Bankes's I admit), measured the benches of the theatre by spans (using my own fingers), and counted the steps by going over them (with my own feet), during the time that Mr. Bankes was snugly sheltered in a niche of one of the vomitories, making a drawing of the front, of which he promised me a copy, as he then conceived our labours equal, but never gave me one. So much for the share we each had in the plan.

Thirdly. — Mr. Bankes's party consisted of two Bedouin guides, an Albanian servant, and himself, four in number, and I was alone, having neither servant nor interpreter; yet so far from Mr. Bankes having paid the whole expence, he did not pay even the portion which he ought, but demanded of me one half, which I paid him in the convent of Nazareth, on making up my accounts; as a leaf of my memorandum book which I enclose will show you, there stated at 108 piastres, which, as far as my memory goes, is quite correct. I could tell a hundred anecdotes of his meanness and parsimony which would make

* It should be stated, that the original of this letter was sent from Thebes, in Egypt, through Alexandria and Suez, to India, and was just a year on its way to Calcutta. The copy of it was given to Mr. William Henry Hobhouse, at Trieste, where Mr. Bankes and he met; and, as the latter was coming to India, he had the letter given to him open, with instructions to make it as public as he chose, on his way to that country. Mr. Hobhouse, having no reason to believe its contents otherwise than true, mentioned the circumstance of his being charged with such a letter to some of the gentlemen whom he saw soon after his landing in Bombay. By these he was at once assured of the entire want of foundation for Mr. Bankes's aspersions; and being unwilling to become the instrument of propagating unfounded calumnies against one he had never seen, and of whom he knew no evil, he made no further public use of the letter, until he reached Calcutta, when it was given to Mr. Palmer, and by him, with Mr. Hobhouse's consent, delivered up to me.

him blush, but Lady Hester Stanhope could relate still more. We may spare him, however, this mortification.

Fourthly.—I acknowledge that I did trace the copy of the plan when it was completed, in the convent of Nazareth, with Mr. Bankes's knowledge and cognizance, as a thing to which I had a right, since I had not only done the largest portion towards it, in collecting the materials of bearings, distances, &c. on the spot, but even in this convent I was constantly referred to by him on doubtful points, while he was reducing it to paper. An amanuensis, who wrote a letter at the dictation of another, might almost as well call the letter *his*, as Mr. Bankes could lay claim to this plan of Jerash. I should never have disputed his using it as he pleased, since he was there, and made the best use of his eyes and fingers as well as myself; and while I was *planning* he was *drawing*, which was equally useful. If *he* benefited by my labours, however, he should have made *me* a participator in *his*, and given copies of his drawings in exchange for my measurements and bearings of the plan, instead of which he would deny me all right whatever.—There is no name sufficiently bad for such illiberality of conduct as this.

Lastly.—As it regards my copying all his manuscript notes, you who travelled with me, and know my unwearied industry and precision in this particular, will easily discredit such a thing at once. The fact is, and I think I have so stated it in my account of this journey of ours to Jerash in the book sent home to be printed, that, from Jerusalem to this place, no safe or proper opportunity occurred of either of us showing such things as pen, ink, or paper: but on reaching Jerash, after we had during the first short visit made a few hasty measurements, copied one or two inscriptions, &c. we went down to a spring, and it was agreed between Mr. Bankes and myself that I should stay under a rock there, keeping the guides' attention directed from him, &c. and writing up all I could recollect of our journey, while he went to a spot above and took a general view of the city, which he did. A copy of this was mine by right also; as, without my aid, he could not have taken it, and, like the other, it was promised but never given. All our measurements were made in a visit we repeated from Soof, amidst heavy rain, on the next day, all of which you will find in the little red books I left with you at Madras. — I declare, upon my honour, that I do not believe Mr. Bankes ever made a note during all this tour; for, besides that his attention to drawing, whenever he had an opportunity to show paper, prevented it, his indolence on this subject is avowed; for, in a letter to me from Damascus, dated April 12, 1816, he says at the close of it: 'Do me the favour to keep this letter, not for your use, but mine, you know how indolent I am about writing, and I have thrown together many things here upon paper which I may never do again.' Is it likely that I should have been reduced to copy *such* a man's notes? I am sure you will laugh at such an idea.

But, with all our joint pains, the plan of Jerash was very defective; and accordingly, after I had parted with Mr. Bankes, and went to Assalt, on the east of the Dead Sea, I made a *third* visit to Jerash, accompanied by two guides of my own; and being unmolested through the whole of the day, had an opportunity of making a new and more accurate plan of the town generally, besides plans of the separate edifices, with bearings of all the principal points, and memoranda of every useful particular, from *which*, and *not* from our former *joint* imperfect draft, the plan I have announced for publication is taken.

Although I am sure that my solemn pledge and assurance would be of equal weight in your mind with any thing Mr. Bankes could say to the contrary; yet, for your further satisfaction, as well as to enable you to refute his calumnies more satisfactorily to others, I enclose you the following documents, as proofs positive of the truth of what I say: —

No. 1. A letter written from Acra, February 28, 1816, to prove that Mr. Bankes was desirous of *joining me* in my excursions through the Hauran, but that, though he had resolved to *come* to me, he could get no one to undertake to carry him on account of the *danger* of the expedition, ending by a hope that we should meet at Aleppo, and make our journey to Palmyra *together*. — This will show that I did not *intrude on him*.

No. 2. A letter dated Damascus, April 12th, in which is the following paragraph: — 'I have been careful and exact in my drawings, which are in great numbers, and I do not think you will be *ashamed* of having your name associated with what I may, one day or another, throw together in form. Do me the favour to keep this letter, not for your use, but my own;— you know how *indolent* I am about writing, and I have thrown here many things upon paper which I, perhaps, may never do again.' This will prove, first, that Mr. Bankes really did contemplate our labours being *jointly made public*, and that he thought me *entitled to association*; next, that he scarcely ever wrote, from avowed *indolence*, on this subject; and therefore, that it is highly improbable that I, who had nothing to divert my attention from writing, who have kept journals of the fullest kind for years past, and whose industry in this respect you have so often witnessed and expressed your surprise at, should have *copied* any of Mr. Bankes's notes.

No. 3. A little red book, one of the set, containing my loose notes, in Syria, Palestine, and the Hauran, of which I left with you the greatest number at Madras, and which you, no doubt, still have. I began this with a view of entering all my expences to India, but left it off after I quitted Nazareth. Luckily, however, it includes the item of expences to Jerash, of which I paid, as my portion (which was one *half*, though it ought to have been only one *fifth*), 108 piastres. You remember well the accuracy of my accounts when we made our voyage from Bombay to Suez together, and you will therefore easily appreciate my precision in this.

No. 4. A tracing of the plan of Jerash, made by me from Mr. Bankes's in the convent of Nazareth, the original of which I furnished the materials for, and assisted by my advice and correction in putting it to paper. I could have done it, however, myself, as chart drawing is professionally familiar to me, and I have, besides, plans of buildings in Egypt, drawn before I ever saw Mr. Bankes, much better done; but this was *traced*, as the *quickest* method, for I was ill at Nazareth, and had enough to do besides. The purport of enclosing this, is to have it compared with *my own* plan, as sent with my book to be published, which, being made up from a *third* visit to the city, and from more correct observations than could have been made before, is more accurate, and so different from this, that it rendered the tracing useless, and so in fact it has been.

No. 5. Two sketches of tombs at Oomkais, hastily copied by me from pencil sketches of Mr. Bankes at Nazareth, the only things of his I ever possessed, though, as I said before, he conceived that I was entitled to copies of all his drawings made when we were together, and promised them, but never performed his promise. These have been *finished* into drawings of a better kind by an artist, who did many of the vignettes for my book from rude and imperfect sketches and descriptions of my own, which I have acknowledged and explained in my preface; and these, if Mr. Bankes holds them to be any value, he may have back again, though he gave them to me as freely as he promised me what he never parted with.

No. 6. A copy of your letter to your brother Stephen, which you may not have preserved, in order to refute the calumnies of Mr. Burckhardt, in which Mr. Bankes has so inconsiderately joined.

No. 7. *The* identical compass with which I took all the bearings of Jerash, and every other place during the voyage, and which *you* will easily recognise as the very compass we had together from Bombay to Suez, and which I have preserved through all difficulties up to this hour.

No. 8. And lastly, The *original* manuscript notes of my journey *alone* (i. e. with Arab guides only), for the *third* time to Jerash, in which you will see that *my* notes, though hastily made, were very full; the plans of the buildings (though rude) made with my own pen, and sufficiently intelligible to me, copies of the Greek inscriptions found there, and, in short, all that was remarkable. All this was done *after* Mr. Bankes and I parted; it is from *this* that my account of Jerash is drawn up; and I declare, upon my honour, that I not only never copied, but I never *saw* a note of his in all the journey; and I firmly believe that he never made any, except in letters to his friends, relying wholly on his drawings to refresh his memory.

Sunday, June 10, 1820. — Since I wrote the above (for it is

only on Sundays that I can steal a moment for private correspondence) I have seen a letter from Mr. E. Mackintosh, by whom I sent home the manuscript and drawings of my journeys to his friend and partner, Mr. Calder, here. I should first tell you, that in a letter of Mrs. Buckingham's to me, dated either in August or September, she mentioned that she had seen Mr. Murray, who had closed a satisfactory bargain with Mr. Mackintosh for the work, and that it would be ready for publication in November or December. Although I had no direct communication from Mr. Murray on the subject, yet, on the faith of this, on which, of course, I placed the greatest reliance, I announced to the subscribers here, that accounts had been received by me from England, which gave me reason to believe that the work would be ready in December, and be here probably in June. A subsequent letter of Mrs. Buckingham's, dated in November, says, that having called on Mr. Murray to make enquiries regarding the progress of the publication, she was surprised to find, not only that it would not be ready in December as originally promised, but that it was not yet begun, and could not be commenced on till further communication with Mr. Mackintosh.

This gentleman being then in Scotland, Mrs. Buckingham wrote to him, and received for answer, that before his leaving England every thing had been arranged for immediate publication, and that the delay was not only unaccountable, but a breach of engagement on the part of Mr. Murray, whom he would call on the first thing after his return to London. This was accordingly done, as I learn from the letter of Mr. Mackintosh to his friend Mr. Calder. In this Mr. Mackintosh says, that after calling repeatedly at Mr. Murray's without being able to see him, he at length determined to wait at his house till he should find him visible. When he saw him, Mr. Murray excused his delay by the following explanation: —

First. — Being somewhat doubtful of the proper tendency of the work, as it regarded religion and politics, he put it into the hands of Mr. Gifford, the editor of The Quarterly Review, which was itself a great breach of confidence, as he had no right or authority to do so, and The Quarterly Review is, besides, the last standard by which I would consent to be judged on two such points as religion and politics, in which my notions, right or wrong, are diametrically opposite to those of that publication. After going through the Manuscript, Mr. Gifford, as might be expected, says to this effect (for I cannot get the letter to quote the precise words), that he had *read* the book, which contained much *new* and *curious* information, that would be both *valuable* and *acceptable*; but that it was unfortunately so mixed up with sentiments that were highly obnoxious, that it must be submitted largely to the pruning knife before it could be fit for the public eye, and that it would be better to reduce the quantity by forty or fifty pages, than spoil the whole by letting these obnoxious parts go abroad. Moreover, he thought these parts so *dangerous*, that he even advises their being not merely crossed out, as they would be liable to corrupt even the printers, who would thus be able to see them, *for* THEY *also have souls to be saved*; but that they should be cut out altogether and destroyed. He then goes on to revile me, as being devoid of all generous sentiments, my having all the venom of Voltaire, &c. &c., in the style of The Quarterly Review; but recommends, nevertheless, on the whole, that with the judicious retrenchments proposed, the work should be *published*. It appears by this, from the circumstance of Mr. Murray being the favourite publisher of church and state, and the proprietor of their avowed advocate, The Quarterly Review, that lately (perhaps since the publication of Don Juan) he submits the MSS. of all works to Mr. Gifford, and publishes only what he approves, depending on the praise of The Quarterly Review for the sale of the book, rather than its own merits. The silence of The Quarterly (so chaste, so moral, and so indignant on every other occasion) with respect to Don Juan, which it has not dared to condemn because *Mr. Murray* published it, though all other presses in the kingdom have been employed to cry it down, is another proof of the base coalition that exists between the Reviewers and the publisher, to which coalition the interests of truth and of private individuals must thus be sacrificed.

In my letter of instructions to Mr. Murray, dated November, 1818, and sent by Mr. Mackintosh, with the MSS. I said, 'with regard to any thing that may appear objectionable in the body of the work, I should have no disinclinalion to see it altered for the better, or even expunged, if necessary; but you will perceive, I am sure, the propriety of making this liberty a restricted one, and accordingly see that the corrections and emendations of this nature are made with a very sparing hand.' In saying this, I certainly meant the erasure or omission of all that might be thought unfit for the public eye *generally*, particularly some anecdotes of the licentiousness of the monks and pilgrims at Jerusalem, and some of the gross absurdities believed and practised there. But in requesting this to be done with a *sparing hand*, I did not mean that the work should be submitted to Mr. Gifford, or any other writer in The Quarterly Review, the last standard, as I before said, by which I should consent to be judged, and whose censure would be more agreeable to me than their praise, because, according to *my* notions they often censure in religion and politics, that which I most admire; and, *vice versa*, praise in both, that which I cordially and heartily detest.

My book, if published, might have as many enemies as my paper has obtained me here; but, like it, it would have its advocates too. Its chief merit would be its having the courage and the candour to speak the truth, to expose impositions, and to undeceive mankind in many points in which they have been grossly misled regarding the state of manners in the Holy Land. The same frankness which has been used in the management of my paper, is used generally in my book: and though my paper has made me some *enemies* by its freedom, yet the *friends* it has secured to me are men whom, without such coincidence of sentiments, I should, for their own intrinsic merits, esteem and love; so my book might have been condemned by the illiberal and bigotted spirit of The Quarterly Review, whose praise I should not covet; but I have reason to believe and hope that it would be read with pleasure and approbation by men, who were friendly to candour, liberality, and truth.

Secondly. — Besides the objections urged by Mr. Gifford, it appears from Mr. Mackintosh's letter, that Mr. Murray had also received a letter from Mr. Bankes's father, the member for Corfe Castle, which in substance stated, that he had just received a letter from his son, dated Thebes, in which he had stated that I had introduced myself to him at Jerusalem as a friend of Colonel Missett, and the late Mr. Burckhardt; in consideration of which he had *permitted* me to accompany him in his tour through the Hauran, paying my expences for the same; that I had, during that tour, made copies of his notes and plans, as I was *incapable* of making *either* for myself; and that my book, as announced for publication, was *therefore* made up of his (Mr. Bankes's) materials! The father, therefore, urged Mr. Murray not to undertake the work, as his son would shortly be in England, and would be prepared to give *a much fuller and better account* of these countries, from his own materials, than I possibly could, who had only made use of another's.*

* Since this was published in India I have obtained the original letters of Mr. Gifford and Mr. Henry Bankes, senior. They offer such excellent illustrations of the minds and characters of the writers, that I readily publish them entire; and thus assist to preserve them as literary curiosities, for such they cannot fail to be considered by posterity. They are as follows: —

Letter from Mr. Gifford, Editor of the Quarterly Review, to Mr. John Murray, the Publisher.

My dear Sir, James's-street, June 7, 1819.

I return you the MS. which I have read. It is certainly interesting and important in some degree; but will, I suspect, appear tedious in more places than one.

The writer is the most unamiable person that I ever travelled with, and I have travelled with a good many. I have not marked one generous sentiment, one trait of liberal and correct feeling. He is a daring, but an ignorant infidel; and proudly imagines, while he is only combating the idle trash of a few poor bigotted and illiterate monks, which no protestant thinks worth notice, that he is demolishing Christianity. Of our

Mr. Bankes, the member for Corfe Castle, being a govrenment man of some weight, and Mr. Gifford being the champion of church and state, and both my book and paper now before them, proving that I was not only a humble individual, but contemptible in their eyes, from not advocating the civil and religious tyranny which these men and their party would exercise over us, the probability is, that Mr. Murray will suppress my work altogether, and hurry Mr. Bankes's out before it, by which I shall sustain great pecuniary loss, besides all the reputation of enterprise and novelty, and perhaps, too, my character for truth and consistency in the eyes of my subscribers, to whom it will appear that I have pledged myself to what I was not able to perform, and to whom I must instantly return all the money paid in advance for the work, with explanations liable to all possible misconstructions, leaving me nothing but the consciousness of being undeservedly injured to bear up against these evils.

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blessed Saviour and his Apostles he speaks, not only with the rancour of an apostate, but with the revengeful malice of one who had received a personal injury from them. He has the venom of Voltaire, without an atom of his wit; and the fury of Condorcet, without a spark of his vivacity; he is, besides, obscene and even filthy. I am sorry to speak so severely of any man: but in saying that the Bishop of Calcutta approved his MS., I firmly believe that he has advanced an atrocious calumny. I know Dr. Middleton too well to think for a moment that he would lend the sanction of his name to the exploded ravings of blasphemy, vented in the language of the brothel. I would say this to the author's face; and at any rate it is better to say it now than after such a work has met the eye of the world.

With all this, I rather wish that you would publish it. It cannot be enlivened, but it may be rendered far less objectionable, and this with no great trouble. Omission is all that is required: the MS. seems already to have fallen into the hands of some timid, but judicious friend. Let him only exert his pruning knife with a bolder hand. There is, at present, too much quotation, and that from books in every one's hands, Josephus, the Bible, &c. It is surely better to reduce the volume forty or fifty pages than to have it unreadable.

Another word. I do not see why the printers are to be corrupted; they have souls to be saved, I suppose, as well as the rest of the world. I should, therefore, make it a point (if the MS. is not to be recopied), that the profaneness and obscenity should not only be crossed, but fairly erased and blotted out, before it is put into their hands.

Ever, dear Sir, your's, &c.

To John Murray, Esq. W. GIFFORD.

Letter from Mr. H. Bankes, the elder, of Corfe Castle, to Mr. John Murray, Publisher.

Sir,

I have received a letter from my son, dated Thebes (in Egypt), 12th June, which is the occasion of my troubling you. He informed me that a person, named J. S. Buckingham, introduced himself to him some time ago at Jerusalem, under the pretence of being an intimate friend of Colonel Missett, and also of the late celebrated traveller Mr. Burckhardt; that in consequence of this supposed friendship with two so respectable men, and so well known to my son, he permitted Mr. Buckingham, whose destination was toIndia, to accompany him for some time, and to take a copy of that part of his journal which was kept during this portion of his travels.

This ill-placed confidence has been requited in the way that such acts of kindness usually are by ungrateful and worthless people. Mr. Buckingham announces his intention of publishing his own travels, of which I have now before me an elaborate and pompous prospectus, in a Calcutta newspaper.

I know not whether you have ever heard of this projected work; but as it is intended to be printed and published in London in a splendid manner, it is very probable that application may be made to you before it sees the light; in which case I wish to put you upon your guard against having any transactions with such an author as Mr. Buckingham, and also against laying before the public, parts of a very extensive and curious tour, in an imperfect state, which I hope and trust that my son will be induced to submit to them in the best and most complete form that he can put his valuable researches together, whenever he returns.

You will oblige me by making known what I communicate, with regard to the character of Mr. Buckingham and his intended work, in any way that you may deem proper, and I remain, Your obedient servant,

Kingston-Hall, H. BANKES.
Wimborne, 3d Oct. 1819.

If it is not altogether suppressed it will be published in a mutilated form, under Mr. Gifford's and Mr. Bankes's eyes; the one leaving out all that would make it worth being read, as far as freedom of sentiment goes, and many excellent parts in which I have *convicted* The Quarterly Reviewers of gross ignorance in their review of Dr. Clarke's and other travels lying in my way; and the other omitting all that could interfere with his son's route; and by their depriving my book of all its best parts, they would together leave a stupid, empty, flat, and stale performance, not worthy of being published, read, or even spoken of.

If I were in England, I should know how to act. But not being on the spot, and being unable to go home for that purpose, without destroying all my future prospects, which are now too good to be hastily abandoned, all I can do is to confide the matter to you, by *first* entering my decided protest against Mr. Gifford or The Quarterly Reviewers having any thing to do with the manuscript; and requesting you to withdraw it wholly from Mr. Murray's hands if not too late; and *secondly*, by enclosing to you all the documents herewith sent, to deposit with any other publisher you like, for the refutation of the abominable falsehoods thus circulated against me by a coalition of jealous enemies.

The basis of these misrepresentations of my character first originated with Mr. Burckhardt, from jealousy of my being able to give a better account of the countries east of the Jordan than himself; and the same stories of Mr. Burckhardt, with some additional embellishments and falsehoods of his own, are now taken up by Mr. Bankes, from sheer envy, I believe, at my anticipating him in time, and giving a better account of the Hauran than he is likely to do; as he seems to insinuate that he will remain *quiet* if I will *suppress* the publication of my book, in order that *his* may came out *before* it; but that he will, if I persist in proceeding, make such a statement to the world as shall undermine my fair fame, and blast my reputation for ever.

If no undue influence or unfair means be used, however, I do not fear any scrutiny; and as I know that my character will stand the test of the closest examination, I ask only the justice of impartiality.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS AND PAPERS REFERRED TO BEFORE.

No. 1.

Letter addressed thus, ' Al Senor Buckingham, Caballero Yngles, en el Conbento de la Terra Santa, Damasco,' dated Acra, Feb. 28, 1816.

My dear Sir,

There is some fatality about my travelling engagements, I never made one in my life but circumstances turned out so as to prevent my fulfilling it. Another letter from Seyde, and above all the *radical* change in the weather, determined me upon deferring my scrambling expedition to the Hauran, and turning at once upon the coast. I did not, however, give up the idea of JOINING YOU at once, but made an *attempt* from St. Hoor (where that excellent man Hadjee Hamet entertained me with the same hospitality, and almost affection, which you had described to me). Beisan, which is the ancient Scythopolis, is within a day's journey, and in the same jurisdiction; it lies in the plain of the Jordan; and is within a long day of Salt. I resolved to go to Beisan, and so MAKE MY WAY TO YOU, if I could find any body to *carry me*. When I came, I found that nobody would undertake it; for but the day before (my good fortune always brings me a day before or a day after such adventures) the Bedouins had completely pillaged and stripped a party of merchants from Damascus, within two hours of the village, so there was an end of that scheme.

* * * * * *

I am a great loss to know what I ought to do with the baggage which you left in Antonio's charge, I cannot trust it alone to Damascus, and yet am afraid that you will feel embarrassed without it on your arrival there. As I reckon that you will pass from thence across to Seyde, I shall take it with me so far, and leave it in Lady Hester Stanhope's charge. As you have no visits of ceremony to make at Damascus, perhaps you may continue your Bedouin habit, during your short stay there, without inconvenience (and I am disposed to hope that your stay will be *as short* as possible). I shall remain with Lady Hester Stanhope about five days, and if I do not turn round for Damascus, which will depend a good deal upon her advice and upon circumstances, I shall make my way pretty direct for Aleppo, lengthening out my road by excursions, however, here and there, to give you time to come up to me, so that I trust that at the latest we may meet in Aleppo, and *make our journey to Palmyra together.*

Believe me, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

WM. JOHN BANKES.

We certify these to be true extracts from the original letter of Mr. William John Bankes.

(Signed) C. D'OYLY, J. PALMER, J. YOUNG, J. MELVILLE, JOHN YOUNG, J. CALDER, HY. CHASTENAY, P. M. WYNCH, G. CHINNERY.

No. 2.

Letter addressed thus, 'J. Buckingham, Esq. to be sent forward should he be on his way to Baalbec,' dated Damascus, April 12, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since I knew nothing of your illness until now, when I hope it is quite at an end, I can only rejoice in your recovery. At the same time, I am afraid that the same wintry weather which has distressed me very much in the Hauran, must have made your passage across the mountains very disagreeable, if not dangerous. I have to regret that my letter from Sunnymene never reached you, as I there detailed to you my plans, and mentioned that I WISHED OUR MEETING to take place a few days later than that which we had fixed on together. None can be better than about the 19th or 20th.

* * * * * * *

At——(1) is a temple of the Antonines, there is another excellent specimen in a ruined village called——(2), near the road from Shibley's village——(3) to Bostra. But even this difficulty was removed by the sight of those at (Nedjeran) Madgdal (4), which have set the matter past a doubt.

* * * * * * *

I do not know whether in the hasty view you took of Salkhud you examined the town; you would, I think, have obsreved that the houses there are apparently of a less remote antiquity, and of a worse construction than usual, and the mosque entirely of Saracen work, with shell niches in the minaret. By the bye, FROM THE DESCRIPTION IN YOUR NOTES of the fortress of Adjeloon, I am *almost persuaded,* that that also is Saracen work. Bostra, you will remember, has the rustic masonry all over it, and instances of the fan or shell niches are without number; though I know you are of a different opinion, AND I WILL NOT VENTURE TO SET MINE AGAINST IT.

* * * * * * *

I have been very careful and exact in my drawings, which are in great number, and I DO NOT THINK YOU WILL BE ASHAMED OF HAVING YOUR NAME ASSOCIATED TO WHAT I MAY ONE DAY OR ANOTHER THROW TOGETHER INTO FORM. Do me the favour to keep this letter, not for your use, but my own; YOU KNOW HOW INDOLENT I AM ABOUT WRITING, and I have thrown here many things upon paper, which I may perhaps NEVER do again. I shall set off the day after to-morrow for Banias, and so make my way to Baalbec, WHERE I HOPE TO JOIN YOU about the 19th or 20th.

Faithfully your's

WM. JOHN BANKES.

We certify these to be true extracts from the original letter of Mr. Wm. John Bankes.

(Signed) C. D'OYLY, J. PALMER J. YOUNG, J. MELVILLE, JOHN YOUNG, J. CALDER, HY. CHASTENAY, G. CHINNERY, P. M. WYNCH.

No. 3.

Extract from a small red memorandum book, containing an account of disbursements on a Voyage and Journey from Egypt to India by way of Syria, began December 1815.

Feb. 5th, 1816.—Paid the whole expenses of our journey across the Jordan to Jerash, and return to Nazareth, including guides, provisions, &c. (my portion) piastres 108 0 0.

We certify this to be a true extract from the original book of memoranda exhibited to us by Mr. Buckingham.

(Signed) C. D'OYLY, J. PALMER, J. YOUNG, J. CALDER, J. MELVILLE, JOHN YOUNG, HY. CHASTENAY, G. CHINNERY, P. M. WYNCH.

Nos. 4 and 5.

Plan and Sketches of Jerash and Oomkais, sent; copies retained.

No. 6.

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Benjamin Babington, at Madras, to his brother, Stephen Babington, at Bombay, dated June 1818, *commenting on a letter of Mr. Burckhardt, in which that gentleman had cited Mr. Babington as his authority for several gross falsehoods and calumnies regarding me.*

I am sorry to observe, however, that all which is advanced (by Mr. Burckhardt) as well respecting my opinion of Mr. Buckingham, as on the state of our accounts, cannot but be WILFUL MISREPRESENTATIONS.

* * * * * * *

In the foregoing defence, I may have omitted some points that, if my memory served me, I could throw light upon. If, however, I have disproved even one unjust accusation, I shall not have taken up my pen in vain; for a single falsehood, whether uttered intentionally, or from erroneous impressions, must affect the credit of every assertion from the same source, and make an impartial judge suspend his opinion, at least, till he has heard both sides of the question.

* * * * * * *

I cannot close my letter without expressing my disgust at the abusive style of language used throughout the " Paper on Buckingham," language which even if applicable to the object against which it was levelled, it is surely beneath the dignity of a gentleman to use. If we contrast this *abuse* with the uncommonly *kind expressions of* EXTREME REGARD uttered *at the very* time when the feelings which gave rise to the *accusations* were the *strongest,* we shall find it difficult to put much faith in Sheik Ibrahim's (Mr. Burckhardt's) sincerity, in expressing either his regard or contempt; and this circumstance alone must weaken our confidence in the disinterestedness of his assertions.

(Signed) B. BABINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have learnt with much regret the death of Sheik Ibrahim. This circumstance makes it more necessary than ever that the *truth* should be known with regard to Mr. Buckingham's character; because the Sheik's papers may do him irreparable injury. I do not think it worth while to alter this letter.* B. B.

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(1) (2) (3) (4) These three instances of names being forgotten altogether, and one first written *wrongly,* and subsequently corrected by *another* being written over it, are selected as proofs that the writer of the letter, Mr. Bankes, did not take notes on the spot, in his tour; because, if he had done so, such omis sions and mistakes in such important points as *names of towns,* could not have *occurred.*

* To preserve the continuity of subject, these short extracts only are given here:—the whole letter, however, is so important that it will be given immediately after this is closed.

No. 7.

Is a small pocket compass, with traversing card, in a red morocco case, purchased by Mr. Babington and myself, in Bombay, in the middle of the year 1815, used by us jointly on our voyage together from Bombay to Cairo, and afterwards by myself on my subsequent journey in 1816, from Cairo to India by land, the journey in which I met Mr. Bankes, in whose presence I repeatedly used it for collecting materials for maps and plans.

No. 8.

Original manuscript notes, on Arabic paper, made on my THIRD visit to Jerash, subsequent to the two hasty visits made with Mr. Bankes, and containing outline plans of buildings not even MENTIONED IN the tracing from Mr. Bankes's plan; many sets of bearings for the general plan of the city; copies of Greek inscriptions from the ruins; and copious notes of all the most remarkable features there.

The following extracts are deemed sufficient to establish the fact of their originality:—

Wednesday, March 7, 1816. Left Salt at 8. Go up to the north, woody country, half an hour came to the hill in sight of Gor Waadi Stezibaan, the name which the Arabs give to the vale of Jordan. Descend and pass ruined villages, a cistern, &c.; half an hour came to Zey, a ruined town, pillars, and sarcophagus as under (referring to a rude sketch); many houses and large stones all destroyed; trees growing over it, wild boars, &c. near, abundance of pines, clay soil. Descending, see Oud-el-Nebba-Gerash, 15 miles N.E. by E. In an hour came to Ullaan, Beni Aioobe of Salt, now ruined, old caves of burial there, &c. &c. &c.

Jerash, Thursday, March 8, 1816. While our morning coffee was preparing, I stole an hour as at Ammaan, to take another daylight tour round the ruins here, and collected in the course of it the following additional particulars.

After this follow TEN PAGES of small closely written memoranda, regarding Jerash, at which I prolonged my stay till past noon;—these pages containing corrections of many errors in the *joint* plan of Mr. Bankes and myself, more hastily drawn up; besides five outline traces of separate edifices, six regular sets of angular bearings by compass at different points in the general view of the ruins; and four separate Greek inscriptions, copied from a fallen column, a broken altar, and the frieze of a semicircular recess in a temple: from which manuscript, the full and complete account of Jerash, as well as the general plan of the city, and plans of particular buildings, all sent home to be published, have been drawn up.

P.S. MY DEAR BABINGTON. — The foregoing comprehends all that I think necessary to send home to you for the purpose required, and I have now only to request, that if Mr. Murray shall have entirely suppressed the publication of the book, you will withdraw it from his hands immediately, (original and duplicate, including all that belong to both), and after submitting it to revision, put it into the hands of some respectable publisher, on terms as near to those which Mr. Mackintosh was commissioned to make with Mr. Murray, as may be practicable, so that the publisher purchase the MS. and undertake the risk of publication. &c. If the book should be already published in a mutilated manner, you will then be at liberty to make any public or private use you think proper of the information contained in this letter. If Mr. Bankes, Mr. Murray, or The Quarterly Reviewers publish any thing on these subjects derogatory to my fair fame, it will then be necessary, I think, that these explanations should be as public, and all I require is to meet them on fair grounds.

The book was read in different portions by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Henderson, and your brother Stephen, at Bombay, as well as before the Literary Society there, in successive readings; it was read by you at Madras, and my account of Jerash read to the Literary Society there. The whole manuscript was in the hands of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta for several weeks, though I do not know whether he read more than parts. The whole was also in the hands of Doctor Lumsden, the Arabic Professor of the College, and partially seen by Captain Lockett and Mr. Calder. Indeed I was so little bigotted to my own standard of fitness for publication, that I repeatedly made trifling alterations at their several suggestions; but no material ones were ever mentioned to me as necessary. Even after that, it was again and again revised; I think, therefore, that Mr. Gifford's censorship is unnecessary and intolerant; and I know there is nothing that I could ever write, of which such a man would be likely to approve. Your friendship will excuse the length of this epistle; and, placing every thing to which it alludes at your entire discretion,

I remain, my dear Babington,
faithfully and sincerely yours,
J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

We, the undersigned, residents of Calcutta having been present together on the 16th of June, 1820, have examined and compared this copy with the original letter to Mr. B. Babington, transmitted to England by the ship *Fame*, Captain Eastgate, as well as the extracts from Mr. Buckingham's journals therein referred to, with their originals, and certify that they are accurate transcripts; and that the originals, to our conviction, bear all the marks of perfect authenticity. We have likewise compared with the originals, and hereby verify, the extracts made from the letters from Mr. Bankes, exhibited to us by Mr. Buckingham, and which letters also bear the same marks of perfect authenticity.

(Signed) C. D'OYLY, J. PALMER, J. YOUNG, HY. CHASTENAY, J. MELVILLE, JOHN YOUNG, JAS. CALDER, G. CHINNERY, P. M. WYNCH.*

I, William Hunter Smoult, notary public, by royal authority constituted and appointed, and duly admitted and sworn, residing and practising in the town of Calcutta, at Fort William, in the province of Bengal, in the East Indies, do hereby certify and attest, unto all whom it may concern, that the several signatures set and subscribed to the foregoing certificate, are all of the respective hands writing of the several parties signing the same. I, the said notary, being personally acquainted with the said several parties, and knowing their respective hands writing, therefore, full faith and credit ought to be given thereto, in court and thereout.

Done and passed in Calcutta aforesaid, this 10th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

No. 9.

Supplementary Letter from Mr. Buckingham to B. Babington, Esq. in London.

MY DEAR BABINGTON, Calcutta, July 4th, 1820.

Since these letters and papers have been prevented going by the *Fame*, Captain Eastgate, as originally intended, as it was thought advisable to retain notarial copies of the whole, I shall add here, as a supplementary note, a very striking discovery, which has arisen in the course of enquiry. It is this: —

It had been suggested to Mr. John Palmer, in the course of his conversations with others on this subject, that it was possible I might have concealed from Mr. Bankes the fact of my having visited Jerash a third time, or subsequently to our joint visit there, and that he being consequently ignorant of my having collected any materials in addition to those which we collected jointly, might have supposed that in giving an account of Jerash, I could only have made use of such information as I had acquired in company with him, which he, considering to be obtained through his means, would be borne out (consistently at least with that consideration) in condemning, as a breach of confidence, and an unwarrantable use of his or our joint materials, as exclusively my own.

When Mr. Palmer waited upon me to ask me whether I possessed any means of removing this objection, I stated to him that I did not think I had any proof in *writing* of Mr. Bankes's having seen my notes, bearings, and traces of plans made in my *third* visit to Jerash; but that I had a perfect recollection of his having seen them, and of our conversing together thereon, both at Damascus and Aleppo, where we afterwards met.

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* Having been prevented from attending on the 6th, as he originally intended, subsequently, on the 17th, examined the papers, and attests their accuracy.

I was prepared to pledge my honour to this fact; but we both regretted, as every other point had been satisfactorily met by documentary evidence, that this could not be equally so.

Just as Mr. Palmer was about to leave me, it occurred to my recollection, however, that in one of Mr. Bankes's letters to me in Syria, No. 2. dated at Damascus, April 2, 1816, in speaking of the ruined places of the Hauran generally, and particularly of the difficulty of deciding about Roman and Saracen fortresses, he says: — 'By the bye, from the description in your notes of the fortress of Adjeloon, I am almost persuaded that that also is a Saracen work (Bostra, you will remember, has the rustic masonry all over it, and instances of the fan and shell niche are without number); I know you are of a different opinion, and I will not venture to set mine against it.' And remembering that the only notes I had on Adjeloon were in the *very same book* with those containing all the notes of my *third* visit to Jerash, I produced the *original* to Mr. Palmer, which he recognised as one of those laid before the gentlemen who had met at my house on the 16th of June. It is a small memorandum book of Arabic paper, containing notes of my journey, made on the spot. It is marked on the outside thus, 'No. 11. from Assalt to Jerash, Adjeloon, and Mezereebe, and Bozra in the Hauran.' It begins with Wednesday, March 7, 1816, on my leaving Assalt to visit Jerash a *third* time; fourteen pages are occupied with the road between these two places; then follows immediately after, eleven pages devoted wholly to additional particulars collected at Jerash on my *third* visit, when Mr. Bankes was *not with me*. Immediately following the page where my account of Jerash closes, begins the first account of Adjeloon, in these words, 'See the castle of Adjeloon, like that of Assalt; below it, at its immediate foot, Arrubbudth, now deserted,—twenty soldiers in the castle from Damascus.' Two pages only beyond this, is the following passage, 'Mr. Burckhardt, Sheikh Ibrahim, had been at the castle of Adjeloon about three years since. It is in situation and construction like Assalt and Karak, and like them, no doubt, an old Roman work with Saracen repairs.' Eleven pages beyond this begins, 'Saturday, March 10th,' when I left Cafr Injey, a small village in the valley of Adjeloon, to pay a visit to the interior of the castle, in which day's journal is the following passage: —

'Ascended from hence to the castle, and saw some cisterns, many hewn stones, and part of a public road in the way. The castle is, like that of Assalt, situated on a high hill, and is about 400 paces in circumference, being nearly square, with a central buttress, or square projection on each side. It is built on a limestone rock, and is surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, hewn out of the rock, and formerly lined with masonry, where necessary. The foot of some part of the castle rock is sloping, and also cased with masonry; the architecture is evidently Roman, large square hewn stones, rough in the centre, and loop-holes in fan-niches of Roman arch; yet within, the pointed and the round arch, as well as the flat one, are all used in the same room; the pointed arch-work of the interior is amazingly solid, and certainly coeval with the building itself. The embrasures for arrows resemble the modern ones for cannon, except in the size of their mouths, and there are a considerable number of them within. It is now in ruins, but we mounted with difficulty on the top, and I took the opposite bearings. There is an Arabic inscription of Sultan Salaheddin-el-Mullela-ibn-Yuseff, in the year (no date); for which purpose the rough surface of the Roman stones were smoothed down. It is in a small oblong tablet, on the east side, underneath the two fan niches of Roman work. The castle faces nearly the four points.'

Then follows a page containing a set of bearings by compass, of seventeen remarkable objects; towns, villages, mountains, lakes, &c., collected for the construction of a map of the country. In the next succeeding page is the Arabic inscription spoken of, and in the following one, part of a Greek inscription from a ruined Greek monastery, called Deer Mar Elias, which I visited after I quitted the castle of Adjeloon.

These are all the notes I ever made of this fortress, as I never visited it but once, immediately on coming from my *third* visit to Jerash, of which it is within a short day's journey, and it will be seen that these notes, which speak of Roman arches and rustic masonry, and fan and shell niches, could be the *only* notes to which Mr. Bankes's observations could apply, when he says, 'By the bye, from the description in your notes of the fortress of Adjeloon, I am almost persuaded that that also is a Saracen work (Bostra, you will remember, has the rustic masonry all over it, and instances of the fan and shell niches are without number); though I know you are of a different opinion, and I will not venture to set mine against it.'

As Mr. Bankes *read* those notes of mine on Adjeloon, &c. attentively, and as they begin on the very back of the *same leaf* where the account of my *third* visit to Jerash ends, it will be admitted as very strongly conclusive evidence, that he read *all that related to Jerash also*, as a part about which he must necessarily have been *more* interested than about Adjeloon, where he had never been, and did not, as far as I am aware, ever intend to go.

With this knowledge, therefore, of my having been at Jerash alone, subsequent to our joint visit, and with the proofs in his hand of my having collected very copious additional materials of bearings, traces of plans, inscriptions, &c., it became a *wilful falsehood* to say, that in announcing to the world an account of Jerash, I had made an unjust use of his materials, and to say, as he has done in his letter sent by Mr. Hobhouse, 'that I took down no notes of this place, but such as I set down at his dictation from his own mouth, or copied from those written by his own hand; that the few bearings I took were with *his* compass; and that I could not copy Greek inscriptions, as I was ignorant of the learned languages, and was so far from an antiquarian, that I did not know a Roman ruin from a Turkish one.' He must have known distinctly and unequivocally that I had taken notes of my *own*, bearings with my *own* compass, Greek inscriptions several in number, and traces of buildings not to be found in his plan; and with these facts before him, his assertions to the contrary can be called no other than deliberate, wilful, and malicious representations and untruths.

In pursuing this enquiry a little farther, after Mr. Palmer left me, (which he did with an expression of his satisfaction at the fulness of the proofs submitted to him by me, of Mr. Bankes's being acquainted with my third visit to Jerash, and of my not having concealed any thing of this from him,) circumstances arose to render it highly probable that Mr. Bankes has also seen the very item of disbursement in my little memorandum book, which stated the sum I had paid as the portion of my expences for the journey we made together from Jerusalem to Jerash. It is this: at the end of this book, marked 'No. 11. from Assalt to Jerash, Adjeloon, and Mezereebe, and Bozra in the Hauran,' (in which, as has been shown, he had read my notes on Adjeloon attentively,) in the last page is this passage. 'Half an hour from hence we passed a stream called Aba Hamāghur, and in another half hour entered Bozra.' The remarks on Bozra, with the inscriptions copied there, &c., are contained in the end of the small red book appropriated to disbursements, as they were chiefly written in the streets as I went along; this passage is under date of 'Wednesday, March 14th, 1816,' and the account of my disbursements was left off in the February preceding. The item regarding our joint expences, and the payment of my portion of it, was entered on the 5th of that month, or a full month prior to my account of Bozra being written, and both were contained in the *same book*. Now I can prove, by Mr. Bankes's letter to me (No. 2. the same that acknowledges his having seen in my notes the description of Adjeloon), that this red book, which contained *my* disbursements, and the notes on Bozra and Salkhud altogether, was also in his possession, and the notes of it read by him; which renders it equally probable, that he did see the very item entered of my portion of expences paid for our joint journey to Jerash; or, at all events, it will prove that I did not scruple to put this into his hands, and that there was nothing relating to our travels, whether when together or when separate, that I ever wished or endeavoured to conceal from him.

In this letter of Mr. Bankes's, he says to me, 'At Bostra, I think you are mistaken in supposing the theatre consisted of only seven or eight ranges of seats. It is true, that those which we see are the uppermost, but there are two if not three stories of high arched vaults of Saracen work below, which occupy the height of at least two more flights of steps (which are even visible in many places), and the scene consisted in three if not four orders of architecture, one above the other, of which there is ocular demonstration, the irregular Doric order which is

visible being the uppermost range.' The points in which Mr. Bankes thought me mistaken, and the only place in which he could have seen *any* notes of mine on the theatre at Bozra, are contained in the little red book appropriated originally to disbursements, and the passage to which he particularly alludes, is the following: —' Within the castle (of Bozra) in the centre, is a fine Roman theatre, it faces exactly N. N. E., had a closed front; with Doric wings, fanned-topped niches, and Doric doors below, and a range of pilasters above them. There was only one flight of seats, seven or eight in height, and the upper one had behind it a Doric colonnade running all round the semicircle; the pillars about three feet diameter, supporting a plain architrave. The circuit of the upper range of seats is 230 paces, and the whole extremely chaste and fine; there are nine flights of cunii, moulded as well as the benches. The entrance was made from about thirty arched doors from without, and small steps led to the benches above.'—In this small red book, which contains the *only* notes I ever made of Bozra, and which Mr. Bankes had with the rest for his perusal, are *fifteen* Greek inscriptions, some of great length, with very copious notes, all made when we were separate; and offering additional proof that he uttered a wilful falsehood, when he stated I neither made notes, nor copied inscriptions, from want of paper, incapacity, and ignorance of the learned languages.

One instance more may be selected to prove that this book of disbursements was in Mr. Bankes's hands, long *after* the account was closed and discontinued. It is this: — In his letter, after enumerating the arguments which presented themselves to his mind, in favour of the castle of Salkhud being a Saracen work, and not any part of it Roman; he says, ' I do not know whether in the hasty view you took of Salkhud, you examined the town. You would, I think, have observed that the houses there are apparently of a less remote antiquity, and of a worse construction than usual, and the mosque entirely of Saracen work, with shell niches in the minaret. By the bye, from the description in your notes of the fortress of Adjeloon,' &c.&c.—Now, the *only account* I ever had of Salkhud is in the *same* book with that of Bozra, from which place I made a hasty visit to it, leaving Bozra at noon, reaching Salkhud at 3 P.M. and leaving it again at four, returning to Gheryah, a village near Bozra, an hour after sunset, the whole notes of this ' hasty view,' occupying only four pages of a small book, about four inches square.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

No. 10.

A Memorandum relating to the Construction and Drawing of the Plan of Jerash, or Geraza, for J. S. Buckingham, Esq.

At the time Mr. Buckingham was living at Colonel Mackenzie's, the Colonel put into my hands a tracing of Jerash, with directions to reduce it to a quarter the size of the original, and colour and finish it as Mr. Buckingham should direct. Having reduced the sketch as directed, I showed it to Mr. Buckingham, who then gave me a MS. paper, containing a series of bearings, and requested me to try the positions of all the places according to the bearings. I set about it, but finding I could not bring any of the bearings to agree, I stated it to Mr. Buckingham; and also added, that I was of opinion, the sketch I had been directed to reduce, had not been regularly laid down by the rules of surveying, from the bearings not agreeing in any one place, though the measurements of length and breadth seemed to be pretty correct, and coincided with his. Mr. Buckingham told me, he was very anxious to possess as correct a plan as possible of the ruins of Jerash, and requested me to construct one afresh, laying down every place in its proper position, according to the bearings given me by him. I experienced very little difficulty in performing this new task. I was engaged in the penciling part of the work about three days; during this time, Mr. Buckingham would frequently call and give his directions. The several buildings in Mr. Buckingham's plan, many of which are not to be found in the tracing, have all been reduced from separate sketches from Mr. Buckingham's book, and adjusted to the scale on the plan. The lesser details have been partly put in, in pencil, by Mr. Buckingham's own hand. When the plan constructed from Mr. Buckingham's bearings was finished, it was so different in all its essential parts from the tracing of Jerash, that no assistance could be said to have been derived from it; and had this sketch or tracing not been put into my hands, I could have constructed the plan from the bearings without it. It will be observed, that in the plan I constructed of Jerash, all the buildings being accurately delineated by the proper measurements, as contained in Mr. Buckingham's notes, but not mentioned in the tracing, they are actually much larger, though on a smaller proportional scale in comparison to what they appear on the larger tracing of Jerash.

(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON,
Calcutta, June 27, 1820. Assistant Surveyor.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Calcutta, certify that the writer of the aforesaid memorandum, Mr. Henry Hamilton, Assistant Surveyor, appeared before us personally on ——— and stated verbally to us the substance of this paper, which at our joint request, he subsequently reduced to writing.

(Signed)
C. D'OYLY, HENRY CHASTENAY,
J. PALMER, P. M. WYNCH.
J. YOUNG,

No. 11.

Letter from Mr. Buckingham to Mr. Murray, the Publisher, in London.

SIR, Calcutta, July 7, 1820.

I have waited with considerable anxiety and impatience, to hear from you on the subject of the MSS. and drawings of the Travels in Palestine, which were placed in your hands for publication, but to this hour I have been disappointed. As, however, Mr. Mackintosh, to whom this affair was intrusted, was understood by me to have made a final bargain with you for the work before he went into Scotland, and as Captain Sydenham, who delivered to you the duplicates, assured me from yourself, that the book was in progress, which Mrs. Buckingham confirmed to me, by saying you had told her the work would be out in November or December 1819, I rested satisfied in your honour and integrity as a man of business, for the due fulfilment of what you had undertaken. Judge then of my surprise, at learning from indirect sources, (for I am still unaccountably without any advice directly from you,) that in the month of December, when the book was promised to appear, it had not been begun. The reasons urged for this delay appear to me most extraordinary. The first is, as I understand, a censorship exercised over the MSS. by Mr. Gifford, the editor of The Quarterly Review, to whom it appears you submitted the work for the purpose of expunging such parts as he thought proper, and that the retrenchments were to extend to forty or fifty pages. If you had submitted the MSS. to any one (no matter who), before you closed a bargain with Mr. Mackintosh, I conceive you would only have consulted your interest fairly, and might have accepted or declined the task of publication with perfect justice; but such an act *after* a positive engagement to publish, appears to me, and to all else whom I have consulted on the subject, to be a breach of confidence which nothing could justify. The evil of this appears to have extended, however, only to the delay and mutilation of the book, since Mr. Gifford is said to have acknowledged that it contained some things that were new and valuable, and with the judicious retrenchments proposed by him, recommended it to be published. Another obstacle appears then to have arisen in the fact of Mr. Bankes, son of the Member of Corfe Castle, having traduced my character generally, and set up in particular a claim to all the information contained in my book regarding Jerash, as exclusively his own, and as stolen by me from him, on which account, as far as I can learn or conjecture, the publication was to be suppressed altogether.

I regret that the unaccountable silence you have maintained, in not having written me a single line on this subject, should leave me so much in dark. It is barely possible that what I have stated above, may not be true to the extent there given; but it is precisely what I have gathered, without the slightest addition of my own, from the letter of Mr. Mackintosh to his friend and partner, Mr. Calder, here; and, if

correct, you must be too experienced a man of business not to know, that I have been subjected unwarrantably to an injury of great extent, for which redress could be obtained at law.

Your right to follow the advice of any one you choose, no man can dispute; but when that advice goes to defeat the just hopes and expectations of another, founded on a positive engagement on your part, common equity requires that you should be held responsible for the consequences, and be bound to remunerate the positive loss sustained. In the case of Mr. Bankes's claim to information contained in my book as his own, he could not possibly have offered you any proof of this beyond his bare assertion; and if you, under the pledge you had made, thought proper, on such slight grounds as the assertion of a deeply-interested individual, to suspend the publication, you must be held equally responsible, as the cause was wholly insufficient for the loss of reputation and profit which may accrue to me from such a step.

It happens, fortunately, that I am in possession of proofs the most unequivocal and undeniable, which will go to prove that Mr. Bankes, in setting up these charges against me, has been guilty of known and wilful falsehood, from the beginning to the end; and these proofs, damning as they will be to his character for ever, if they are laid before the public, must and will be printed in England, if he shall have dared either to persist in his claims, and thereby have effectually delayed or suspended altogether the publication of my book, or if, not having succeeded in this, he shall have ventured, either by insinuation, or any other means, to impeach my character publicly in any shape, or through any channel whatever.

My friend, Mr. Benjamin Babington, who will, I hope, deliver you this, has, therefore, my full authority to withdraw the work wholly from your possession, if it be not already published, or in such a progressive state as may ensure its publication soon. If published, he is equally authorised by me to make any use, public or private, that may seem best to him, of the information and documents I have transmitted to him by this opportunity, for the removal of any slander which Mr. Bankes may think fit to affix on my name and character, as well as for the exposure of any injustice which he may conceive I have received from you, and for the institution of any suit that may be deemed necessary, whether for libel on the part of Mr. Bankes, or breach of contract on your own; as, besides the injury in reputation, and in a pecuniary way, which these proceedings may occasion me in England, I have already sustained serious damages here, in the slanders to which this delay and suppression of my work has given rise, as well as the disappointment to myself and my subscribers, to whom I have felt myself bound to offer a refund of the deposit made with me on account of the book; and the stop which has thus been put to any further subscriptions being received for the work, though these were in so progressive a state that within the month preceding the account of this suppression having reached me, upwards of twenty additional names were sent to me, for copies of the work when published.

I have nothing further to add, than to desire you will consider Mr. Benjamin Babington, or any other person he may appoint, (should any accident prevent him from undertaking the task,) as my chosen and accredited agent, to seek redress in my name for any injuries he may conceive I have unjustly sustained, and for all other matters affecting the publication of my Travels.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

P. S. To assure you of the grounds on which I make my complaint against you being secure ones, I think it right to add, that I have heard the letters of Mr. Gifford and Mr. Bankes the elder to you, on account of which my book was suspended, read to me by the friend to whom Mr. Mackintosh communicated their contents here.

One *original* letter of Mr. Bankes's still remains with me, as unimportant to be sent home with the others, but it is worth introducing here, for the sake of showing his expression of *regret* at not meeting me at Baalbec as he had *hoped*, and his great *desire* to have the benefit of MY COMPANY, although generally speaking his aversion to a *party* in travelling was such as nothing but a high estimation of the value of any particular individual's company could overcome. The letter and the certificate appended to it are as follow:—

My dear Sir,

I am sorry not to find you here, and still more to learn by your letter, which has been just put into my hands, that illness and a course of medicine had been, in some measure, the cause of the delay. My journey towards Hamah is fixed for tomorrow, or at the latest the day after; and the news you give me of the English or rather Irish travellers at Jerusalem, is a reason for my not retarding, as of all things in the world any thing in the shape of a party in travelling is to me the most disagreeable, and, indeed, what I would by no means be brought to join in. I am here in the hovel that is dignified with the name of a convent, and will leave a note specifying my intended route, so far as I myself can form any judgment upon it, which (for I must depend a little upon circumstances) will not be easy.

Faithfully yours,

WM. JOHN BANKES.

Baalbec, April 20, 1816.

We hereby certify, that the hand-writing of this letter appears to us to be the same as that of two original letters, No. 1. dated 'Acra, February 28, 1816,' addressed 'Al Senor Buckingham, Caballero Yngles en el Conbento de la Terra Santa, Damasco,' and No. 2. dated 'Damascus, April 12th, 1816,' addressed 'J. Buckingham, Esq. to be sent forward should he be on his way to Baalbec,' sent to England by the ship Fame, Captain Eastgate, which appear to be authentic, all bearing the same signature of Wm. John Bankes.

(Signed)

C. D'OYLY, HENRY CHASTENAY,
J. PALMER, JOHN YOUNG,
J. YOUNG. JAMES CALDER,
J. MELVILLE,

ACCUSATIONS OF MR. BURCKHARDT.

The accusations of Mr. Burckhardt, circulated against me in Egypt, within a few weeks only of the very time that he was writing to me the most kind and friendly letters, were directed chiefly to these points: *First*, That I had persuaded Mr. Babington to go to England overland, for the purpose of getting him to take me with him, and having my expences paid; *Secondly*, That I had given him letters to pretended friends of mine in London, who knew nothing of me whatever; and *Thirdly*, That I had deserted my wife and children, who were dependent on charity for subsistence. These were the leading points of a written paper, circulated by Mr. Burckhardt, with these words at the head, 'On Buckingham,' no copy of which was retained by me, though it was seen by many persons who can vouch for such a paper having been written, and among those my friend Mr. Babington, who had once heard it read to him, and was indignant at finding his name unjustly used in it as an authority for calumnies of which he had never before heard! *

Extracts of Mr. Babington's letter on this subject are given at No. 6. but it well deserves publication as a whole, and will appear hereafter in its proper place.

SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE.

The following portions of subsequent correspondence on the same subject are all that will be necessary, it is hoped, to put the Indian public in full and complete possession of the real merits of this perverted and perhaps unparalleled case. When the book had been withdrawn from Mr. Murray's hands, it was offered to Messrs. Long-

* Two errors appeared originally in this paragraph: one stating that the accusations were circulated at the very time the friendly letters were writing, whereas it appears that it was a few weeks after: the other, that a copy of the 'paper' was not seen by me, instead of not retained. These errors are here corrected.

man and Co., who agreed to publish it, but were not prepared to give such favourable terms as Murray had offered, in consequence of the delay that had been occasioned. Their agreement was, however, still a liberal one; and they would have published the book at once, but for the necessity which Mr. Babington felt himself under of showing Mr. Bankes' letter previously to closing any engagement. Messrs. Longman and Co., therefore, very naturally wished to wait for further advices from India, till which they would suspend the publication; they having no other objection to sending it out immediately, except the claim of Mr. Bankes to the materials of which it was composed.

The following is the second letter that was received on this subject, as supplementary to one of a month earlier date, and the reply to both immediately follows it:—

Aldermanbury, Monday, 28th Feb. 1820.

My dear Friend,

In a letter which I wrote you the end of last month, I detailed to you all the circumstances respecting my having undertaken the management of the publication of your work; I also stated the various difficulties which opposed the execution of your wishes. It now remains for me to inform you of my attempts to surmount them, and I am very sorry to add of their complete failure. When Mr. Murray declined publishing the MS. it was of course returned, and from Mr. Mackintosh's reluctance to receive it, it came into my hands. In order to place it in an advantageous manner in the hands of Messrs. Longman and Co., whom I found on enquiry to be the most respectable men in London in their line, I consulted Mr. A—— A——, a literary gentleman of considerable eminence. He looked over the work, and after passing an opinion on it, of which I enclose a memorandum, expressed his willingness to be of service, and granted me permission to use his name to Longman's. After a time, I received a letter of which I enclose a copy, offering certain terms, and even these were more advantageous than others which were tendered to me in person.

It was impossible to close any negociation at Longman's without showing Mr. Bankes's letter, and I therefore took it to them immediately, stating, however, in the strongest terms, my conviction of your innocence. The result was as I expected. They withdrew their offer, and declined undertaking the publication; expressing, however, their regret that Mr. Bankes should have acted in a manner which they themselves felt sufficiently convinced was unwarrantable. Here, then, all further proceedings must end until we hear from you. Longman and Co. advise you to prosecute Mr. Bankes for the injury which you have sustained solely through his letter, and I cannot but agree in thinking that you should endeavour to have this question settled in a court of justice, and to make up for your losses by the recovery of damages.

After all, your work was considered valuable, and the offer of a clear 400l. to an author entirely unknown to the public, sufficiently evinced this to be the case. Be not therefore disheartened; and depend on it, that if you have any thing else ready, it will meet with a better fate. I trust you will believe that exertion has not been wanting on my part, and that, should you need my services in future, they will be at your command. I have undertaken to defray all the charges which Murray has been at in receiving your parcels, and they will amount, I believe, to nearly 30l.: when I know the exact sum I will let you know. Believe me to remain, my dear Buckingham,

Yours ever sincerely,
B. BABINGTON.

Calcutta, August 30, 1820.

My dear Babington,

I fulfil my promise of yesterday, by replying to your letter of January, and the supplementary one of February 28. Your obtaining from Murray a copy of Mr. Gifford's letter, as well as that of Mr. Bankes, and your consulting Mr. A—— on the merits of the work, were all steps of which I must cordially approve. Your application to Longman and Co., and the manner in which you conducted your negotiation with them, was such as to deserve my thanks in a still higher degree than theirs, which they so properly bestowed on you at its close. As to Mr. Gifford's harsh criticism, and his desire to have the book submitted to his censure and pruning before it went before the world, nobody can be at a loss to account for it, when it is known that there are some passages in it which go to affect deeply the character of The Quarterly Review, of which he is the editor, as showing its criticisms on D'Anville, Dr. Clarke, and others, to be illiberal and erroneous. But we have been all much *amused* with the difference of opinion between Mr. Gifford and Mr. A——, who both profess to have read the book, and to give their candid judgment on it, and who yet come to the most opposite conclusions. Mr. Gifford begins by saying, 'It is certainly *interesting* and *important* in some degree;' and after more *abuse* and *invective* in one page than his Divine Master or his apostles, of whose characters he seems so jealous, ever vented on their bitterest enemies during the whole course of their lives or writings, he concludes with recommending the book to be published; urging, however, that before this can be done, it must be wholly re-written, as blasphemy and obscenity are so mixed up in every page, that it would not be safe even to put it into the hands of the printers (whom it would be certain of corrupting), as they had souls to be saved as well as other people! Without stopping to enquire how much this meek disciple of a master from whose precepts he has profited so little, *libels* the cause of Christianity by supposing it to stand on so tottering a foundation, that 'the exploded ravings of blasphemy, vented in the language of the brothel,' (as he is pleased to style my writings,) could even so corrupt the printers, that their souls (which he liberally supposes they really have), otherwise destined to be saved, should be sent to eternal perdition by the all-subduing and destroying power of my pen;—it will be worth while to contrast it with that of Mr. A——, which seems its perfect antipode. Both cannot be right, but

'Who shall decide when doctors disagree,
And soundest casuists doubt, like you or me?'

Mr. A—— declares, in opposition to Mr. Gifford, 'that the author *had not*, like many, tinged his writings with his *opinions*, and that these passages might, *without any difficulty*, be altered.' For my own part, considering Mr. Gifford's known character as an abusive calumniator of every writer whose opinions do not come up to his own standard; knowing him to be an interested party in this case, as the book impeached the accuracy of his criticisms in The Quarterly Review: and, regarding Mr. A—— as a probably impartial man, I have no hesitation in giving a decided preference to his dictum in this instance. The book may be dull, heavy, unlearned, and uninteresting; this is a matter of *opinion*. But the absence of blasphemy and obscenity, which Mr. Gifford says is mixed up in every page, is a mere question *of fact*; and in this I think Mr. A—— has not been mistaken, because, as far as I can remember, there is, as he asserts, *less of opinion* mixed up with my narrative, than is to be found in the writings of most other men.

As to the conduct of the Bankes's, I hold it to be most unwarrantable. The son proceeds on falsehoods *known* to himself to be such; but even if he had supposed, or was quite certain, that I had copied any of his notes, it was impossible for him, without having *seen* my book, to say that I had used them in the MS. sent home for publication. Still less could the father vouch for the truth of his son's statements; and without *knowing* them to be true (for *believing* them was not sufficient), he was not warranted in writing a letter for the express purpose of defeating all my prospects, and indeed effectually doing so. He says, on the information of his son, that I introduced myself on the *pretence* of being the intimate friend of Colonel Misset and Mr. Burckhardt, and that, on the faith of this *supposed* friendship, his son permitted me to accompany him, &c. He means by this, of course, that the pretence was a *false* one, and that the *supposed friendship* did not exist. If it were true, there could be nothing to complain of. I used, in fact, no pretence whatever, as I was *in* the convent of Jerusalem *before* Mr. Bankes arrived, and *he* introduced himself to *me*; but if I had used such a pretence, you, who were an ocular witness of the friendship of Colonel Misset and Mr. Burckhardt to me, during our joint stay in Egypt, before I set out on this journey, know it to be true, that they were, as far as the warmest and most unequivocal professions could go, both my open and avowed friends; and Mr. Burckhardt's subsequent treachery, you yourself for-

tunately had it in your power most effectually to expose. The full refutation of the younger Mr. Bankes's calumnies will be found in the large packet sent to you for my defence, but the conduct of the elder Bankes I have not, I believe, there touched on. He, upon the mere dictum of his son, who had not seen *me* for three years, and my *book* not at all, puts Mr. Murray 'on his guard against having any transactions with such an author as Mr. Buckingham,' and also 'against laying before the public parts of a very extensive and curious tour in an imperfect state,' which, says he, 'I hope and trust that my son may be induced to submit to them in the best and most complete form that he can publish his valuable researches together, whenever he returns.'

First of all, knowing nothing evil of my character, but by report, he had no right to warn others to guard against it as a *bad* one, particularly when transactions, such as mine with Mr. Murray, might go forward, without necessary contamination, between a demon and an angel; the one being in Calcutta and the other in London; and, moreover, particularly after a positive engagement had been ratified. Next, as he is not yet appointed a censor of the press by government, he had no authority to decide whether a *part* of an interesting and curious tour might not be as acceptable to the public, if given early, as the whole of the said curious tour at the period of his son's return. Again, as he has not seen even this my *part* (or at least he had no right to have seen it, and could only have done so through Mr. Murray's treachery), he could no more pronounce that mine was 'in an imperfect state,' than he could that his son's 'researches were valuable,' or that they would be published in the best and most complete form. Lastly, when after all this unfounded calumny against my *character*, of which he *knew* nothing, and a premature condemnation of my writings, which he could not honestly have *seen*, he proceeds to say, 'you will oblige me by making known what I communicate with regard to the character of Mr. Buckingham and his intended work, in any way that you may deem most proper;' surely, when copies of this are sent into circulation through more channels than one, he is guilty of an unwarrantable libel on my character, for which I am entitled to redress at law. I should be less confident in saying all this to you were it my solitary opinion (as I might suspect my judgment to be biassed by my feelings); but it seems to be the opinion of Messrs. Longman and Co., in England, and it is, without exception, the opinion of all my friends here, that I should institute a prosecution against Mr. Bankes the younger, Mr. Bankes the elder, and and Mr. Murray, either separately or collectively, as might be deemed best. Mr. Gifford, the critic, we shall leave to himself, and combat him when he chuses to enter the lists, with his own weapons.

If it had been possible to have put a *locum tenens* in my place, who would have done me justice while absent, I should certainly have set off for England forthwith. On the passage I might have got several volumes ready to have given the booksellers their choice, and, after doing all that was necessary in England, have returned here to my duties again. But such a person is not easily to be found, and my present business is too good to be hastily abandoned for any other, as it affords me a prospect of competence for my family; and if I were entirely to forego my hold here now, I know not where I should gain another. Under the present impossibility, therefore, of my visiting England immediately, without great disadvantage to my future prospects, I have, with the advice of my friends, had a power of attorney prepared, authorising a prosecution against Mr. William John Bankes, the son, Henry Bankes, the father, and John Murray, publisher, for damages sustained by the defamation of the first, the threat and forbidding letter of the second, and the breach of positive engagement of the third, in consequence of which I have already sustained losses here, in the withdrawal of monies deposited for the travels, in the calumnies spread abroad regarding the book as a foul plagiarism, affecting my character and gains in other respects, and the impossibility of my receiving any farther subscriptions, though, on the average, I had five or six names sent me every month. Add to this, the positive loss of so much money as the MS. would have brought me in England at the time, the loss of the fair foundation it might have laid for a future favourable reception of other works, and the diminished value of the book when it may appear, from delay, and from the probable previous publication of Mr. Bankes on the same subject.

I have implicit confidence in your judgment, and shall always remain, my dear Babington,

Your obliged and grateful friend,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

The next letter that was received from Mr. Babington, contained a new charge of 'imprisonment,' but successfully rebutted the imputation of my having copied Mr. Bankes's drawings. It was as follows: —

Aldermanbury, March 12.

My dear Buckingham,

I wrote you a long letter in January, and another on the 28th ultimo, stating in detail the causes which have put a stop, for the present, to all proceedings regarding the publication of your travels, and enclosing a number of papers (copies) connected with the subject. I now find, however, on looking over the contents of my desk, that I must, by some accident, have omitted to enclose one of the most important of these, namely, a copy of the agreement which Messrs. Longman and Co. were willing to enter into, but which they retracted on the perusal of Mr. Bankes's letter. In furnishing you with this, as I now do, I may as well make this short letter a kind of abstract of the contents of the last, so that it may serve the purpose of a duplicate. On taking charge of your papers, I submitted the MS. to Mr. A. A ——, whose opinion respecting it you have, and by his means I obtained an advantageous introduction to Longman and Co. They could not be prevailed on to undertake your work on the scale which you had anticipated, but made the enclosed offer in writing, after having proposed a still less advantageous one verbally. While consulting with friends respecting the acceptance of it, which you may suppose was a very doubtful point, I received from Mr. Mackintosh the letter which Mr. Bankes wrote to Murray about you, in which he asserts that under pretence of intimacy with Mr. Burckhardt and Colonel Missett, you had become acquainted with his son in Syria, and had obtained a copy of parts of his Journal, which you are now about to publish. He concludes by warning Mr. Murray against a person of your character. It is solely on account of this letter that Messrs. Longman and Co. decline to publish your work, and this was no doubt the stumbling-block with Murray. Since I wrote to you I have become acquainted with Dr. Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's physician. He has mentioned to me the circumstance of your having been imprisoned by Mr. Barker in Syria, but states that there is a diversity of opinion respecting the justice of that gentleman's proceedings.

I was much relieved, on showing Dr. Meryon your vignettes, to find that he did not recognize more than one or two as RESEMBLING AT ALL Mr. Bankes's drawings, *all of which he had seen.* As for your *materials*, which alone you are accused by Mr. Bankes, sen. of having copied from his son, I feel confident that they must be your own. I have too good an opinion of your honour, your judgment, and your talents, to think you either capable or desirous of publishing the observations of another on what you yourself have seen.

Yours, ever,

B. BABINGTON.

Messrs. Longman and Co.'s Agreement.

Messrs. Longman and Co. present their compliments to Mr. Babington. They have reconsidered the subject of Mr. Buckingham's MS. &c. and beg to propose to publish the work on the following plan;—to print the MS. in one quarto volume, with a *selection* of the drawings, including the map and the ground-plans, so as to form a book to sell for three guineas. Messrs. Longman and Co. to be at the entire expense of the publication, and to give the author out of the 500 copies which they shall print, 125 for himself, to be disposed of only in India, as a consideration for the copy-right. These, of course, at the retail price, would be equivalent to nearly 400*l.* It is not the intention of Messrs. Longman and Co. to engrave any of Casas's large views.

Paternoster-Row, Feb. 19, 1820.

Messrs. Longman and Co.'s Withdrawal.

Messrs. Longman and Co. present their compliments to Mr. Babington, and, from the perusal of Mr. Bankes's letter*, they regret they must decline the publication of Mr. Buckingham's Travels; and, consequently, they withdraw the proposal they made for the publication of that work, in their note of the 19th instant. At the same time, Messrs. Longman and Co. beg to return Mr. Babington their very best thanks for his very handsome and candid conduct in the negotiation.

Paternoster-Row, Feb. 26, 1820.

Mr. Buckingham's Reply to the foregoing letter of Mr. Babington.

The original of the following was sent by the Reverend J. Young, LL.D. per ship Belle Alliance, Captain Rolfe, and duplicate by Major W. Colebrooke, R. A. per ship Albion, both left in January 1821.

Calcutta, Sunday, Dec. 31, 1820.

My dear Babington,

I embrace the first moment of leisure I can command, to reply to your kind letter of the 12th of March, per ship *Heroine* (which, from that vessel having touched at several places on her way out, has only reached me three days ago, though we have London papers to the end of July in town). As it is mostly an abstract of what you wrote before, and to which I have already replied at great length, I shall confine myself to the points in it which are new.

The agreement of Messrs. Longman, of which you enclose a copy is, I think, a very liberal one, and such as, I hope, they will still be induced to follow up, when they shall be put in possession of the full refutations of Mr. Bankes's false and scandalous charges; and this agreement having been departed from entirely on account of Bankes's aspersions through his father, forms, in the opinion of legal men here, a just ground for an action of damages. I am glad you have seen Dr. Meryon, as, indeed, I should be rejoiced to learn that you had fallen in with any other person from that quarter of the world, to consult and examine about my movements and character; because I am satisfied that the more they are probed and enquired into, the more I shall appear to have been unjustly calumniated. The Aleppo story, which he mentions to you, I thought you had fully known, for it was detailed at length in the small books of my notes, the whole of which were in your possession during my stay at Madras, and the only reason I did not advert to it again in my late correspondence with you, was simply that I did not imagine it would have any bearing on the question at issue, for I have really nothing to disguise or suppress of any kind whatever. As it has been mentioned, however, to my disadvantage, and called an 'imprisonment,' which term alone shows how much it has been misconceived, I enclose you an extract of the whole affair from my original notes, written at Aleppo, wherein you will see whether Mr. Barker was justified in his treatment of me or not. The outline of the case was this:—

On my leaving Alexandria, as you know, Mr. Lee guaranteed the payment of my expenses to India, furnishing me with some ready cash for my journey to Aleppo, and giving me a letter of credit on Mr. Barker there for such money as I might need for the rest of my journey, without specifying the sum. On my landing on the coast of Syria, I was driven by various causes detailed in my journal to move in a direction contrary to that originally proposed; and at last seeing little hope of getting on with any speed by way of Aleppo, I attempted to go from Nazareth, when I parted with Mr. Bankes there, by way of Assalt and the Desert east of the Dead Sea to Baghdad, as I had heard of such a road being practicable. As it was doubtful, however, I made provision for my returning to Damascus in case of failure, and to pursue my original plan at leisure, since it was too late to hope to reach India after these delays, for the particular monsoon I was expected to come back by. I could not get on by this desert route, and came back to Damascus, through the Hauran. I reached there in great distress, suffering much in health, and being destitute or nearly so of money. As I had my original letter of credit on Mr. Barker still with me*, I showed it to Mr. Chaboceau, a French merchant there, who, on the faith of it, cashed for me a bill of 1,000 piastres on Mr. Barker at Aleppo, to whom I wrote, enclosing a *copy* of my letter of credit, and apprising him of what I had done, reserving the *original* till I came to see him myself. From this letter being couched in what Mr. Barker thought unmercantile terms, and naming no limited sum, he suspected it was a forgery of mine, protested my bill, and returned it to Mr. Chaboceau. It was immediately given out that I was a swindler; and but for Lady Hester Stanhope's influence, which she exercised by writing to all the Consuls, and other people in my way, to assure them she was satisfied of Mr. Barker's suspicions being unfounded, and taking on herself the responsibility of their letting me pass unmolested, I should have been arrested, and, perhaps, imprisoned, as a swindler, on the road.

At length, however, I reached Aleppo, in entire ignorance all this while of the clamour abroad against me, and waited on Mr. Barker in expectation of a kind reception. I was met by him with great coldness, and obliged to put up at a caravanserai instead of at his house, where I remained at perfect liberty, however, and not in any shape under the least restraint, until my baggage came from Latakea, that I might produce my original letter of credit, and set all to rights. In the mean time Mr. Bankes arrived at Aleppo, was much shocked at my treatment, called to see me in my quarters, solicited me to let him take me to Mr. Barker's, whom he had assured of my being incapable of the deception he thought me guilty of, and behaved to me throughout with great kindness and friendship. I was firm, however, and would not move until my baggage came, when I sent Mr. Lee's letter, which convinced Mr. Barker of his error; and then he himself waited upon me in the caravanserai, to express his regret, to make apologies, and to repair his conduct by every thing in his power. He accordingly took me to the foreign consuls on a visit of ceremony and introduction, lodged me in his house, where I remained with Mr. Bankes for several days, showed me every honour and attention, advanced me all the money I needed, made a bargain with a Moosul merchant to make me one of his party on the journey to that city, sent his brother several miles out of town with me when we set out, and in short by a train of good deeds attached me very much to him, and made me entirely forget all that had happened before.

I have since heard, through Mr. Rich at Baghdad, that some weeks after I had left Aleppo, Mr. Barker received a letter from Alexandria, stating that Mr. Briggs had arrived at that place, had disapproved entirely of Mr. Lee's project, and of his undertaking to pay for my journey, and having learnt that I had been much longer getting to Aleppo than was expected, had written to Mr. Barker to say that, if the money for my journey had not been advanced, he was not to do so; and if it had, he was to write on to Baghdad to Mr. Rich to authorise him to recover it, as I had not made the haste I ought to have done, and had therefore forfeited my claim to their stipulation of paying my expenses. I shall not stop to say how unhandsome this return was for my endeavours in their service. You remember well enough that when I was at Alexandria, I should not have thought of setting out again to India, indeed I had not the means, were it not for the pressing instances of Mr. Lee, who voluntarily offered to pay my way, on Briggs and Co.'s account. No time was limited, no route was positively fixed, and no sum was named. It was generally understood that I should go as quickly and as cheaply as I could, and that whatever the actual cost was I should be repaid. Every one must know that to me, who had a dependent family in England, the mere payment of my actual expenses (which was all they promised or I claimed), was but a poor remuneration for all the risks and inconvenience of a journey to India by land, the loss of all the time it occupied, and the probable chance of being sent out of the country a second time for the want of a licence when I got there. But to give orders to arrest me, and stop all my supplies in the middle of Asia, leaving me no means of going forward or returning, was an act of cruelty and barbarity which until then I thought no English gentleman could be capable of, more particularly as *I had* done my best to get on,

* Letter of the elder Bankes to Murray.

* It was sent over, with my other papers and baggage, from Seyda to Damascus.

whatever they might have thought; and the impediments of a disturbed country, unsafe routes, sickness, &c. by which I was so constantly obstructed, were not of my own seeking, nor within my power to remedy. This order of theirs was, however, ineffectual; for long before it had even reached Mr. Rich at Baghdad, I was at the end of my land journey in Persia, and soon after arrived in India, where the Red Sea scheme ended; and after losing a whole year in time (and having not one rupee of reward beyond the actual payment of my expenses), I was thrown completely on my own bottom, and obliged to look out for employment to get my bread.

I entered then, as you know, on the command of the ship *Humayoon Shah*, for a voyage to Bussorah. This I made, and on my return to Bombay, Mr. Briggs himself was there. A demand was now made by him on me, to refund the whole of the money I had received on their account for my journey, on the plea that I had not made the best of my way across, and that, therefore, the purpose which I set out to accomplish was not effected. I replied, that it was no part of our stipulation, that my expenses were to be paid *if* the object of the Red Sea trade *succeeded*, or to be *refunded* if it did *not succeed;* for on such uncertain conditions I could not have set out. My journey was simply to bring to India the original of a treaty of commerce with Mohammed Ali Pasha, to which I was a party, promising security and easy duties to such merchants in Bombay as chose to rely on his faith, and to follow this up by any thing I might think useful to be added in confirmation of this from my own knowledge. This journey *I did* perform; this treaty *I did* bring; and these representations *I did* make. In the execution of this task I had met with unexpected and unsought obstacles, which nothing but great perseverance could overcome. I had been several times in danger of losing my life, and was delayed by sickness; but during the whole of this protracted period of nearly twelve months, I had spent only about 400*l.* sterling. My friends in Bombay, indeed, said, I was not only fully entitled to this, but that, if Mr. Briggs had done his duty, he would have made me a present of 400*l.* besides, as salary for that period. However, I claimed no more than I had actually spent; while he demanded it back again, knowing at the same time that I was deeply in debt, and had not a rupee in the world! In this dilemma, I agreed to refer it to arbitration, letting him select one judge, myself another, and these two between them a third; this he refused, by saying, that the liberality of Indian arbitrations would grant me rupees instead of shillings, and that I should be sure of too favourable an award. He then consented to receive back half; expressing his conviction at the same time, that the whole 400*l.* had been spent on the journey, and his belief that no portion had been applied unnecessarily, as he could not conceive a journey occupying so much time being made for less money; but it was my claim to *any part of it* that he resisted; and he spoke of this compromise of half, as a favour, threatening that if I did not accede, he would commence an action in the courts of law for the whole. I was, myself, prepared to do any thing that was just, but my friends wished me to do that which was most prudent. Mr. Erskine and Wedderburn were both of opinion, that though I had right on my side, yet, if I made it a matter of law, I might in its uncertainty be cast in damages and costs; and even if I got off, that expenses might fall on me as heavy as the 200*l.* demanded. I was, therefore, advised to consent, and accordingly I gave to Mr. Briggs three promissory notes, one for 50*l.* at six months, one for 50*l.* at twelve months, and one for 100*l.* to be paid on the publication of my Travels in Palestine; for, he said, as my observations on that country could not have been made, had it not been for my mission for his house, it was right they should participate in the profits! He then gave me a letter, of which I enclose a copy, absolving me from all claims on the part of his establishment. The two 50*l.* notes I have paid off since I have been in Calcutta, the 100*l.* note is lodged with Messrs. Remington and Crawford in Bombay; and will be paid when the book is out.

I believe that almost all I have said to you here, is known to you already: but since the Aleppo affair was not familiar to your recollection, I would rather tire you with a long story, than leave any room to suppose that I had any thing in my own breast which I would willingly conceal from you. I add an extract from a letter of Lady Hester Stanhope's, also received since I have been in Calcutta, to show how she refers to, and speaks of Mr. Barker's behaviour to me.

From the very strong party which will be formed against me in England, with all the wealth and influence of the Bankes family, as well as the religious and political bigotry of The Quarterly Review and its satellites, arranged in direct hostility to any thing bearing my name, I am prepared for a flood of calumny to be spread over the world, and to see my name coupled with all that is unprincipled and abominable; but I feel with Shakspeare 'Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just.' I am strong in my innocence; and powerful as is the host against which I have to contend, I may be overwhelmed for a moment, but they shall not bear me for ever down. I count it, my dear Babington, one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen me, to have my cause in your hands. I have only to say, therefore, what I have so often said before: — Act exactly for me as you would do for yourself; no manœuvering or concealment is necessary, nor could either you or I descend to it, if it were; so that the frank and straight-forward course of honourable and conscious integrity is all we need for our victory. With best regards to all your respected family, believe me always,

My dear Babington,
Your grateful and faithful friend,
J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

The letters and original notes referred to in the foregoing letter, were shown to a friend in Calcutta, before they were sent off, and returned with the accompanying note.

Dear B.

I return Lady Hester's and Mr. Bankes's letters, and your 'four-inch' book of notes. They contain enough to satisfy impartiality, that you have been foully misrepresented; and your friends, that you are a martyr to the vanity, insolence, and cruelty of disappointed competitors.

Yours faithfully,
Sunday. J. P.

The acknowledgment of Mr. Briggs, also referred to in the foregoing, is still in my possession. The promissory notes there enumerated have all now been paid. The following is a copy of the letter: —

Sir, Mr. J. S. Buckingham, Bombay.

In consequence of your engaging to pay the sum of two hundred pounds sterling, to the order of my house at Alexandria, under the firm of Briggs and Co. viz.

£50 — at six months from this date;
50 — at twelve months ditto;
100 — on the day of the publication of your Travels through Palestine, &c. for which you have given
£200 me three promissory notes in duplicate, I hereby declare that on payment of the same, all claims of my house on you will be discharged, and the present shall be considered a final settlement.

I am, Sir, your very obedient Servant,
For BRIGGS and Co. — S. BRIGGS.
Bombay, 18th March, 1818.

The next letter that is of any importance to be made known, is the following acknowledgment of my first letter, which preceded the notarial papers, having reached home: —

17, Aldermanbury, Feb. 18, 1821.

My dear Buckingham,

I have received your letter by the Fame, dated the 22d of June last, in which you give me an account of the nature of your acquaintance and connection with Mr. Bankes, jun., and state to me the substance of the accusations which he has charged upon you in a letter from Thebes, written in June, 1819. You will long since have been made acquainted, through the medium of my communications, as well as those of Mrs. Buckingham, with the particulars that have taken place with regard to your work. On that head, therefore, I need only say, that every thing remains as when I wrote to you last. The full communications by the Vittoria, Captain Driver, to which you now allude, have not yet arrived, and I of course

shall take no measure whatever, until I receive them. In the mean time, for myself, I am relieved of much anxiety on your account, from what you have already stated; and the original scraps of notes which have been delivered me by your desire through Mrs. Buckingham, convey a sufficient conviction of the purity of your conduct in this unpleasant business, at least to your own friends. If your case be made out as satisfactorily as I have no doubt it will be, it occurs to me, as well as to one or two friends, whom I have consulted, that it would be far better to publish the whole transaction, letters, &c., and let the public judge between you. You will thus appear in the arena on equal terms with your antagonist; your character will be as completely cleared as if you obtained a verdict in a court of law; and as many more people will read your defence in this way than would ever hear of it as a law proceeding, your interest, as far as the sale of your book is concerned, would be as effectually served, as if you got damages of three or four hundred pounds, which is the most that you can expect. Adieu, my dear Buckingham, for the present, and believe me, as sincerely as ever, Yours, B. BABINGTON.

The next letter that reached me after the receipt of the papers above referred to, was the following:—

17, Aldermanbury, April 28.

My dear Buckingham,

I received, about six weeks since, the very full and satisfactory communications which you have sent me, in refutation of the charges brought against you by Mr. Bankes. Being at Cambridge when these papers arrived, and keeping the latter half of the term, I was unable to absent myself from the University even for a single day, and I was therefore obliged to communicate my wishes by a letter, which caused some delay. It was the advice of my friends to lay the matter before Longman and Co., who, if they were convinced of the justice of your cause, would publish your work without any further difficulty. I am happy to inform you, that on the adoption of this course, the result has turned out as was hoped. Messrs. Longman and Co., after a careful perusal of your letters and documents, became convinced of the unjust treatment which you had received from Mr. Bankes, and declared their willingness to publish your work on the same terms which they had offered a year before. To these terms I have thought it for your interest to agree; for I am persuaded, as indeed are several friends, whom I have consulted, that they are as good as could be procured from any publisher, and as advantageous as any author could expect for his first book of travels, and that a single quarto. I believe I furnished you with a copy of Messrs. Longman and Co.'s letter, but lest you should not have it by you, I may remind you, that the terms of agreement are, that you are to have 125 copies of the work, to be sold only in India, and that Longman and Co. are to be at all expenses of publication. Longman and Co. will not themselves send any copies to India on their own account. The work was announced as in course of publication in three of the principal newspapers a week ago, and I have not heard that Mr. Bankes has held any communition with Longman in consequence. The latter is in possession of your documents, so as to be in a condition to answer him if he should think fit to come forward. With regard to the text of the work itself, I must candidly confess, that I fear it will be thought deficient in incident; and that those who know you will feel that you have not sufficiently enlivened it with those anecdotes and observations on men and manners, which, travelling as an Arab, you had so good an opportunity of making, and which, that you actually *did* make, is evinced by the entertaining and instructive tenor of your personal conversation. Any one who should form an estimate of your talents and habits of thinking from your book, would, I am confident, underrate you. These appear to me to be the points most open to criticism, but I should be sorry that you supposed me insensible on the other hand of very considerable merits. The clearness of your descriptions, the air of truth throughout the whole work, the industry with which you have amassed a copious stock of information, and digested it into a perspicuous narrative, are not only matters of commendation, but must excite astonishment in all who will consider the hurried manner in which you passed through the country which you describe. The novelty of some portions of your work will, I have little doubt, be more than a balance for the want of interest in other parts; and I confidently hope that on the whole you will be supported by a numerous class of readers. Longman and Co. inform me that they hope to effect the publication of the work by the beginning of June. It will certainly be as much their interest as your own to use all expedition, and I therefore have some reason for believing that they are not likely to delay much beyond the time I have mentioned. I would not advise, however, your announcing any thing precise with regard to time, until you hear further from me on the subject. In the mean time, believe me to remain, my dear Buckingham,

Yours very sincerely,
B. BABINGTON.

Soon after this, a private letter was received by me from England, from a most unexceptionable quarter, the original of which is still with me, of which the following extract will be sufficient:—

You are not the only person who has suffered from Mr. Bankes's aspersions. Dr. M'Michel, in the course of conversation, stated that he had learned through his publisher, Murray, that Mr. Legh, the Egyptian traveller, had lately received a most extraordinary letter from Mr. Bankes, accusing him of having copied his, Mr. Bankes's notes; although Dr. M'Michel stated, that, to his certain knowledge, his friend Mr. Legh had never seen any one of Mr. Bankes's notes. A Captain Mangles, also, who was about to publish his travels, had received some accusations or threats from the same quarter. Dr. M'Michel is himself an author of repute, and these circumstances coming from him are, I have no doubt, correctly stated.

The foregoing documents were all included in the Calcutta Journal of the 15th of August; and the 16th and 17th passed without much advertence to the subject of this controversy in the public prints of Calcutta, when, on the 18th of August, a letter appeared in the Indian John Bull, calculated, if unrefuted, to create a most injurious impression. On the 19th, the day following, it was republished, for the sake of being accompanied by its proper refutation, and preceded by the following introduction:—

I had supposed, in common I believe with most other persons, that the Travels in Palestine would have remained unnoticed by the newspapers for a great length of time to come, at least, if not for ever. There are some busy meddlers, however, who are not so easily satisfied, and who think, perhaps, that there is no more limit to the patience of others, than there is to the scepticism and ill-nature of themselves. Be it so:—I am ready to meet every enquiry that can be made, either publicly or privately, and to satisfy every doubt that can be urged, either through the medium of the press, or by the exhibition of original documents to any persons who may desire to see them, and will do me the honour of a visit for that purpose.

The book has been now upwards of three months in India. It has been read, as I happen to know, by many persons here, for the express purpose of searching after blemishes, and great indeed was the disappointment that attended their search. They have waited patiently, however, for the Quarterly Reviewers, and they have *now* seen that with all the learning, all the influence, and all the malignity that even *they* could bring to bear on this devoted volume, having months before them to prepare for the dissection and disembowelling which they intended to give it, without mercy towards the author, or consideration for his character or feelings, the painful struggles of the labouring mountain have ended in the birth of something more contemptible than even that which the poet chose as the emblem of disappointed expectation.

It might have been expected, if I were really so incom-

petent to write a book, as Mr. Bankes has pretended, that some remarkable difference of style and matter would have been observed between the first portion of my volume, written *before* I joined, and the last portion of it, written *after* I quitted my fellow traveller, as well as the portion between these, which related to the period when we were both together. All the details of the voyage and journey from Alexandria to Jerusalem were written *before* I ever saw Mr. Bankes, and related to places at which Mr. Bankes had never been. All the details which followed the return from Jerash, including the journey to the Lake of Tiberias, Naplous, and other parts, were written *after* we had separated; and the small portion relating to Geraza and Gamala, which we visited together, does not even in quantity form more than one-fourth of the whole book. The preface, which is perhaps the best written portion of the whole, was moreover composed at the residence of Colonel Mackenzie in Calcutta, where the aid of Mr. Bankes could not well have been received. Yet among all the Reviewers, and all the readers, as far as I have yet heard, no one has made a single remark as to any slight shade of difference even between the one portion and the other, in the style, the matter, the learning, the reasoning, or any other feature of the whole; but, as if it were destined that The Quarterly should particularly distinguish itself by its absurdities in this controversy, it has not only omitted all notice of any discrepancy of the nature alluded to, but it has chosen the *very time* when it is said that I had abandoned my own imperfect guidance to place my reliance on my better informed companion, Mr. Bankes, for the greatest blunders that are to be found in my book, namely, those relating to Geraza and Gamala, the only two places we visited together! It would have been logical as well as charitable in those who thought these blunders *proved*, (though I have shown on what a shallow foundation they were assumed to be such,) to have concluded that the author, whose book presented but few errors when he was alone, while it abounded with blunders when he copied from another, was not quite so ignorant as his companion; and that his book would, according to their own showing, have been a much better one, if his 'well-informed' companion had never fallen across his path!

But enough of The Quarterly, which never plunged more deeply in the mire of contradiction than on this occasion; and enough too of Mr. Bankes, who has been now six years (since 1816)* possessed of leisure, fortune, influence, health, and all other requisites, and who has never yet produced a volume out of all his 'valuable and accurate materials;' not from want of will, it must be evident, for his desires are sufficiently made known in the Review: but for the want of that industry and ability which he envies and hates so much in others, because it enables them under every disadvantage to carry away honours that he would monopolise to himself, without having the energy to contend for them through those struggles by which alone reputation can be won.

I turn from this long digression, to notice a letter which appeared in the John Bull of Saturday, and to comply with the suggestion offered by the writer of it. I had said that the manuscript of the Travels in Palestine was placed in the late Bishop's hands; that it remained in his possession several weeks; that he read some portions of it, and permitted the use of his name as approving generally of the nature of the undertaking, and making no objection to its moral tendency or critical inaccuracy; the emendations made by his lordship being of too trifling a nature to deserve either of these appellations. The principal motive of stating these facts, was to show that it was impossible that any person, having a design *hostile* to religion or morality, could in his senses ask a bishop to revise his writings; and equally impossible that a book said to contain even now 'a sneering and irreverent tone in *almost every paragraph* where matters connected with sacred history are spoken of*,' could remain in the bishop's possession for several weeks without his meeting with *many* such passages, as he *did* read several parts of it, and without his returning the whole with indignation, at his being so grossly insulted. The result was, however, that long *after* the manuscript was returned and sent to England, I had the pleasure to be numbered among the Bishop's guests, dining at his table, and frequently conversing with him at his own house, at the College, then in Chowringhee, at Colonel Mackenzie's, and elsewhere, on the subject of the Travels in Palestine, without hearing from him a word that gave me reason to suppose his lordship thought otherwise than favourably of them.

At length, however, when the late vestry discussions were agitated in Calcutta, and 'motives of hostility to the church' were falsely imputed as the ground of opposition to the doctrines of self-election and irresponsible trust, the Bishop heard, and perhaps with pain, that various rumours were abroad regarding myself and my Travels; and the natural consequence of his hearing only one side of the question was, no doubt, an alarm for his own reputation, and a fear that he had given the sanction of his name to something that was not worthy such an honour. At length, when Mr. Bankes's and Mr. Murray's conduct became distinctly known, I addressed the Bishop on the subject, and received soon after his lordship's reply. Delicacy on my part to the memory of this lamented prelate, prevented my giving these letters a place among the others published a few days ago; but as they are now demanded of me by a person who asserts that the Bishop said what he did not say, I shall best show my respect to his memory by printing the letters in question, to which I shall append only a few brief remarks, and leave the public, as before, to judge the merits of the case for themselves.

I shall first, however, insert the letter to the editor of the John Bull, of Calcutta, which has called forth this from me. It is necessary for my justification, and is as follows:—

To the Editor of John Bull.

Sir,

I have not read the 'Travels in Palestine,' therefore I can be no judge of their merit; but as I understand a difference of opinion does exist on that point, I cannot but think the author should have felt some delicacy in bringing forward the name of our late highly estimated prelate, as an approver of his work, unless he is able to prove the correctness of his assertion. I, too, will assert my belief that the late Bishop estimated Mr. Buckingham's work very differently from what the author has been pleased to declare to the public; that after a cursory inspection he returned the MS., informing the author *he had not had time to read it*, but that on looking into it here and there he observed some passages *so objectionable*, and others *so different from the statements of former accredited travellers*, that he recommended a careful revision of the work previously to its publication. (Query, has not one volume been curtailed?) I do not speak from authority, but no doubt there are persons in this settlement whose intimacy with the late Bishop will enable them to contradict this statement, if it is not generally correct. The best explanation on the part of the author, will be the publication of the Bishop's letter.

X. X.

Boitaconnah, August 13.

To satisfy this enquirer that I have *nothing* to conceal, and that the Bishop himself, amid all his timid, but yet perhaps pardonable alarm on this subject, did not remember any such objections as those put into his mouth by Mr. X.X., I give here my letter to the Bishop, and his lordship's reply:—

* Now *eight* years, in 1824.

* Quarterly Review, vol. xxvi. p. 378.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

My Lord,

Some unpleasant and unexpected obstacles having been thrown in the way of the immediate publication of my book, the 'Travels in Palestine,' which is likely to be delayed for some months to come, I feel it as a duty I owe to your lordship, in return for the kind interest taken by you in the work, when originally announced, to state briefly the grounds on which this delay has taken place.

In the preparation of my manuscripts for the press, I had so little confidence in my own qualifications, and so humble an opinion of my own judgment as to their fitness for the public eye, that I submitted the whole for correction and revision, to many of my most esteemed friends in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and, finally, to your lordship, with whom the MS. remained some time, under the hope, which I then indulged, of its having the revision of your able correcting pen, wherever it might appear to your superior judgment to need it. This favour, indeed, your lordship did confer on me, in more instances than one, when I was eagerly ready to adopt the emendations suggested by the marginal notes of your pencil; and on the return of the MS. to my possession, I learnt with regret, that various important avocations had prevented your lordship from giving it the *attentive* and *thorough* perusal, which, under circumstances of greater leisure, you might have been disposed to bestow on it: at the same time that I received with pride and pleasure, the kind corrections which you *had* made in such places as had fallen under your lordship's observation, both in the book and in the prospectus by which it was announced, as well as the benevolent expression of your hope, that the publication would yield me both the reputation and emolument which my personal sufferings, zeal, enterprise, and perseverance, appeared to your lordship's indulgent view of my humble labours to deserve.

The only end and intent of this recapitulation is to satisfy your lordship that, as far as was within my power, I had expressed every wish, and employed every means, to render the work worthy of the distinguished patronage which the Marquis of Hastings had granted it, as well as of the association of your lordship's name with that of the Marquis, in the prospectus, as approving generally of the nature and object of my undertaking; and that the chief desire of my heart was, that it should be acceptable to all, and objectionable to none.

The work was transmitted to England by the hands of Mr. Eneas Mackintosh, a respectable merchant of this city, who deposited it safely with Mr. Murray, the publisher, with whom he closed a final bargain for the work, and obtained Mr. Murray's pledge, that it should be out in December. Mr. Mackintosh, reposing in the publisher's fidelity, went into Scotland, but on his return to town in December, when he expected the work would have been ready, he was surprised to find that it had not been begun. The reasons urged for this were two very extraordinary ones. The first, that in Mr. Mackintosh's absence, and subsequent to Mr. Murray's pledge to publish, the manuscript had been submitted to Mr. Gifford, the editor of The Quarterly Review, who had given a written opinion on it, in which he had said, that although there was much new and interesting information in the book, which would be highly acceptable, yet it was mixed up with much that was obnoxious, and required to be expunged; that there was also too much of quotation in it from works in every body's hands, such as Josephus, &c., and that he considered it necessary that the work should be reduced forty or fifty pages at least, after which he strongly recommended it being published. It may appear ungenerous in me to suspect Mr. Gifford, of whom I know nothing, of being influenced by unfair motives in the exercise of this previous censorship; but I should not conceal from your lordship, that in the course of my observations, I have taken occasion to show that the Quarterly Reviewers, in their strictures on D'Anville's Geography, or Topography of Palestine, had committed very striking errors, and that their condemnation of this accurate writer on some local points was premature and unfounded; as well as that their criticisms on Dr. Clarke and others, who had recently visited the Holy Land, were full of assumptions that were quite untenable. I cannot help thinking it, therefore, highly probable that these passages would be included in the proposed retrenchment, and that, under the plea of obnoxious sentiments and over-abundant quotations, Mr. Gifford would exercise a censorship for which I conceive he had no authority whatever, and which I consider as a great breach of confidence, as well as of a positive engagement, in Mr. Murray to submit to or to follow.

But, perhaps, the most serious obstacle of the two is that of a claim set up by Mr. Bankes, a gentleman whom I met at Jerusalem, and who was my companion in a visit to Jerash, to the exclusive use of all information regarding that city, on these grounds: — 1st, That he permitted me, as an especial favour, to accompany him there; 2dly, That he defrayed the whole expense of this journey; and 3dly, That the only notes or plans I possessed of this place were taken either from his mouth or copied from his own notes, as I was wholly incapable of making any observations of my own!

To you, my lord, whose habits, studies, pursuits, and personal intercourse, lead you so much more among actions, opinions, and persons that are amiable and good, than among those that are base and dishonourable, it will appear incredible that an English gentleman of family, fortune, and education, should have advanced such serious charges against another, as Mr. Bankes has urged against me, unless they were undoubtedly true and capable of proof to others. Nevertheless, such is the powerful prevalence of evil in some minds, as to blind them even to facts within their own knowledge; and in the present instance it providentially happens that I am enabled satisfactorily to disprove the accusations of Mr. Bankes from the most unquestionable authority, namely, original letters under his own hand, addressed to me during our joint stay in Syria, and original manuscript notes, plans, &c. in my own hand, fortunately preserved, as if destined to become useful in removing so foul a stain as these charges, if unrefuted, would inevitably leave upon my reputation.

Mr. Bankes had made a representation of these charges to his father, the member for Corfe-Castle, on seeing the prospectus of my book, and urged him to use his influence with Mr. Murray to suspend the publication of it, on the ground that all the information I could have possessed myself of, regarding Jerash, must have been obtained from him, and that therefore I had no right to make any use of it; adding, that he should soon be in England, when he would be able to give a much better account of those countries, from his own materials, than I could possibly do from the materials of another.

This representation appearing to have been effectual, and to have caused all proceedings regarding my book to have been suspended, I deemed it my duty to communicate with my friends here immediately on the subject; and, accordingly, the following gentlemen, whom I have the honour to reckon among the most intimate of them, met by invitation for the express purpose at my house, namely, Sir Charles D'Oyly, Mr. Palmer, the Rev. Dr. Young, Colonel Young, Mr. Melville, Mr. Calder, Mr. Chastenay, Mr. Wynch, and Mr. Chinnery. To these gentlemen the original letters of Mr. Bankes, with my own manuscript notes, plans, &c., were shown, and the affair discussed and examined at a considerable length; the result of which was, their perfect conviction of the falsehood of Mr. Bankes's charges, the accuracy of the statements which I had urged in my defence, and the perfect genuineness and authenticity of the original documents exhibited to them as those on which my defence from these aspersions was grounded; which they have testified by their signatures to papers that are going to England for the purpose of rescuing my name and character from slanders of so injurious a nature.

I have endeavoured, in this brief statement, to lay before your lordship the leading facts of the case, from a desire to convince you that I was incapable of seeking the honour of your lordship's name, either as an encourager of, or subscriber to, a work made up of obnoxious sentiments of my own, and the borrowed, or rather stolen, materials of others.

My kind friend, Mr. Palmer, has this morning taken up to the Marquis of Hastings, at Barrackpore, the statement of the facts, in order to add thereto such personal assurance as his acquaintance with all the details must qualify him to make; and if your lordship should feel sufficient interest in an affair so purely personal as this may be deemed to me, to wish that any friend of mine might be deputed to show you the originals, and acquaint you with the sentiments of the gentlemen named before, as meeting at my house for the purpose of deliberating thereon, or to desire that I myself might wait upon your lordship, for the purpose of answering any questions that might arise on this

subject, I shall be proud and happy to fulfil your lordship's commands.

In the hope that I shall be indulgently pardoned for any undue liberty which I may appear to have taken in thus intruding at such length on your notice,

I have the honour to remain, my lord,
Your lordship's obliged and faithful servant,
J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Calcutta, June 27, 1820.

On the evening of the subsequent day, I received from the Bishop the following reply:—

To J. S. Buckingham, Esq.

Sir,

I received your letter yesterday evening, at a time when I could not conveniently reply to it. I thank you for the offer contained in it to lay before me certain statements relative to one of the causes, which, as you inform me, have delayed the publication of your Travels. I must, however, decline the proposal, not wishing my name to be more closely connected with the work in question than it is already. I have, indeed, some reason to apprehend, that more is *believed* upon this subject than is actually true. After having done me the favour to send me copies of some Greek inscriptions collected by you, in which, as being remains of Christian and classical antiquity, I took some interest, you sent me your MS. travels, with an intimation that my revision of the work would be acceptable to you. I informed you, however, on receiving the MS., that I could not think of taking upon myself any such responsibility; and I requested that no use whatever might be made of my name beyond what was already said in your prospectus, of my thinking favourably of the nature of your undertaking; to this I did not object, as implying nothing more than the respect which is excited by zeal and enterprise in exploring tracts highly interesting, and some of them hitherto but little known. Still, I told you that I would look at a few places of your MS., and if any thing occurred to me, I would readily suggest it. All that I remember to have actually read was a chapter near the beginning, describing your voyage from Egypt to some part in the Holy Land, and a chapter upon the ruins of Jerash; and, on those portions of the book, I objected to the use of (I believe) two expressions, 'supernatural' and 'miraculous,' which were incorrectly, and might *seem* to be profanely applied; not that I could suppose any evil intention, as I had heard you speak with reverence of the Scriptures, and remark, I think, the very first time I saw you, how entirely your own observations bore witness to the accuracy of their local details. I felt it, notwithstanding, to be my duty to advise you to look over your MS. with especial reference to any similar blemishes, which might produce a mischievous effect, though none were intended; and such passages, if any such still remain, may very well have been classed among the obnoxious matter, to which your letter alludes, as one of the alleged reasons for suspending the publication. I recollect, also, that I marked a sentence in a passage quoted by you from the Latin translation of some Greek author (I think Josephus), as not giving the true sense of the original. Whether I might not put a pencil mark against one or two other passages, which presented themselves casually, and seemed to be capable of improvement, I cannot, after this interval of time, precisely affirm; but I am confident that my connected perusal was confined to the two chapters already mentioned; and even those I did not examine with the severity which I should have thought indispensable, if I had considered myself as being in any way pledged to the revision. What I read, I read lying on my couch, to which I was confined during nearly the whole of the time that your papers were with me; and I believe that you called upon me only a day or two before I returned them, and found me in that situation. I by no means, however, wish you to infer that I consider the statement in your letter as being substantially at variance with this account, or that I attribute any erroneous notions on this subject, which may have gone abroad, to the representations made by yourself; a knowledge of the circumstance that your MS. was even in my hands, may easily have created a belief, that it was received for a purpose, which, on my receiving it, I expressly and unequivocally disclaimed.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
Chowringhee, June 28, 1820. T. F. CALCUTTA.

Let any impartial person read this letter, written evidently under the influence of a timidity and alarm, natural and even honourable to a man holding so distinguished a situation as head of the church in India, and let him say whether it breathes even an *insinuation* of reproach? It was rather too much to expect that an author, who went to sea at nine years of age, who never had any education since that early period, but such as he could steal for himself, whose life has been necessarily passed more with persons of loose and profligate habits, such as *every* ship exhibits, than among those who are more choice in their expressions than sailors will ever be; it was too much to expect that a book written by *such* a person should come out of a bishop's hands untouched. But after all, to what did the emendations amount? To a correction of a few expressions that admitted of improvement, and to an inaccurate use of the terms 'miraculous' and 'supernatural,' the distinction between which might have been clearly understood by a learned and eminent divine, but which are even to this hour far from clear to the individual who had then used them, it seems, in a wrong sense, but who, having no intention to apply them wrongly, altered them without a moment's hesitation, as the Bishop had suggested.

I hope that no remarks which I have here made will be construed unto disrespect for the Bishop's talents, character, or memory. I think as highly of the former as any man can do, and I showed my sense of it by making the use that I did of his kindness and intimacy. His letter will sufficiently show whether X.X. who addresses the John Bull, could have known any thing of this affair or not; and whether he has not attributed to the Bishop's pen, objections to the Travels in Palestine which never had existence in that prelate's mind, and perhaps wholly originated in the writer's imagination.

Soon after this, about the middle of October in the same year, there arrived in India a certain Presbyterian clergyman, the Reverend Doctor James Bryce. This individual had been formerly editor of a Calcutta newspaper, which had died a natural death, principally in consequence of the rising popularity of the Calcutta Journal, and within a few months only after the latter was established. This reverend editor had, however, some other reasons, and very powerful ones, to feel uncomfortable at prolonging his stay in India, and he accordingly obtained leave of absence, and repaired to Europe for three years. His return to Calcutta was marked by a fresh infusion of virulence into the newspaper press, in which he had always before taken a very active interest, and with which it was, therefore, expected by most persons that he would renew his alliance. Be this as it may, within a short period after his landing in Calcutta, a most atrocious letter appeared in the Indian John Bull, of the 9th of November, which excited, as it was calculated to do, a most extraordinary sensation in Calcutta; and which was republished, with the following introduction and comment, in an extra sheet of the Journal, issued on the evening of the same day.

SOMETHING IN SELF-DEFENCE.

(From the Calcutta Journal of November 9, 1822.)

The Indian public have had sufficient proof of my constant readiness to meet my opponents in argument, on any topic of dispute that might fairly belong to public subjects of discussion, such as political doctrine, literary

merit, or the public conduct of public men. I can safely say that from this fair ground of open and public controversy I have never shrunk, and as long as it may be my lot to occupy my present post, I trust I never shall.

During my editorial labours, various occasions have happened, in which, instead of arguments or reasons to refute my opinions, calumnies of the basest and blackest kind have been put forth against my private character, and dark threats and menaces held forth by unknown writers, the very perusal of which was enough to make honest persons shudder with horror at the idea of there being any individual member of their society against whom such threats and menaces could be directed. But, after an experience of four years, these stabs in the dark have inflicted no wound on my reputation, however much they may have tortured my feelings, and still more the feelings of all those who are near and dear to me, whose sensibility may be greater though their firmness may be less. I have lived, during this long and eventful period, literally in a glass house; every word, and deed, and thought, analysed with the severest scrutiny, a host of enemies and rivals (whether without sin or not) casting stones in every direction, and mostly from unseen hands; yet what has been the result? Not a single serious charge has been made against me that has not been repelled almost as soon as it was uttered; and that such refutations were generally deemed complete and triumphant, I have every reason to infer, from the often repeated and still undeniable fact, that the number of my patrons, friends, and supporters, is greater at the present moment than at any former period. Indeed it is rather a matter of wonder and admiration to most persons, that so little should be capable of being advanced against one, whose every action, word, and thought, has been subjected to such a continued and trying scrutiny, than that an unknown calumniator should every now and then start up, in the hope of making an unfavourable impression on the public mind, by uttering vague and general charges, dark and vengeful threats, and menacing the disclosure of what has been menaced a hundred times before, and never yet attempted to be put in practice, without being refuted so triumphantly, as to leave only a feeling of contempt for the secret assassinators of character, who could descend to such unparalleled baseness.

I had hoped that this species of secret war against all that man holds dear, had ceased: but I had forgotten that they who are the first to inflict injuries are the last to forgive; and that there is more hope of honourable treatment from one who has been calumniated, than from those who first seek to ruin, and failing in that, do all they can to justify the diabolical purpose on which they were bent.

Accordingly, the John Bull newspaper, or rather the party that support it, having been so completely discomfited in argument, as to conceive an irrevocable hatred against the person most instrumental in showing the shallowness of their pretensions, and the badness of their cause, have returned again to the original weapon of attack, and begun to renew the use of those poisoned arrows, shot from behind a mask, which are fit instruments of men who dare no longer meet their enemy in open, fair, and honourable contest. Deeply as these shafts are tinged, however, with the most rankling venom, they fall harmless when directed against the armour of integrity: and I shall, as I have often done before, lay bare to public view the attack of my unknown enemy, for the purpose of showing how pointless it becomes the moment it is closely examined.

The public already know, that there have been no less than four several editors to the John Bull since its first establishment; and that the last quitted it after a service of three days only, disgusted with the conditions imposed on the free exercise of his judgment, and refusing to lend himself as the instrument of a party hostility to one man. Under whose management that paper has been, since the abandonment of the fourth editor, I have no accurate information, but the public being under the impression that it is without an editor altogether at the present moment, naturally look to the proprietors as the responsible persons.

Whether it is that advantage has been taken of this moment of anarchy and division, to send for insertion in this paper, articles of a nature so atrocious, that there would be no hope of getting them printed, had there been any responsible superintendant, I know not: but it is a fact, that the John Bull of this morning contains, among many other infamous calumnies and personalities pointedly levelled at me, and, as usual, not even sparing my domestic establishment, one of so gross and unprecedented a degree of atrocity, that I cannot suffer the sun to go down, without presenting it to my readers in its own hideous colours, and offering a word or two on its accusations, to prevent the possibility of even *one* person retiring to his pillow, with a belief that there was any individual member of the society in which he lived, who could deserve a calumny so deep as that which is here attempted against me.

The letter is as follows: —

To the Editor of John Bull.

Sir,

On my arrival here, about a month ago, a defence of Buckingham's 'Travels in Palestine,' against the strictures in 'The Quarterly Review,' was put into my hand. I have to beg that the Indian public will suspend their judgment on the merits of this dispute, so far as the character and conduct of Mr. Bankes are implicated, until that gentleman's reply; and I pledge myself that a scene of iniquity and falsehood will be displayed which will astonish and disgust every man of honourable feeling. You have long been duped by the most artful of adventurers; but the hour of exposure approaches.

Yours, &c.

A FRIEND OF MR. BANKES.

My remarks on this letter will be very brief; but I hope strictly to the purpose.

1st. It is almost morally impossible that the letter *could* have been written by a friend of Mr. Bankes. It is without date, so that I know not when it might have been sent to the paper for publication. This, however, I gather from the confession of the letter itself, that it was not even *written* until *about a month* AFTER the writer had read the defence of the Travels in Palestine, which appeared to him to affect so deeply the reputation of his friend. I ask any thinking man, whether it be *possible* that an individual, really a friend of another, finding that person, as he conceived, unjustly calumniated, could remain at ease for a whole month, and then address himself anonymously to the public through a newspaper, giving a pledge without a name, and threatening to do hereafter what, if he *could* do at all, there was no obstacle to his doing at once without a moment's delay, either by addressing himself to the pretended injurer of his friend's reputation, or sending forth his facts and name to the world as a guarantee and pledge of his ability to perform what he threatens. I believe the letter, therefore, to be a mere bravado, *ad captandum vulgus*, and written by a person who is incapable of substantiating his assertions, and, therefore, consistently enough, concealing himself behind a mask, though that alone must deprive his statement of all weight or authority in the minds of honest men.

2d. He begs that the Indian public will suspend their judgment on the merits of this dispute, so far as the conduct and character of Mr. Bankes are implicated, until that gentleman's reply be received. That gentleman, however, without offering such an act of courtesy to me, made various accusations against me of the most flagrant

nature, which it became my duty to repel. Surely, this pretended friend of Mr. Bankes must know very little of his history or concerns, if he believes that *I* was the attacking party, and that Mr. Bankes has to reply. All the Indian world (himself perhaps excepted) know that the attack was made by Mr. Bankes; and that the only means of defence used by me, was his own letters, fortunately in my possession, which of themselves alone were sufficient to overthrow all he had subsequently advanced. If he could prove that such letters had no existence, it might serve his cause; but while the notarial records of Mr. Smoult's office exist, and exhibit such respectable testimonies of their authenticity, as the names of Mr. Palmer, Sir Charles D'Oyly, Colonel Young, Mr. Melville, Mr. Chastenay, Dr. Young, Mr. Calder, Mr. Wynch, and others of unexceptionable integrity, it will be impossible for him to do this: and if the pretended friend of Mr. Bankes should doubt even the value of *such* names, whenever he may desire it he can see still with me, the originals themselves, and declare whether his friend's letters have been faithfully transcribed and accurately published or not. It is rather too late, therefore, when an attack from Mr. Bankes on me has been before the English public twelve months before my reply could reach home, to call on the Indian public to suspend their judgment till the original calumniator is heard again. He has put forth his accusations, and certainly with no want of will to make the most of them. He has said all that he could say which could tend to defame or injure me. He has been heard to the full: and every single asseveration made, has been overturned on the evidence of his own letters, testified by some of the most respectable names in India. What can the Indian public need more? One of the very first of his assertions was, that the materials of the Travels in Palestine could not be my own, as I was incapable, from sheer ignorance, of making any observations on the country, not knowing a Turkish building from a Roman one, or a Greek inscription from an Arabic, and being, in short, as much an idiot as he pretended to be a sage? If it were only this accusation alone, the Indian public, who have had four years' experience of my capacity to get through a more difficult labour than writing twenty books of travels, would laugh it to scorn, and I only revert to it as a specimen of the folly, as well as wickedness, of such groundless mis-statements.

3d. If, however, the pretended friend of Mr. Bankes had confined himself to the simple fact of entreating the Indian public to wait for Mr. Bankes's rejoinder, I should have said '*content*.' Mr. Bankes made serious criminatory accusations, all of which were refuted, and to this I confined myself. If he has any more to make, by all means let him be heard, but let him also be prepared to abide the odium that always *must* attend the advancing accusations against another, which cannot be substantiated by proof, and therefore fall to the ground.

4th. But this writer in the John Bull goes further. He says, 'I pledge myself that a scene of iniquity and falsehood will be displayed, which will astonish and disgust every man of honourable feeling.' The atrocity of such a threat as this cannot be exceeded; its malignity cannot be surpassed; but happily its force is not equal to its baseness, or it would be great indeed. Let us see on what foundation this empty pledge rests, even divested of the consideration of its being a nameless one, which of itself would be sufficient to deprive it of all value whatever. This friend of Mr. Bankes can hardly be supposed to know *more* evil of me than Mr. Bankes himself. Mr. Bankes, then, whose desire to exaggerate every charge can scarcely be doubted, said all he *could* say three years ago. The whole of this was rebutted, not by bare assertion, or anonymous recrimination, but by written evidence and incontrovertible proofs, signed, sealed, and attested, in due orm of law. The writer in The Quarterly Review (whom there is every reason to believe to be Mr. Bankes himself, or some person in close communion with him,) cannot certainly be suspected of a want of *will* to stigmatise the character of the author he reviewed, with every thing that could blacken or degrade him; for it is admitted on all hands, that a more virulent article never appeared in print since Reviews have been known. This writer, then, said all *he* could say also: and even *this* has been refuted, and that, too, so triumphantly, that there is no circle of society in India, in which the conduct of the Reviewer is not reprobated as a stigma to literature. Well, then, this friend of Mr. Bankes, who arrived about a month ago, must have left England soon after this Review in The Quarterly was published. If he had really been the friend of Mr. Bankes, as he pretends, that person knowing he was coming to India, where he knew I had been established since 1818, would naturally have authorised him to use such information as he thought necessary to rebut the notarial documents alluded to; for, be it remembered, that though first printed in the Journal a few months since, attested copies of these, as well as the originals, were sent to England in the year 1820, and were known to Mr. Murray, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Bankes, and others in London, *many months* before this pretended friend left England! for it was as familiar in the coffee-houses and clubs at home, where books and booksellers are subjects of conversation, as it had become here before it was sent out from the notary's office. Yet, though the Travels were known to be published by Longman and Co. on the strength of these documents, though Mr. Bankes was in London at the time, and saw the book go to a second edition within an unusually short period, *he* remained silent; he had said all he could say before, as far as character was concerned, and that *all* was overturned; while his impotent attempts to damn the book by criticism on its merits, met, if possible, a still more signal defeat than his efforts to destroy the moral character of its author. The pretended friend of Mr. Bankes, therefore, who could sit a whole month quietly under all that he now complains of, could not have known *more* than Mr. Bankes when he left London; and his pretended scenes of iniquity and falsehood, which are to disgust every honourable mind, must have been dreamt of on the passage.

5th. The close of his letter appears to have been addressed, not to *John Bull*, but to the Indian public, for it says, 'You have been duped by the most artful of adventurers; but the hour of exposure approaches.' It is unnecessary, I presume, to say much on this. If I have 'duped' the Indian public, they have been duped with their eyes open; for never man came before them whose conduct has been so thoroughly sifted, investigated, exposed, and misrepresented as my own. If they still believe me upright and honest, it must be, therefore, from a conviction sufficiently powerful to outweigh even all this. If I am 'artful,' the only arts I use are open appeals to reason and common sense; and the Indian public must be fools indeed, if, through a space of four years, with every eye upon my conduct, I have practised arts which none among them could detect. This, though intended to stamp me with shame, is the greatest compliment to my talents that could be paid, and shows, at least, that if Mr. Bankes thinks me an idiot, his friend entertains a very different opinion.

6th. I can only say, that if a certain hour is fixed by fate or necessity for my exposure, the public must, as the friend says, 'suspend their judgment until it approaches.' But for myself, I say the hour is come. But the friend of Mr. Bankes cannot surely threaten to disclose what he does not *know;* he cannot have been so unjust as to talk of iniquities and falsehoods which he cannot *prove;* he cannot stigmatise me as the most artful of adventurers without knowing what those arts *are;* or talk of an approaching exposure without knowing the *facts* that are to

come out in evidence against me. I invite him, then, thus publicly, in the face of all mankind, to give his facts and name to the world at once. I do not desire to postpone the disclosure of any thing that can be substantiated against me, not even for an hour. If he be really Mr. Bankes's friend, and think him innocent, he cannot be ashamed to avow himself as such. If he be desirous only of establishing the truth, and doing justice between man and man, he cannot hesitate to proclaim his cause, and own himself its champion. He has already pledged himself that a scene shall be disclosed which will disgust every man of honourable feeling. If he can do this, he will carry nearly all India with him, for I believe there is no country on the globe where there is more of 'honourable feeling' than among my countrymen in India.

Let him only take care to be accurate in his facts, and fortified with ample proofs. I hope the law that affords protection to all, will extend its shield to me also, until I shall be proved to be so criminal as to be beyond its pale. To that law I never desire to apply but for the redress of injuries that cannot otherwise be remedied, and for the preservation of character from unwarranted and unmerited calumny. That calumny has already been pronounced. I boldly declare it false, foul, and incapable of substantiation. I ask the Indian public to do me the common justice of suspending their belief, till they see the name, know the character, and hear the proofs of my accuser. I have given them all these in every case in which they were requisite for my defence. They know me by my daily labours; they know me by a life of four years' irreproachable conduct among them; they know me by my domestic relations and my private duties to society, as well as by my public principles. Let my unknown calumniator declare himself as freely; let him establish the same claim to their attention; and let him instantly redeem his pledge. If not, he must be content to have his conduct branded with infamy as long as he wears the mask, and his name stamped with the execration it deserves, if the searching powers of the law, or any other honourable means, should subsequently disclose it to the world.

To this, no reply whatever was made for upwards of a week, though the individual, whoever he was, and whom almost every one believed to be the Reverend Doctor Bryce, was on the spot to redeem his pledge, if he could. On the 18th of November, (nine days afterwards,) the writer published a second letter, in which, instead of redeeming his pledge, or avowing his name, he offers the following explanations : —

1st. That the term 'artful adventurer' was too trifling to be considered as an accusation of any importance!

2d. That the person calling himself 'Friend of Mr. Bankes,' had really no personal acquaintance with, and no personal regard for him, having merely assumed the title because he wished to espouse his side of the question!!

3d. That as to 'iniquity and falsehood,' it was clear that it existed somewhere; and that the rank in life and high respectability of Mr. Bankes was a sufficient guarantee that it could not be with him!!!

Such were the explanations gravely offered on the infamous letter before adverted to. Such a miserable defence was of course exposed, and out of this a further controversy arose, which continued for upwards of a month; exciting, perhaps, a more intense interest throughout all India, than any personal controversy that ever before occurred in that country. The Indian government, who at once dreaded and hated me, as the uncompromising advocate of that freedom of discussion which they wished to put down and destroy, encouraged, in the most marked and unequivocal manner, the propagation of the vilest calumnies on my private character; and in consequence of this encouragement, evinced by their appointing to places of honour and profit the most active agents in this scandalous warfare, a degree of violence and boldness was assumed by all the writers in the John Bull of India, and by this pretended 'Friend of Bankes,' in particular, not only without a parallel in the annals of that country, but equally so in this, and surpassing by far even the virulence of the John Bull of England.

Notwithstanding all the force arrayed against me, and the immense advantages enjoyed by my opponents, in being all of them anonymous, and backed by the support of the ruling power of the state, I did not shrink from the contest, but met them all single-handed, and, as the result proved, came off triumphant.

As considerable pains have been taken, by the circulation of the accusatory matter contained in these letters of the pretended 'Friend of Bankes,' to create the most unfavourable impressions against me in England; where my defence against these accusations has never, for the reasons before assigned, obtained the same degree of publicity; I shall close this Appendix, by inserting here the defence which I published in India, after the whole of the accusations against me had appeared : omitting only such parts as may be of little or no importance; and from the manner in which the whole is classed and arranged under separate heads, the accusations will be seen, as well as the replies offered to them. The following is the defence alluded to : —

REVIEW OF PAST DISCUSSIONS.

(From the Calcutta Journal of Sunday, Dec. 22, 1822.)

If it be lawful to do good on the Sabbath day, I shall need no justification, and shall therefore plead no excuse, for intreating the earnest and close attention of every individual into whose hands these sheets may fall, to the clear, simple, and, I hope, satisfactory statement which they contain. I have prepared it in such intervals as I could snatch from duties already too weighty and too embarrassing for any single person, and I have chosen to address the public in my own name, because it is confined to a vindication of my own reputation. I have, for the same reason, separated it from the general matter and desultory controversies of the *Calcutta Journal*, for the purpose of bringing the whole question at once under review, without taking the large space it would necessarily occupy, from the regular pages of the daily newspaper. I have preferred issuing it on this day, Sunday, also, that it might not be considered as one of the ordinary *Journals* of the week, and that it may claim a more close and attentive perusal amid the leisure of such a day, by all who think it a duty to examine and judge for themselves, before they join in the interested clamour of a few unknown individuals, and at their bare suggestion stamp an honest name with infamy.

I ask only a calm and patient hearing, and shall leave the result to the verdict of the pure and honourable hearts that animate the bosoms of my friends, my associates, my supporters, and my fellow countrymen. My enemies I may confound and put to deserved shame, though I cannot hope either to silence or convince them. But I enter the field against them all, with a single lance, secure in that triple armour with which innocence and justice clothe all who fight under their banners.

I had originally commenced this defence in the hope of being able to include it within the Asiatic sheets of a single journal, but observing the matter to grow under my hand, until it attained its present expanded limits, I find it necessary to form it into this separate publication. I shall, however, give the introductory paragraphs exactly as they were originally written, having no desire to alter a single phrase, or break the simple and consecutive order in which the subject opens and is continued. I enter, therefore, at once on the task.

When the *John Bull* contained, day after day, whole pages full of reiterated accusations against me, I selected from among them such as appeared to me to deserve any attention, for the purpose of refutation. It was then urged, that such assertions as I neither noticed nor denied, were admitted by me to be true; and hence it was said that I confessed myself to have pretended to a knowledge of Greek without understanding its alphabet: that I professed to have enjoyed Mr. Burckhardt's friendship up to the day of his death, though I knew he had used every means to convince me to the contrary; that I had confessed to have been guilty of a breach of trust to Briggs and Co. and of ingratitude to one who had helped me in distress, &c. &c.—all of which are as gross untruths as ever were uttered, and nothing but the most artful malignity could ever wrest such a construction from my silence. I was not so weak as to imagine that there were any men in this society, whose opinions were worth any thing, that would consider a thing proved merely because an anonymous writer, in a hostile paper, asserted it to be so. I had a higher respect for their sense and justice, and I believed that they would credit nothing against me from such a source, that was not proved by something more than the *ipse dixit* of men who had been called on to come out and show their claims to credit, but were either afraid or ashamed to answer that call. It was for this reason principally that I did not condescend to answer fifty things that were said, but *only* said, because I left it to the common sense and justice of the world to see that they rested on no foundation, and were not worth attention. Another reason, and a very powerful one, for my not republishing *all* that the *John Bull* contained, for the purpose of refuting it, was the utter impossibility of doing this without excluding every other topic from my journal, so as to change its character from a newspaper into a mere vehicle of personal debate: and as I receive support for something more than this, it would have been at once an insult to, and a fraud upon, my subscribers, to have called on them day after day, and week after week, to read and pay me for this single commodity, in lieu of the novelty and variety which I am bound to furnish them for their subscription. I am exceedingly glad that I had the penetration to make this decision, for it has, perhaps, saved me from the extensive injury which I must have sustained, by wearying or disgusting those whom it is my object and my duty as a public journalist to please.

Now, however, that some breathing time has been allowed to the world, and that persons may be conceived to have recovered, in a slight degree, from the din and confusion—into which it was one great object of my accusers to steep the bewildered attention of those before whom they poured out those floods and torrents of calumny, invective, and denunciation, by which they sought to overwhelm me—I may return to a subject brought within practicable limits, and as long as those limits are not unreasonably extended, I shall have no objection to give up a portion of my time and space to their consideration, when any thing new or important is started that may seem to require refutation. I shall still, however, rely on the good sense of my readers to excuse my going for the fifth or sixth time over matters disproved long ago, and in return I shall do my best neither to weary their patience, nor intrude too largely on the space that should be given to other subjects.

I have been expecting, for some days past, the separate publication of the Letters of the Friend of Bankes, which seemed to have been promised to be sent out in a pamphlet: and I had hoped that before this, I should have seen an abstract of the facts supposed to have been proved, with the grounds of proof attached, so that I might know to what my enemies expected me to reply. This not having yet appeared (at least as far as I am aware), I suppose the design is abandoned *; and though it can hardly be considered *my* duty to draw up such an abstract myself, for the purpose of going over the whole ground again yet, as far as I remember the chief points alleged; and the explanations given, I am willing to give them a recapitulation, for the purpose of showing the public of India how they have been attempted to be imposed on by my accusers; for the number, if any, who have been *really* deceived by their bold yet shallow pretences must be very few indeed.

In order to assist the reader in the classification of the several charges that have been advanced, some of which have been subsequently abandoned, while others are still persisted in, I shall place them conspicuously under their several distinct heads.

I. 'MOST ARTFUL OF ADVENTURERS.'

It was asserted that Mr. Buckingham was 'the most artful of adventurers.' This was subsequently explained by saying that 'an adventurer' was merely a man who went abroad to seek his fortune without any particular object, and that it was absurd and ridiculous to make such a noise about so unmeaning a term: an explanation quite as satisfactory as that of the signature, which said that a man might consider himself as numbered among the friends of any particular person whose cause he chose to espouse!

II. 'SCENE OF FALSEHOOD AND INIQUITY.'

It was asserted that a 'scene of falsehood and iniquity would be displayed, which should disgust every man of honourable feeling.' This was explained by saying, that falsehood and iniquity must rest somewhere, and as Mr. Bankes was a man of rank and fortune, it would be wrong to suspect *him;* therefore the falsehood and iniquity must be on Mr. Buckingham's shoulders!

III. GENUINENESS OF MR. BANKES'S LETTERS.

It was asserted that the pretended letters of Mr. Bankes, on the evidence of which his accusations were disproved, might not be genuine; and also, that supposing them to be so, they were only extracts. This was answered by inviting the writer, or any one else, to come and inspect the letters for himself, and read the whole of them; but no one came. Both these points, however, were ultimately yielded to me as untenable by those who had advanced them.

IV. THIRD VISIT TO GERASH.

It was asserted that 'Mr. Buckingham had never been a third time to Gerash, and that no traces of such third visit were to be found in his book.' Both these charges were rebutted; the first by the living evidence of a gentleman in Calcutta, who had seen and conversed

* Such a compilation never did appear.

with the guide who accompanied me there alone *; and the second by a reference to the preface of the book itself, where the third visit was distinctly mentioned. Both these points were also abandoned, like all the former ones, as untenable, and accordingly given up.

V. NOTES ON ADJELOON.

It was next asserted, that the statement contained in Mr. Bankes's letter, of his having seen Mr. Buckingham's notes on Adjeloon, could not have been true; as we could not have met any where between the 14th of March, the time of our separation, and the 12th of April, the date of the letter in which this statement was contained. To this I replied, by mentioning the date of the third journey to Jerash, as the 7th of March; the date of our meeting at Damascus, when Mr. Bankes read all the notes on that place, as the 23d of March; and the date of the letter alluding to this meeting, as the 12th of April. I give here an extract from my manuscript notes of March 22 and 23, the original of which may be seen with me. The letter of April 12, referring to this, I shall introduce in its proper place.

Damascus, March 22, 1816. Thursday.

At daylight I was accompanied to an excellent bath by one of the servants of the convent, and remained there in the delightful enjoyment which it afforded until nearly noon. This bath is called the Bath of Musk, and belongs to the family of Ahmed Bey, a family which has furnished more pashas than any other throughout all Turkey, in Europe or in Asia. As that family is, however, now comparatively poor, and great funds are necessary to support an appearance correspondent to its nobility, the palaces, gardens, baths, &c. belonging to it, are many of them appropriated to public use, of which this is an instance. The interior arrangement of the establishment was superior to any thing I had seen in Egypt, and my pleasure was extremely great.

On my return, I was visited by several Christian merchants, and by Dr. Chaboceau, an old French gentleman, nearly eighty years of age, and now quite deaf, with his interpreter, Ibrahim, who was equally as old and as deaf as himself. This man had been more than fifty years in the Levant, at Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, and yet could speak no other language than French, and understood Italian but imperfectly. His manners toward me were extremely kind, and I was entertained by a thousand anecdotes of the travellers who had passed this way, particularly Mr. Browne, Pedro Nunnes, or Ali Bey el-Abassi, a Spaniard, several Frenchmen, and Dr. Seetzen and Sheik Ibrahim, all of whom had been personally known to him. He had known also Mr. Bruce (the Abyssinian) at Cairo, and Mr. Volney at Acre, and though he praised the work of the latter on Egypt, he said that all he has written on Syria was done in a Maronite convent, for that he had scarcely seen any part of the country; our interview lasted nearly two hours, and was followed by an invitation to his house.

On enquiring if any news had been received of Mr. Bankes, I learnt that he had been, for the last twenty days, with Lady Stanhope at the convent of Mar Elias, near Seyda, and that it was thought he would visit Baalbeck and Palmyra from thence, and take Damascus in his return to the coast. The portion of my effects which I had thought it imprudent to take with me in my attempt to force a passage to the eastward from Karak, such as a watch, a sword, the notes of my voyage from Egypt to Syria, and journies in Palestine, &c. with my letter of credit on Mr. Barker, and other papers, were left with Mr. Bankes at Nazareth, to be taken by him to Damascus or Aleppo, as circumstances might direct; as, in the event of my being forced back, which had really happened, these things would still be of use to me. Finding myself, therefore, now at this place, without money or credit, and therefore fettered in all my movements, I despatched a messenger on foot to Seyda, with a letter to Mr. Bankes, informing him of my situation, and directing it to be opened by Lady Stanhope, in the event of his having departed from thence to the northward. The messenger departed soon after noon, under the promise of returning in five days, and the price stipulated to be paid him was twenty piastres, or about 3¼ Spanish dollars. My evening was passed with the friars in hearing the miseries of their situation, and the cruel treatment of the Turks towards them, though, as far as I could perceive, they enjoyed an enviable degree of comfort, in a large establishment, with gardens, courts, terraces, and fountains, and excellent apartments, a heavenly climate, an abundance of the necessaries of life, undisturbed tranquillity, and great respect from all those over whom they presided, the only persons, indeed, they almost ever saw. They were all Spaniards, and quite as ignorant as their countrymen at Jerusalem; like the people of Assalt and the Hauran, they dwelt with delight on the partition of the Turkish empire, and thought it shameful that the princes of Christendom should leave the sanctuaries of the Holy Land so long in the hands of such infidels as the Turks.

It was some time after sunset when strangers were announced at the convent door, and, as much to my surprise as satisfaction, it was my friend and companion, Mr. Bankes, with his servant and dragoman, a second interpreter for Arabic from Lady Stanhope, a muleteer and four mules, besides the horses, just arrived from Mar Elias. Our meeting was really a happy one, and we continued up late in recounting to each other what had passed since our separation. Having heard no news of me since my departure, and not expecting to find me here, Mr. Bankes had not brought over my effects consigned to him, but had left them with Lady Hester Stanhope to be disposed of according to circumstances and further directions. His journies since we had separated had been interesting. From Nazareth he went to Nablous, and on the way there visited Sebasta, where he found, on the west side of the hill on which the city stood, a long street with an avenue of columns on each side, to the number of eighty-three, now standing, but all without capitals, either on them or near. Dr. Clarke's conjecture, therefore, that the fortress of Sanhoor was Sebasta, while this place not only contains these considerable remains, but has also preserved its ancient name in the Sebusty of the Arabs, is unpardonable, however much the editors of The Quarterly Review may praise it. From Sanhoor Mr. Bankes went down to Baisan, on the western bank of the Jordan, and found there many columns, some of marble, and the remains of a small and ordinary theatre much ruined. His stay with Lady Stanhope had been agreeable, and he had visited many curious places in the neighbourhood, under the guidance of her physician, Dr. Meryon.

Damascus, Friday, March 23, 1816.

We remained in the convent the whole of the day to repose, and it was passed in reading to Mr. Bankes the rough notes of my journies since our separation, and in comparing the inscriptions which I had copied in the Hauran with those which had been copied by Mr. Burckhardt, and which he had given a set of to Mr. Bankes. We found that I possessed several which he did not, and *vice versa*; as well as that in those which we had

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* The following is a copy of the note in question, the original of which may be seen at my house, by any one desiring it.

Half-past 4, Wednesday afternoon, Nov. 20, 1822.

DEAR BUCKINGHAM,

I have this moment received your note, and will be happy to give such confirmation as lies in my power to your having paid a visit to the ruins of Gerash subsequent to those made in company with Mr. Bankes.

The son of your guide, who was a Christian Arab at Nazareth, showed me a written character which you had given his father at Damascus, after having performed the journey across the Jordan alone; and my recollection serves me perfectly in your describing in that document the safety of the route from Nazareth to Damascus by the way of Gerash, when you passed as a single traveller. I afterwards met your guide at Aleppo, who often adverted to the same journey, and you may make any reference you please regarding the authenticity of this statement to Yours, very faithfully,

R—— W——.

(The writer of this letter, and the hand-writing, are known among others to Messrs. Colvin and Co. of this city, so that there can be no difficulty in proving its authenticity.)

It may be now added, that the writer was Mr. Robert Wilson, a gentleman who had himself made extensive travels in Asia, and who is now the private secretary of the Marquis of Hastings, at Malta.—1824.

both copied, there were some that agreed in every letter, and some that had slight differences.

In showing him my notes on the journey through Belkah, Adjeloon, and the Hauran, he formed the determination of going down as far as Bosra from hence, and if practicable, to go on to Assalt and Ammaan, and from thence across to Jerusalem, to pass the holy week at Easter, an excursion which I encouraged rather than otherwise, as no drawings had yet been made of the interesting monuments there, and no one was more capable than Mr. Bankes of executing them with fidelity. As he found it impossible to make drawings and notes too, without a greater sacrifice of time than he was willing to make in these countries, and as he found, indeed, many obstacles to his collecting accurate information from his ignorance of the language, he proposed an union of my observations with his drawings, to which I readily assented; and to render the combination still more perfect, a letter was written to our joint friend, Mr. Burckhardt, at Cairo, proposing that he should contribute his share towards a work on the countries east of the Jordan, and the less frequented parts of Syria, and that it should be published in our joint names.

This examination, with the conversations to which it gave rise, the writing the letter, &c. occupied us all the day. We dined together at sunset, and spent the evening with the friars. *

I offer to throw open my house to as many men as choose to come and see all these documents and dates for themselves; but no one comes: and I further show how blind a man must be who seeks in a book, ending in February, for transactions happening in the month following. All this is, at last, so plain, that though one whole letter of the Friend of Bankes was filled with this, as one of the strongest points against me, that also, like all the previous ones, fell to the ground!

VI. TAKING DOWN MR. BANKES'S NOTES.

It was next asserted that I had *admitted* the charge of having agreed to accompany Mr. Bankes and take down *his* notes, merely because I had not denied it. To this I reply, that I never did any such thing. The reason assigned by Mr. Bankes for my not taking notes of my own was, that my ignorance and incapacity unfitted me for the task, and that I had no paper but a four-inch book. This was too absurd to deserve a reply. To show, however, that I could and did take notes of my own, and copious ones too, I quoted an attested letter of Mr. Bankes, in which he admits having read them; another part of the same letter where he compliments me on my superiority of judgment to himself; and another where he acknowledges his own indolence as to writing, and begs that letter to be preserved for his future use, as he had put notes on paper there which he might never take the trouble to write again. I have before asserted, most solemnly, that I never made any engagement to take down Mr. Bankes's notes, that he did not pay even the portion he ought to have paid of his share of the expence of the journey; that he made no notes at all, as far as I could learn, of the journey from Jerusalem to Jerash; that whatever was written on the subject, and appears in the Travels in Palestine, was the work of my own eyes and hand; and that I derived no aid whatever from Mr. Bankes's information, pen, or pencil. The strongest corroborating evidence I can produce of this, is the fact that when Mr. Bankes wrote his threatening letter from Thebes, accusing me of being about to publish his materials, he had no means of knowing *what* I was going to publish, since he had never seen the manuscript; that he knew of my having made a journey of many months in time, and hundreds of leagues in space, between Cairo and Calcutta without him, while this journey to Jerash in his company was an affair of a few days, and quite a speck in the whole route†: and that though my book was published in Oct. 1821, with the account of Jerash included in it, I have had no information of his having claimed any portion of it as his own, up to July, 1822, though he was in London, and possessed all the means of doing this, if he could have substantiated it.

VII. EULOGIUM ON MR. BANKES.

It was next asserted, that with Mr. Bankes's accusatory letter of June, 1819, in my pocket, I had published, in my volume of travels in 1821, an eulogium on Mr. Bankes's talents, taste, and erudition, and this is called inconsistency. To this I reply, that the preface to the Travels was sent home in Nov. 1818, that Mr. Bankes's letter did not reach Calcutta till June 1820; but that even if it had, my opinion of Mr. Bankes's taste, talents, and erudition could not have not been changed, as Mr. Bankes's was of mine, by either jealousy, anger, or any other feeling. I have never failed, on every occasion, to speak of Mr. Bankes's talents for drawing particularly with praise; and my opinion on that point cannot be changed by his subsequent misconduct. It is left for such men as Mr. Bankes, Mr. Burckhardt, and their friends, to pronounce a man to be a person of talent at one time, and a fool at another, though no change has taken place except in their angry and heated minds. But whatever change of opinion was wrought in my mind as to Mr. Bankes's *liberality*, for which, in 1818, I readily gave him credit, as the preface and the book professed to give a true narrative of the events confined within the period to which they related, it would have been a departure from truth and accuracy to have made any alteration of any parts of them, even had it been practicable, which however it was not, as the manuscript was at home. As to Mr. Bankes's indolence, it stands confessed in his own letter; and as to his wasting his time since the period we were together, it is sufficient to mention that he is a man of fortune who has nothing to do but what he chooses, and though he has been preparing to publish for these seven or eight years past, he has produced nothing; while I, his companion, who had immense difficulties to encounter, and my living to get besides, have published my account of the countries we traversed before him. This is the *unpardonable* sin; for if I would have only been weak, or timid, or subservient enough, not to have come before the public to reap the harvest first, Mr. Bankes would have held his tongue, and, perhaps, served me into the bargain. I despised alike, however, his threats and his insinuations; because, knowing my own honesty and integrity in the whole of this transaction, I feared no man, and my whole conduct in opposing such a mass of influence united against me in this persecution may be cited in proof of my fearlessness, at that period, as well as at the present moment.

VIII. EXTRACTS ONLY OF MR. BANKES'S LETTERS.

It has been urged with great pertinacity, and repeated over and over again, that I had given only extracts of Mr. Bankes's letters, while it has been asserted that I should have given the whole. It would be thought extravagant enough if I, in reply, were to call upon any other person to publish the whole of a man's correspondence, in order to prove that two directly opposite assertions in any two of his letters were at variance with each other. Mr. Bankes, in his last letter to me from Thebes, laid certain crimes to my charge; I select from portions of his letters in my possession, passages which show not that he had merely changed his opinion of me, but that if the accuracy of the one letter could be relied on, the accusations of the other *could not* be true. This is all I am bound to

* These are the original rough notes from which the more finished account was drawn up, commencing at p. 298. of the text, in the present volume. A comparison of the two with each other, will show how slight is the real difference between them.

† The whole time occupied by this journey to Jerash, in company with Mr. Bankes, was only SEVEN DAYS; as we left Jerusalem on the 28th of January, and arrived at Nazareth on the 3d of February: so that the portion of the journey performed *with* him was as 1 to 50 to that performed *without* him, in point of time; and as 1 to 100 only, in point of space!

prove; but I shall now go farther; and that no portion of this defence may be incomplete, I shall republish the two letters from which I gave extracts, in their full and entire state, and trust to the reader's indulgence for a task which I perform, in order that my enemies may not have even a loophole to escape through.

The first of the letters will show, that it was next to impossible that a person should be so anxious to *make his way to me*, and join me in my journey in the Hauran beyond Jordan, if I was to be had upon such easy terms as copying his notes, while he paid my expences; for then I could be of very little value indeed. It will prove that his anxious desire to join me indicated, at least, that he deemed it of great advantage to be in my company, which was the fact; as I am no more ashamed to say that my qualifications for ensuring a safe journey as a traveller among Arabs were infinitely superior to his, than I am ashamed to acknowledge that, as a scholar and a draftsman, Mr. Bankes's more finished education made him, for a book-maker, much superior to me.

The second letter is, perhaps, the longest that he ever wrote in his life, and contains more than all the notes that I ever saw in his possession, or that I believe he ever took during the whole of his stay in Syria, as one expression in it seems indeed to indicate, where he says he had put many things on paper there which he might never do again, and desires me to preserve that letter particularly for his sake, and not for my own, as he was so indolent about writing that the loss of this would be irreparable to him.

This leads me to mention an anecdote respecting these letters, which I have never before intruded on the Indian public, but which I think too important and too interesting to be omitted.

On my parting with Mr. Bankes at Aleppo, he for Palmyra, (where, if I could only have forgotten Briggs and Co. for ten days, I might have gone with him, of which I have written evidence,) and I with a dull caravan across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, he gave me a kind and highly complimentary letter to his father's particular friend and Dorsetshire neighbour, Sir Evan Nepean, the governor of Bombay, which did me some service in saving me from a second transmission, as my licence did not reach India until after my arrival at Bombay. At that moment, as we were about to part for many years, and perhaps for ever, while we stood on the steps of Mr. Barker's dwelling, Mr. Bankes said to me as nearly as I remember:—' I believe I have no notes whatever of my journies, except the drawings I have made, and the letters that from time to time I have written to you. The first are numerous, and the last are, I believe, longer letters than I ever wrote to any body before. As you are not in my case, but have very copious notes of your own, I hope you will give me my letters back again. Indeed, if I mistake not, he added, I have hinted to you in some of them that I should, perhaps, wish them again for my own reference and assistance.' I did not hesitate a moment, but opened my baggage, all then packed (little as it was), got out my papers from the upper part of a small old English portmanteau, the part where loose clothes are generally stuffed, and returned him every letter of his that I could find. There was one only that he remembered to have been missing, which was the longest of the whole, and one of those that he had particularly mentioned as desiring me to keep for his own use. We tumbled the baggage over and over again, but it was not to be found; we both regretted it; but, as I had promised to send him home from Bombay, copies of some plans and descriptions of temples in Nubia, which I offered to *give* him to incorporate in a work that he intended writing on that country, and to add gratuitously to the stock of *his* materials, I promised that when I sent these home to him I would also send, if I ever found it, a copy of his letter, or the original.

We parted with mutual expressions of regret, prayers for our safety, promise of future correspondence, &c. &c. in all of which Mr. Barker and his family sympathised and joined, and I at length reached Bombay.

Soon after my arrival there, when intending to get rid of my old and worn-out travelling packages, I gave, among other things, the little leather portmanteau to my servant, to sell for himself, or make any use of he thought proper; and as servants sometimes look sharper into holes and corners than their masters, mine brought me back the portmanteau the next day, to show me that two letters had stuck fast in the very inner part of the covering, from whence they were detached, having closely adhered to the cotton ticking cloth, by the heat melting the English wax, and one letter being within the other. I was both surprised and pleased to find these to be letters of Mr. Bankes, and one particularly the long one that was remarked to be missing, and for which we had made such diligent search at Aleppo in vain; I never dreamt, however, that they would prove of such essential service to me, and therefore attached no importance to this event at the time, though at this moment I regard it with mingled feelings of wonder and gratitude.

It was after Sheik Ibrahim's ' paper' on me reached Bombay that I sent home to Mr. Bankes, as I had promised him, my manuscript plans and notes on Nubia, addressed to him in Palace-yard; but as I thought his letter too valuable to be risked (on account of its interesting contents only), I sent a copy, which I knew would answer Mr. Bankes's purpose, and kept the original, which is now in my possession, and which I shall preserve to the day of my death, if possible, as a memento of how much I owe to this providential preservation of a sheet of paper.

As Mr. Bankes continued out of England, I believe, from the time I left him till he wrote me his letter from Thebes, my Indian letters could not have reached him, so that he had no reason to believe that I had preserved a single scrap of paper in my possession that bore his name. It may seem unwarrantable in me to say it, but I nevertheless firmly believe, that at the moment of Mr. Bankes writing me his insulting, and to him disgraceful, letter, he was fully convinced that I had not a single tittle of evidence beyond my bare assertion with which to oppose his statement. With him it was a seemingly safe game to play. There were, at least, a hundred chances to one that he should win, and he embarked his all, (for reputation must be that to every man who would maintain the rank and character of a gentleman in England,) but Justice held the balance, and his hundred chances were but as a feather against the one that fortunately weighed them all down.

But it is time that the letters should be given. They are the only ones, except two or three very short notes, that I retain, out of more than twenty that I received from him at various times and places, many of which might have contained more marked proofs than even these, on many points of dispute; but, thank heaven! these are quite enough. The letters are as follow:—

LETTER I.

Addressed—Al Senor Buckingham, Caballero Yngles, en el Conbento de la Terra Santa, Damasco.

My dear Sir, Acra, February 28, 1816.

There is some fatality about my travelling engagements; I never made one in my life but circumstances turned out so as to prevent my fulfilling it. Another letter from Seyde, and, above all, the radical change in the weather, determined me upon deferring my scrambling expedition to the ruined cities and the Hauran, and upon turning at once towards the coast. I did not, however, give up the idea of joining you at once, but made an attempt from St. Hoor (where that excellent man, Hadge Hamit, entertained me with the same hospitality, and

almost affection, which you had described to me). Bisan, which is the ancient Scythopolis, is within a day's journey, and in the same jurisdiction; it lies in the plain of the Jordan, and is within a long day of Salt. I resolved to go to Bisan, and to make my way to you, 'if I could find any body that would carry me.' When I came, I found that nobody would undertake it, for, but the day before (my good fortune always brings me a day before or a day after such adventures), the Bedoweens had completely pillaged and stripped a party of merchants from Damascus within two hours of the village. So there was an end of that scheme. The remains at Bisan are prodigiously extensive, and it is easy to trace the circuit of the outer walls as well of the citadel which stood on a high insulated hill; of the buildings nothing remains in any state of tolerable preservation, excepting one theatre, which appears to be of a larger span than those of Djerash; a second theatre may be traced, and there is a row of Ionic columns of a respectable size, and of a very delicate marble (that appears to me to be Greek) standing more or less well preserved; hewn stones, and masses of masonry, lie scattered over the whole extent of surface. The situation must have been delightful, for there are several brooks clearer than crystal, that flowed through the lower part of the city in different directions, and united at the foot of the citadel; yet the modern village is small and ragged. I did not stumble on a single inscription.

But to tell the truth, what has surprised me most are the remains at Sebaste; it seems a strange fatality that an avenue of eighty-three columns, for there are no less still erect (though without capitals), should have escaped the notice of former travellers; they determine the direction of the grand street, and lead to the remains of the city gate. These columns, that pass for having been part of Herod's palace, may, I think, very well have been so. There is a better area about them than could, perhaps, have been found elsewhere upon all the hill, those below (which you must have seen in passing) I am much inclined to suspect, were avenues to a theatre which I could not positively identify, but am led, from the form of the ground, to place (always a mere conjecture) thereabouts.

It is pleasant to find much where one has been led to expect little, and Dr. Clarke's ingenious conjecture (if I am not mistaken) that Djenain is the ancient Sebaste, becomes very amusing, especially as he must have passed under the village that still retains its old name. I am at a great loss to know what I ought to do with the baggage which you left in Antonio's charge, I cannot trust it alone to Damascus, and yet am afraid that you may feel embarrassed without it on your arrival there. As I reckon that you will pass from thence across to Seyde, I shall take it with me so far, and leave it in Lady Hester Stanhope's charge. As you have no visits of ceremony at Damascus, perhaps you may continue your Bedoween habit during your short stay there, without inconvenience (and I am disposed to hope that your stay will be as short as possible). I shall remain with Lady H. about five days, and if I do not turn round for Damascus, which will depend a good deal upon her advice and upon circumstances, I shall make my way pretty directly for Aleppo, lengthening out my road by excursions, however, here and there, to give you time to come up with me, so that I trust that at the latest we may meet in Aleppo, and make our journey to Palmyra together.

Believe me, my dear sir, most faithfully yours,

WM. JOHN BANKES.

Gabrielli is still here in the consul's house, but expects to sail in the course of to-day or to-morrow at the latest, for Beyroot.

As it has been insinuated, if not asserted, that those who attested the extracts of this and the next letter, before published, might not have read the whole, I take this occasion to say, that full and complete copies of these originals were attested, and notarially sealed and signed: and that it is to the full and entire copy of each, that the following attestation is appended:—

We certify this to be a true copy of the original letter of Mr. Wm. John Bankes.

(Signed) C. D'OYLY, J. PALMER, J. YOUNG, J. MELVILLE, JOHN YOUNG, JAS. CALDER, P. M. WYNCH, G. CHINNERY, HY. CHASTENAY.

This letter was written after my two first visits to Jerash in company with Mr. Bankes, and has of course no reference to our junction on that journey;—but it proves, beyond a doubt, that I could, and did travel east of the Jordan, without Mr. Bankes's aid, company, or money;—that he was on a footing of the most perfect equality with me, which he could not have been if I had agreed to take down his notes, as the service to be rendered by me for his paying my expences;—that he was very desirous of coming to join me again, after we had separated;—that the dangers of the road (to which all my delays and circuitous routes were owing) was such as not only to deter him, but to frighten even the natives of the country from accompanying him to follow in my track;—and that it might have fallen to my lot, as well as to that of the merchants of whom he speaks, to be pillaged, and murdered if I resisted, while doing my utmost, and running almost unwarrantable risks of life and property, to discharge my trust to Briggs and Co., which it is so falsely and so impudently asserted that I had neglected.

The second letter, however, which is of far greater importance, is as follows:—

LETTER II.

Addressed—J. S. Buckingham, Esq. to be forwarded, should he be on his way to Baalbeck.

My dear Sir, Damascus, April 12, 1816.

Since I knew nothing of your illness until now, when I hope it is quite at an end, I can only rejoice in your recovery. At the same time I am afraid that the same wintry weather which has distressed me very much in the Hauran, must have made your passage across the mountains very disagreeable, if not dangerous. I have to regret that my letter from Sunnymaine never reached you, as I there detailed to you my plans, and mentioned that I wished our meeting at Baalbec to take place a few days later than that which we had fixed on together. None can be better than about the 19th or 20th. The intense cold, with storms of rain and snow, prevented my penetrating from Salkhud to Oerman, and even to Oomydgimel, which, in spite of all objections and difficulties, I was much set upon; however, in some directions I have extended my researches considerably farther than you did. I visited El Koffor, which does not deserve its reputation. Hebrawn, where there is a temple. Shakkah, where there are some interesting early Christian antiquities, and a curious tower with inscriptions. Haytu, where there is one of the most unintelligible buildings in all the Hauran, that seems to have been, as I should conceive, a sort of college for priests, and some of the best specimens of private houses. Amrah is full of inscriptions, chiefly Christian.

At ——* is a temple of the time of the Antonines. At Shaarele, in Ledja, I found little to interest me; there is a small Roman bath. At Medgdel is by far the most entire of all the temples. Its architecture is (like all the rest throughout that country, so far as I saw it) of a very bad sort, with high stilted pedestals, and loaded with unmeaning ornaments. But it is curious as a specimen, and full of Greek inscriptions. The prettiest temple in the Hauran, to my mind, is a little one that wants little else besides its roof, at Sunnymaine; it makes no figure upon the exterior; some of the towers there also are very interesting, but less so than that at Medgdel, which you must have seen. Of private houses I saw several far superior to that at Ezra. I was carried into one at Bostra, where there are Ionic columns and pilasters all round the principal apartment, and a lesser one with a smooth ceiling and arched above within it. There is another excellent specimen in a ruined village called ——* near the road from Shibley's village ——* to Bostra, with two or three stories, and several at

* These three instances of names being forgotten altogether as the spaces are blank in the original; and one name first written *wrongly* and subsequently corrected by *another* being written over it, are selected as proofs that the writer of the letter, Mr. Bankes, did not take notes on the spot, in his tour; because, if he had done so, such omission and mistakes, in such important points as *names of towns*, could not have occurred.

Hayt. There is quite a mansion at Medgdel, with ornaments in all the angles of the ceilings, and the masonry all wrought smooth. There is a good one, too, at Nedjerawn. Did you observe the theatre at Soayda? It is pretty large, and much ruined, and faces towards the great church to the north. The temple there is Roman past all dispute, but of the worst times. I am surprised at any thing so bad before the Xtian æra, or rather, I mean, before Christianity became the established religion of the empire. For a temple it certainly was, and not a church. At Bostra I think you are mistaken in supposing that the theatre consisted in only seven or eight ranges of seats. It is true that those which we see are the uppermost; but there are two if not three stories of high arched vaults below of Saracen work, which occupy the height of at least two more flights of seats (which are even visible in many places), and the scene consisted in three if not four orders of architecture, one above the other, of which there is ocular demonstration, that irregular Doric order which is visible being the uppermost range. I will demonstrate this to you from my plans.

Now, from a general view of the architectural remains of the Hauran, &c., my opinion is very decided, that there is nothing to justify an opinion that any of it belongs to a period more remote than that in which it became a province of the Roman empire. As to the temples and larger buildings, there cannot remain a doubt upon any body's mind that is conversant with antiquities; the same applies to the theatres and the baths. With respect to the private dwelling houses, we have less means of comparing them, but the inscriptions fix the æra of many of them, and wherever there is any ornament it is purely Roman, or corrupted from the Roman, and precisely such as occurs about the temples or early Christian churches; the best of all the private houses having its roof supported on a row of debased Ionic pillars, not to mention the arch, which occurs almost universally, and is in itself a sufficient objection to any higher antiquity being assigned to these buildings. It is true, that private dwellings must have existed previous to the Roman conquests, and from the nature of the materials, might and may exist to this day; but when we find that we must exclude from the number all where the arch occurs, or where there is any ornament or inscription (generally speaking), by far the greater number, and the best specimens must be struck positively off the list, and a few huts and hovels only will remain, which may be pretty near the truth. It is most probable to suppose that the Romans introduced into these countries a more spacious and commodious mode of building, adopting from the natives a mode of construction which necessity (from the total want of timber) had originally taught them.

After all, upon reflection, the decision which I have come to upon this point (and in which I have not found any thing to shake me), does not diminish the interest which these antiquities ought to excite. With the single exception of Pompeii, where shall we find the private dwellings of the Romans? We have them here in infinitely greater numbers, still habitable or inhabited, closed by their original doors, and sheltered by their original roofs, and the horses eating out of the same mangers as they did sixteen hundred years ago. As for the towers, they were sepulchral, and are to be referred to the same time (I mean the earliest of them). You will find that they are exactly similar to those about Palmyra; and though the form of a tower seems oddly chosen for a place of interment, it was a favourite one with the Romans, who, in their own country and about their capital, seem generally to have preferred a round form like the little one outside the great gate of Bostra. Their mouldings and cornishes are purely Roman, and every thing tended to confirm me in my first conjecture, with the exception of the single circumstance, that these towers are often found within and in the very heart of the villages (though, certainly, oftener about the skirts of them). But even this difficulty was removed by the sight of those at Nedgeraun —— *, Medgdel, which have set the matter past a doubt in every respect. The sarcophagi there, in both instances, remain in their places; and on the one we read the names of the persons that occupied them, with the additional circumstance that they are of Christian times. And, as if it were on purpose to obviate every possible objection of the tower having been converted to this purpose after the æra of its construction, we have the same ornament repeated from the part of the sarcophagus upon the ceiling, and the whole taste and style corresponding throughout These towers at Medgdel are as much in the heart of the village as any whatever, so we have no alternative, but to suppose either the other buildings posterior, or that in the Hauran, contrary to the usual practice, they did bury within the towns. At Shakkah there is another of these towers, standing detached in the field, that seems, from some long poetical inscriptions, to have been the burial place of the family of Bassus, whose name occurs often in the inscriptions of the Hauran. The bones of him and his family have been rooted up, and are lying scattered at the door of the tower. What strikes me with surprise is, that in many of these towers I could discover no means of getting at the upper stories. I may, perhaps, find it explained at Palmyra, which will furnish the best commentary on them. Of the pointed arch, which occurs frequently, I know not what to think; that some are very ancient I am satisfied, and that most of them are to be referred to Saracen times or since. But my chief difficulty occurs in having found them in several large Christian churches, which can hardly be supposed to have been erected subsequent to that æra, and still less by that people.

* See note in preceding page.

As for the castle at Salkhut, I am satisfied that it is a Saracen work altogether, and no part of it, as it now stands, Roman, or of any higher antiquity. The very circumstance of the manner in which older inscriptions and ornaments are found patched into it, whilst it is proof that something did exist here previously, puts it past a doubt that the present is not a fabric of those times, but is to be referred to the period of the great Arabic inscriptions that are carried in bands round it. The grandeur and solidity of its construction form no objection, when it is observed that the castle at Bostra, which, in the general plan, it resembles very much, is fully equal to it in this respect, which, from being grafted on the ruins of a noble Roman theatre, sufficiently determines its own æra, without reference to the inscriptions that abound upon it. I do not know whether, in the hasty view you took of Salkhut, you examined this town. You would, I think, have observed that the houses there are apparently of a less remote antiquity, and of a worse construction than usual, and the mosch entirely of a Saracen work, with shell niches in the minaret. By the bye, from the description in your notes of the fortress of Adjeloon, I am almost persuaded that that also is a Saracen work (Bostra, you will remember, has the rustic masonry all over it, and instances of the fan or shell niche are without number), though I know you are of a different opinion, and I will not venture to set mine against it. I found an interesting little spring in a valley not far from Salkhut, to the N. W., over which there has been a rich little temple, and an inscription of the time of the emperor Gordian. I have been careful and exact in my drawings, which are in great number, and I do not think you will be ashamed of having your name associated to what I may one day or another throw together into form. Do me the favour to keep this letter, not for your use, but my own; you know how indolent I am about writing, and I have thrown here many things upon paper, which I may, perhaps, never do again.

I shall set off the day after to-morrow for Banias, and so make my way to Baalbec, when I hope to join you about the 19th or 20th.

Faithfully yours,
WM. JOHN BANKES.

Remember me kindly to the Doctor.
Enter old Chaboceau and the toad-eater!! so adieu.

The full and entire copy of this letter also is notarially attested, signed, and sealed; and the following certificate appended: —

We certify this to be a true copy of the original letter of Mr. Wm. John Bankes.

(Signed) C. D'OYLY, J. CALDER,
J. PALMER, HY. CHASTENAY,
J. YOUNG, G. CHINNERY,
J. MELVILLE, P. M. WYNCH.
JOHN YOUNG,

I have printed the foregoing letter in its complete and perfect state, as it was insinuated that it might contain some account of my notes which, Mr. Bankes professes to have seen, being *sent to him* by letter, so as to invalidate,

if possible, my assertion of its relating to his inspection of these notes at the time of our meeting in Damascus. The account of that meeting on the 23d of March 1816, has been already given in illustration of the 4th head of the charges enumerated; and the parts of this letter which speak of my notes on Adjeloon, of my joining my name to that of Mr. Bankes and Mr. Burckhardt in a joint publication, &c. all relate to this meeting, as may be seen by comparing them together. His compliments to my superior understanding, and his hope that I should not be *ashamed* to see my name associated with his, may not have been deserved: but it is certainly not from *such* a quarter that one would expect to be soon afterwards set down as ignorant and incapable of making any notes worth publication! Such is the virtue and consistency for which rank, family, and respectability of connections, are considered guarantees.

I am almost ashamed to dwell longer on this subject; but I hope the reader will grant me a few moments patience, while I show what was my conduct towards Mr. Bankes during the period that he was slandering me. I had sent him home plans and manuscripts of my own, respecting Nubia, from Bombay, to use as he thought proper, without asking even an acknowledgement. I had written him, also, several of the most friendly letters from Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta, some of which must have reached him. His insulting letter to me from Thebes, was dated June 1819. In August 1819, I was occupied with the most friendly intentions to him, in utter ignorance of what awaited me. My friend, Captain Cloete, of the King's 21st Dragoons, left Calcutta about that period, with the intention of going to England. Among other persons there, to whom I was desirous of sending letters by his hands, was Mr. Bankes. I accordingly gave him the following letter open, with directions that if he should remain at the Cape, which he thought possible, he should seal it, and enclose them all to Mrs. Buckingham, who would forward them to their respective addresses.

The following is the letter which I addressed to Mr. Bankes, supposing him to be in England, just two months after his insulting and infamous letter was despatched from Thebes to me in India, but long before it reached me, as that was twelve months on its passage here.

My dear Sir, Calcutta, August 1, 1819.

I have written to you several times since my arrival or rather settlement in India, but as I have not heard from you in return I suppose that some of the letters at least must have miscarried, which I can the more readily believe from knowing how carelessly every thing connected with the Indian post-office is managed.

The object of my present letter is partly to make you acquainted with a gentleman in every respect entitled to your regard, and partly through him to say something to you respecting myself, as I naturally believe that it is impossible for men to have passed through scenes which we shared together, and soon after entirely forget each other. I can very safely say that such is not the case on my part, and I am willing to do you the justice to believe it is not so on yours.

Captain Cloete, of H. M. 21st Dragoons, who will have the honour to present you this, is one of my most intimate and familiar friends, and will give you every information regarding my present occupations and pursuits that you can desire to know; and at the same time that you may gratify your wish in this particular, you will, I am sure, be delighted with the channel through which it is effected. You will, long ere this, of course, have seen the prospectus of my book, and have heard all the particulars regarding it from Mr. Murray. If it had been possible to have formed the coalition which we talked of at Damascus, and which Sheik Ibrahim so indignantly rejected, I should have been much pleased, and the union of our separate labours would have made a more perfect work than either will make alone. I had been led to expect, from some mention of your name in the Quarterly Review, that a work of your own was in the press, and would very soon appear; I hope so indeed for the gratification of the world at large, and more particularly that portion of them who desire to be possessed of the best information regarding the most interesting countries on the globe, which you will have it in your power to write so ably, and illustrate so beautifully by the masterly efforts of your pencil. I sent you home by the *Swallow*, from Bombay, upwards of fifteen months ago, the plans and descriptions of the temples in Nubia to incorporate with your own work, as I had promised to do, but I have not heard of their arrival, though the ship, I believe, got safe, but has not returned, as far as I can learn, to this country. They were addressed to you in Palace-yard, Westminster, where I supposed they would reach you; and if they have, I hope you will make free use of them.

A subject that presses very deeply on my mind, is the injury done to me by Mr. Burckhardt, whose good opinion I once enjoyed to a high degree, as you are aware, and who, all at once, almost without deigning to assign a cause, not only changed his sentiments towards me, but became my bitterest enemy, by giving publicity to distorted facts, positive falsehoods, and wilful misrepresentations, tending to undermine my reputation. It fortunately happened, however, that Mr. Babington, the companion of my voyage from India, whom Mr. Burckhardt cited as his authority for many of the facts alleged, saw this paper, and instantly wrote a very full and able refutation of the charges laid to my name by the Sheik, copies of which have been sent to England. This gentleman, however, who is the son of Dr. Babington, a physician of some eminence in the city, is fortunately now in London, and is able to repel verbally, as well as by writing, the malicious accusations of my enemy. It is possible you may have met with Mr. Babington before this; but if you should not, and desire to be set right on the subject, I should rather refer you to that gentleman, who was my fellow voyager for six months, than urge any thing on my own part in explanation or reply.

I have reason to believe that my wife and children are in your county, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire; my daughter Virginia being with Mrs. Corbyn at that place. If it should be near Corfe-Castle, or occasion should ever call you that way, it would give them great pleasure to see and know one who had shared the dangers and the pleasures of their best friend, more particularly as our journey was since I have seen them, having left England in 1813, and never had occasion to return to it since. I hope, and believe too, that you would find them worthy of your regard.

I have heard from Lady Hester Stanhope, since my arrival in Bengal, and have written her by this occasion, as I suppose her ladyship will be in England when this reaches you. Captain Cloete will be able to tell you all about my present occupations and pursuits, which are necessarily impermanent, and may cease at a very short notice; but, as long as they last, they will entirely preclude the possibility of my attending to any thing for publication in England; should they cease, I shall have that as a subject to turn my immediate attention to.

In such an event, however, I should certainly quit a country where fortunes are no longer to be made by a ten years' residence as formerly, but where, though the chances of gain are lessened, the certainties of evil from climate and society are, I should think, as great as ever, and repair to the re-enjoyment of my family and my native land.

Under the hope that I shall occasionally be favoured with a line from you to hear that you are well, and happily occupied,

I remain, my dear sir, faithfully yours,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

To W. J. Bankes, Esq.

As Captain Cloete remained at the Cape, this was sealed by him and sent on to England as directed. Mrs. Buckingham accordingly finding on enquiry that Mr. Bankes had arrived in town, enclosed it in a note to him as addressed: and to her great surprise received it back again by the post, with the seal unbroken, and enclosed in the following envelope: —

Mr. William Bankes presents his compliments to Mrs. Buckingham, and begs that the answer which he thinks it necessary to return to her note may not be construed into any incivility towards her. Having determined that he will have no further

communication with Mr. Buckingham, either by letter or otherwise; he takes the liberty of returning to her the enclosed, with a request that it may be transmitted to him unopened.
Old Palace Yard, Tuesday, June 13.

Was this the act of an innocent man? or was it not rather the sullen obstinacy of one who knew he had done wrong, and who would, therefore, hear of nothing which might relate to a person of whose very name, as well as letters, he had so much need to stand in dread? This is only of a piece, however, with the whole transaction, as showing that in return for the kindest and best intentions towards these men, Mr. Burckhardt and Mr. Bankes, it was my fate to receive, and their disgrace to offer, nothing but insults and injuries in return.

This letter, with Mr. Bankes's envelope, and Captain Cloete's seal, which has been verified at the office of Messrs. Palmer and Co. his correspondents here, are with the rest, now in my possession, having been brought back from England with the various other papers and letters from thence; and add another link to the wonderful chain of evidence, by which this whole case is so strongly connected and held together.

IX. ALLEGED BREACH OF TRUST TO BRIGGS AND CO.

The next point urged against me is an alleged breach of trust to Briggs and Co. of Alexandria, as connected with this journey. Though this is affected to be considered the strongest point of all, it is of all others the weakest; for there is not a shadow of evidence that can be brought to substantiate it. The trust reposed in me by Briggs and Co. was simply this: On my return to Egypt from Bombay, having brought letters from Forbes and Co. and others of that place, which went to encourage a commerce between the two countries, if *security* could be guaranteed, it was proposed by Mr. Lee, then head partner of Briggs and Co.'s house on the spot, (Mr. Briggs himself being on the Continent of Europe on his way out to Alexandria,) that a treaty should be obtained, if possible, from the Pasha, to which Mr. Lee and myself should be parties. This was done, and the next step was as to the best mode of conveying the said treaty and letters to India. It was proposed to me to be the bearer, as I could follow it up by personal assurances likely to be of some weight, and of much benefit to Briggs and Co.'s interests; and after many promises of future benefit to me, I was prevailed on to undertake to convey these by land, the Red Sea passage being then closed from the season. No particular stipulations of any kind were made. I was not salaried or paid wages by Briggs and Co., and not in any sense a servant of theirs or in their employ. The general understanding was this. As it would be for the mutual advantage of both parties that *I* should convey the letters, I was to go by the circuitous route of Aleppo, Mardin, Mosul, Bagdad, and Bussorah, if practicable, and the mere expences of the journey were to be defrayed by Briggs and Co. The money was *their* part of the contribution to this object; the fatigue, peril, risk of life from the dangers of the road and disease, were *mine:* which was the greater, let any honest man say; and also let any man consider for a moment, whether if Messrs. Palmer and Co. were to say to a person, 'If you will take important letters of ours from hence to Pekin by land, in order that you may add to their weight by the personal explanations which you are so well qualified to give, we will bear you free of expence,' whether the merchant would not be under as great an obligation to the messenger, as the messenger to the merchant. In short, on my part, it was giving to Briggs and Co. the value of six months of time, besides all the fatigue and risk, without compensation; for mere maintenance is no more than negroes and slaves in all countries can command. The favour done, therefore, was to Briggs and Co., and if breach of trust could be laid to any one's charge, it might be laid to theirs: since they had agreed to pay the expences, on condition of the letters being conveyed, and although the letters *were* conveyed, and with as much expedition as was practicable, they afterwards, on the arrival of an absent partner who disapproved of what those present had done, did all they could to stop the supplies they had engaged to furnish, and leave the man who was doing them a service, at the daily risk of his life and loss of time and fortune, to perish in the heart of the deserts of Asia! which, had their designs been carried into effect, must have been the case.

The manner in which I discharged this trust, was such as I can prove to have been most faithful, honourable, and even at more hazards than I was bound to do. On my landing at Soor, in January, about ten days after leaving Alexandria, the country was found to be in such a state of commotion, from political feuds between the Pashas, that there was no moving without their Firmans and protection; and all the conversation which I had with the persons of that place leading to a belief, that the difficulties of getting through the country would increase rather than diminish with time, I was determined that Messrs. Briggs and Co.'s interests should not suffer, as far as I could prevent it, and, accordingly, as soon as it was decided that I could not convey their despatches as speedily as they might be sent through the foot-messengers of the country, who can travel in safety where a stranger would risk being plundered, and perhaps murdered, I obtained through a merchant of Soor, a faithful person to convey these letters direct to Aleppo, with instructions to Mr. Barker, the Consul there, to forward them through Bagdad by an Arab on a dromedary, without delay; adding, that as the chief object of my journey was to follow up these letters by personal explanations, on which account Briggs and Co. had given me a letter of credit for the mere expences of the road, I should come after them as speedily as could be effected without risk, which I was bound both on my own account as well as on account of the ultimate end in view, not heedlessly to encounter. To show that this trust of Briggs and Co. was thus faithfully discharged, by my thinking of their interests before my own, and that I also hoped to get to Aleppo soon after, I insert here the following copy of a letter, with date, signature, &c. complete, which will show that not a day was lost in the great object of discharging the trust reposed, as far as circumstances over which I had no controul would possibly permit. The original of the letter is in my possession, and may be seen by any one desiring to inspect it: the copy is as follows:—

LETTER.

Addressed — James S. Buckingham, Esq. to the care of Signor Moussa Elias, British Agent, at Latachia.

DEAR SIR, Aleppo, Jan. 25, 1816.

I had yesterday the pleasure to receive your favour of the 8th instant, and there being no conveyance for your letter for Messrs. Forbes and Co., I have sent it by an express messenger to the resident at Bagdad, with a request that he will forward it by first opportunity to Bombay.

The charge of that expedition will be Ps. 160, say piastres of the G. S. As you said you would incur the expence of 40 to 50 *dollars* for an express, I presume you meant tallari or hard dollars; in which case I have not exceeded your limits for that object: but if by dollars you mean piastres of the G. S., I shall be sorry not to have fulfilled your intentions.

As you do not inform me when I may expect the pleasure of seeing you, I shall take the liberty not to put off a shooting party that I have projected, as soon as the weather will permit. But if you should arrive during my absence, which will be of a fortnight, my family will have the honour of performing the rites of hospitality until my return.

My shooting station is in the *Amk*, at a noted place called *El Sarai Morseloglu*, on the direct road between Antioch and

Aleppo, about ten hours distant from the former, and eleven from the latter. If you should be fond of shooting, and will do me the honour to join my party, I promise to show you excellent sport.

Mr. Vigoroux is not yet arrived here. I need not say that due honour will be shown to Mr. Lee's letter of credit in your favour.

I have desired my Agent at Latachia, to whom I send this letter, to furnish you with money, if you should be in want of any.

I have the honour to be truly, dear sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. BARKER.

To Jas. S. Buckingham, Esq.

All the reasons which forced me to go to Jerusalem, (where I did not go by choice) are detailed in the Travels in Palestine. When there, the inducement to go with Mr. Bankes by Jerash and the east of Jordan, to which he invited and pressed me for his own advantage, as he could not speak a word of the language, was, that while the whole of the country under the Pasha's dominions was unsafe to move through, the independent country of the Arabs of the east of Jordan, was subject only to the ordinary dangers of Bedouin intruders, not half as important as those of political disturbance in the peopled territory. In doing this, therefore, I was actuated by strict attention to the trust reposed in me, though I gratified my curiosity at the same time. On coming near Tiberias, it was my intention to part from Mr. Bankes and to proceed straight on to Damascus, and thence to Aleppo, without a moment's loss of time; when the unfortunate accident detailed in the printed volume, of the fall of my horse, and a severe injury sustained by me from the fall, compelled me to turn into Nazareth to receive medical aid and repose, till the wound was sufficiently recovered to proceed. After some delay and recovery there, another attempt was made to get to Damascus and Aleppo by the way of Tiberias, which was interrupted by the road being infested with robbers, so that my guides would not proceed, and we were obliged to retrace our steps. An attempt was then made to go with a caravan from Nablous, but this was also frustrated. The details of all these interruptions and their causes, are given in the printed volume already before the world, and cannot be unknown to those who have read it.

Finding all hope, therefore, of getting on as expeditiously or as straightly as I had expected by Aleppo and Mesopotamia, some other route was necessarily thought of; and meeting with a Christian Arab at Nazareth, who undertook to act as my guide in a journey from thence to Assalt on the S. E. of the Dead Sea, where he assured me I could procure Arabs who would take me straight across the Desert from thence to Bagdad, the plan appearing feasible, and offering a hope of my yet following soon after the letters sent to that city, I prepared for this really perilous and hitherto untried journey. The whole of this was subsequent to the period at which the Travels in Palestine close, but notes of all the time are fortunately preserved. My small stock of baggage was left with Mr. Bankes, to be taken by him to Damascus, the only place to which I could return in the event of my being driven back, which it was necessary to provide for; and in the dress of a Bedouin Arab, without servant, groom, interpreter, or assistant of any kind beyond that of the guide, I set out, with a poor horse (to avoid all temptation to robbery), without a single change of linen, and only bread, water, and dry dates, in a sack, to undertake a journey in which there was a positive certainty of much suffering, imminent risk of plunder and murder, and nothing then known but a waste country and a sandy desert to see! These were the risks which I encountered to fulfil to the best of my ability the second portion of the trust of Briggs and Co. (the first having been discharged), and force my way to India (with the additional risk of banishment also when I got there) to do a vast benefit to these merchants, for the paltry consideration of a slave's allowance, bare maintenance while employed; and even this I should never have accepted, but that, like many honest and unfortunate men before me, I had not the means to procure bread, except at the risk of my life for the benefit of others.

I passed, after much difficulty, five or six days' journey south-east of the Dead Sea, near to Karak Moab; but here, new obstacles arose, and we were driven back, being obliged to fly and retrace our steps to Assalt, an independent mountain station of Christian Arabs, who are almost constantly at hostility with one or other of the Mohammedan tribes of Arabs around them. We were detained here some days, and finding further progress to the southward impracticable, I determined on going to Damascus through the Hauran in nearly a straight line, so as to try again to reach Aleppo. It was in this *retreat*, if it may be so called, that the third visit to Jerash was made, not to gratify an idle curiosity, but because it lay in the direct route, and could not without a detour be avoided. Adjeloon fell into the same track, and the whole of the Hauran that was subsequently traversed was in the straight prosecution of my journey. During this stay at Damascus, my meeting with Mr. Bankes took place on the 23d of March, when all the notes of the journey made during his absence were shown to him, to which he subsequently referred in his letter of April 12; and from that time onward, during which I was detained by illness with Lady Hester Stanhope, and by various obstacles elsewhere, not a day was lost in getting to Aleppo as fast as possible, where I arrived safe, after greater dangers than almost any former traveller in Syria had ever run, in the month of May, 1816.

Here Mr. Bankes again met me, arriving a few days after I reached the town: but to show how lightly the greatest objects of curiosity weighed in my mind, compared with the faithful discharge of my duty, I may mention this fact, that Mr. Bankes was pressingly urgent for me to accompany him to Palmyra, a journey of four or five days only; and although the ruins of that city are perhaps better worth seeing than all Syria put together, I resisted his solicitations, and rather than sacrifice even so small a portion of time, lost an opportunity of seeing the finest ruins in the world, and went with a dull and wearisome caravan through the only route then open, of Orfa, Diarbekr, and Mardin, to Mosul.

It will be seen by Mr. Barker's first letter to me, dated January 25, 1816, that he acknowledged having received despatches from me for India, which he had forwarded by an express messenger to Bagdad; and that I had informed him of my having a letter of credit on him from Mr. Lee, which he promised should be duly honoured. Even this alone would have justified my drawing on him for so small a sum as 1000 piastres, (not more than 300 rupees, or 40*l.* sterling) but, as if he had forgotten the former letter altogether, he protested my bill; and the following letter and its enclosure, which had been following me on my way, but had not overtaken me owing to my moving so quickly, reached me first at Aleppo, where I arrived in perfect ignorance of the whole affair. These I have also still in their originals, but copies of them are worth printing. The letter and enclosures (which are faithfully transcribed) are as follow:—

LETTRE.

Addressée—à Monsieur, Monsieur Z. S. Buckingham, Voyageur Anglais, à Abra, vel ubicunque.

MONSIEUR, Damas, April 20, 1816.

Je souhaite que votre voyage ait été des plus heureuse, et que votre santé soit entièrement retablie. On m'a dit que vous aviez renoncé pour le présent à votre voyage de Balbek, Palmire, &c. et que vous deviez rester quelque tems auprès de son excellence, la très honourable Milédi Stanhope.

C'est avec peine qu je dois vous prévenir que Monsieur Barker

n'a point accepté votre lettre de change de mille piastres, que je vous avais procurée ; vous sentéz qu'en ayant repondu au Juif, Joseph Harari, que l'a fournie, je me trouve fort en peine pour avoir voulu vous obliger. Faités moi savoir, au plutôt, comment cette affaire doit se terminer. M. Barker me marqúe, comme vous le verrès, qu'il n'a pas l'honneur de vous connoitre, vous n'auriez pas du tirer sur lui, sans au préalable l'en avoir prèvenu. Tachèz de terminer le plus promptement cette affaire, pour me tirer de l'embarras.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre, avec la plus haute considération,
Monsieur, votre tres humble & tres obeissant serviteur,
RICHARD CHABOCEAU.

(COPIE.)

Alep, le 11 Avril, 1816.

Damas, Mr. Richard Chaboceau,

J'ai recu la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré le 28 Mars dernier. Je vous dois bien de remercimens pour le bon accueil que vous avez fait à Mr. W. Bankes ; et je ne m'attendois pas à moins de votre part, connoissant votre bon cœur et votre civilité.

J'ai été fort faché de voir que Mr. Buckingham se soit prevalu sur moi de Ps. 1000 ; et je vous previens que je n'ai pas accepté sa traitte, n'ayant aucun fond à lui, ni aucun document en main qui put m'engager à payer pour lui cette somme. Ainsi sa traitte retourne à Damas par cette occasion au nommé Yousef Harari, à l'ordre de qui elle est : et comme les gens du pays ne font aucune formalite en chancellerie, en pareil cas, pour ses protets, j'ai cru necessaire de vous joindre ici ma declaration en triplicate de non acceptation et non payement de cette traitte, à fin que le nomme Yousef Harari puisse se faire rembourser cette somme de Mr. Buckingham, et qu'il puisse faire ses diligences à la côte s'il etoit dejà parti de Damas. Comme je n'ai pas l'honneur de connoitre Mr. Buckingham en aucune manière, vous ne serez pas surpris que j'en agisse ainsi ; mais je ne suis pas moins faché d'avoir été dans le cas de refuser ce payement pour le bon regle et pour ne pas compromettre ce petit fond. Je vous joins ici une lettre pour Mr. Catzifles de Tripoli, pour le prier de faire les demarches qui seront necessaires pour faire rembourser ces 1000 piastres à Mr. Buckingham, s'il se trouvera sur cette echelle. Dans tel cas, le nommé Yousef Harari pourra envoyer la lettre de change et ma declaration à Mr. Catzifles par votre entremise, et je suis persuadé qu'il ne le laissera pas partir sans avoir cet argent.

Comme je veux faciliter, autant qu'il depende de moi, le nommé Harari pour lui procurer les moyens d'un prompt remboursement, surtout dans l'idee que vous pourriez être .... si par cas vous aviez garanti à ce Juif le payement qu'il a fait à Mr. Buckingham, j'ai pris la determination de vous envoyer la presente par un messager ad hoc, que vous me renverrez ensuite à votre commodité. Le Juif, porteur de la lettre de change, n'a pas voulu profiter de mon messager pour la renvoyer au nommé Harari, et il l'a remise par la Caravanne, qui part demain matin pour Damas.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saleur bien cordialement,
(Signé) J. BARKER.

P. S. — Vous ne trouverez plus ci joint la lettre pour Mr. Catzifles, la lui faissant parvenir voye de Hama, afin qu'il la reçoive plutôt.

(COPIE.)

Je soussigné declare qu'il en à été presenté ce jour une traitte sur moi, tirée par Mr. J. S. Buckingham, datée de Damas du 26 Mars, 1816, à 3 jours de vüe pour la somme de mille piastres en monnoye du G. S. à l'ordre de Yousef Harari, negociant Juif de Damas, et que j'en ai refusé l'acceptation et le payement au porteur Juif du pays qui me l'a presentée, attendu que je n'ai aucun fonds en mes mains pour compte du tireur, et qu'il ne m'a pas même exhibè aucune lettre de credit valable en sa faveur sur moi. Au foi de quoi j'ai signé la presente declaration pour servira à qui de droit.

Fait triple à Alep de 11 Avril 1816.
(Signé) JOHN BARKER,
Consul de S. M. Britannique à Alep.

X. MR. BARKER, CONSUL OF ALEPPO.

As my differences with Mr. Barker at Aleppo are laid great stress on, notwithstanding his subsequent avowal of error and kind treatment of me, as well as friendly letters, I shall refer here to the detail already given of that affair in my letter to Mr. Babington, published among others on the 15th of August last. I supported this by sending him home the manuscript journals, containing the more full details of the affair, which having been since returned to me, I am willing to show to any one who may desire it here.*

To corroborate the fact stated in my notes, of Mr. Barker becoming subsequently my friend, and doing all he could to atone for this harsh and suspicious treatment of me, I subjoin a letter of his (the original of which is in my possession) written *after* my leaving Aleppo on my way to Mosul and Bagdad, for which journey he had furnished me all the money and credit I required, and procured a merchant of the first named city to take me with him as one of his party in the caravan.

Mr. Barker's first acknowledgment of the receipt of my despatches for Forbes and Co. and his expression of willingness to honour the letter of credit which I held from Mr. Lee, is dated January 25, 1816. His refusal to accept my draft for 1000 piastres, and orders to arrest me on the road to recover the money, if necessary, is dated April 11, 1816. Our meeting and reconciliation at Aleppo took place in May 18, 1816, and the following is a letter bearing date about June 11, 1816, in reply to a letter of mine, complaining of the conduct of a man of the Mosul merchant's suite, who had been expressly paid to attend on my horse.

LETTER.

Babala, Tuesday, (I believe the 11th June) 1816.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the second and third instant, from near Orfa, reached me yesterday, and afforded me much pleasure that you had proceeded so far on your journey without any serious accident, and that you were satisfied with the behaviour of your host. But nothing could exceed my surprise and indignation on learning that the nephew of Hagi Abdrahman had denied that his uncle had received the 150 piastres, which it had been agreed should be paid for your baggage, your board and lodging, and the attendance of a servant of the caravan upon your horse.

The money was paid in rubies into the hands of Abdal Lateef, in the presence of the son of Hahmet Hashen, by Nahum.

I am perfectly aware of the disagreeable position in which you have been thrown by the unaccountable effrontery of that denial ; and you must well imagine that I cannot be insensible to the slur that has thereby been laid upon the character of one of my confidential dependants. It is, therefore, as much on his as your consideration, that I now despatch an express messenger, at my own charge, in the hope of his being able to remit you this letter before you quit Mousul ; and consequently in time to allow of your coming to an understanding with Hagi Abdrahman and his nephew, which, I trust, the enclosed letter will enable you to do, and the result will be your full conviction that the duplicity, not to give it a harsher term, in this transaction, belongs entirely to Abdal Lateef, and that Nahum faithfully fulfilled mine and your intentions.

Your horse was sold for 170 piastres ; but the whole of the money has not yet been received, and there will be some trifling deductions for brokerage to those who co-operated in its sale.

For the balance, whatever it may be, after paying Nahum for a kamar, four locks, and leather bag, and old Chaboceau for the charges attending his express to Lady Hester, I shall account with Mr. Lee.

Mr. Bankes succeeded in compelling, through Malem Usuf, the rogue Nazser to accept of 1000 piastres for a safe conduct and escort to Palmyra. He set out from Hamah on the evening of the second instant, after having waited four or five days in vain for the arrival there of the two Irish gentlemen.

My family join me and Mr. Maseyk in best wishes for the future happy prosecution of your journey, and I remain,

Dear sir, your most obedient servant,
J. BARKER.

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* See this letter inserted at p. 630, as well as the details of the affair in the text towards the close of the present volume.

It is hoped that these will be quite sufficient to prove that as far as the Aleppo transactions are concerned, Mr. Barker was entirely satisfied of my innocence and integrity. If any subsequent change took place in his opinions, it must have been in consequence of the receipt of Mr. Burckhardt's 'paper;' and I should not wonder at any man being staggered by such a bold and strong accumulation of charges as that paper contained; but Mr. Barker being an old and zealous friend of Sheik Ibrahim, and having already suspected and ill-treated me, (though afterwards atoned for,) he would have a double reason to receive readily such a host of new charges; one, because of his long standing acquaintance with Sheik Ibrahim, and his slight knowledge of me; and another, from his naturally suspicious disposition, and the natural desire to justify to others his former harsh misconception of my character as correct. If it be so, I can only say, that as Mr. Babington's refutation of Mr. Burckhardt's charges entirely satisfied Mr. Rich; so I think they ought to satisfy Mr. Barker; but even if it did not, the good opinion of Mr. Rich, who had no such secret causes for a bias, either one way or the other, is worth more than that of a man who had so many temptations to yield to one side of the question in preference to another. As this publication may be read by those who may not have seen Mr. Rich's letter in the Calcutta Journal of the 19th instant, I repeat it here:—

Bagdad, April 7, 1820.

My dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 25th December, and I believe I have to plead guilty to the charge of not having answered several of your former communications, but I have unfortunately the best excuse, in the continued ill health with which I have had to struggle for a very long time past, and which has rendered existence a burthen and a torment to me. It was with the utmost pain that I could get through my indispensable duties; my private correspondence I was obliged to sacrifice all together. The return of the cold weather brought me scarcely any relief. A little excursion I have lately made to the frontiers of Persia was attended with rather more success, and though it has not restored me to the enjoyment of health, it has given me just strength and spirits sufficient to prepare for a journey northward towards Courdistan, where I mean to remain till the approaching heats are passed. So extraordinarily bad was our last summer, so fearfully exceeding any thing you experienced here (though you had a tolerable specimen of our climate), that I had, at one time, a notion of sending a description of it to your excellent paper (which, by the way, always affords me the greatest pleasure), but I shrunk from the task, as the operation of writing is peculiarly painful to me.

I have received Mr. Babington's letter, and consider it as a COMPLETE REFUTATION of Sheik Ibrahim's charges against you. As those charges were sent through Aleppo, I intend, as soon as Barker returns to that place, to forward him Mr. Babington's letter, which will, I hope, have the same effect on him as it has had on my mind.

Your book I had requested Mr. Erskine to put down my name for, before I was aware of your kind intention. I shall accept the copy you offer with pleasure, and read it, I am certain, with great interest. I have so much to do in preparing for my journey, and am still so weak, that I must conclude my letter.

I remain, my dear sir, very truly yours,
CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH.

XI. LADY HESTER STANHOPE.

Some pretended fragments of letters from Mr. Barker to Lady Hester Stanhope have been published in the John Bull, without date, expressive of his disapprobation, which he might well desire to justify, in excuse for his own previous suspicions *; and some mysterious story about a shawl of Lady Hester Stanhope's has been darkly alluded to, as referring to this period, which I understand as little as those who allude to it, unless it may relate to her ladyship commissioning me to send her a shawl from India of my own choice, which I feel pride in acknowledging. It is fortunate that I happen to have in my possession the letters of Mr. Barker *after* I had received his personal apologies for his harsh and unwarranted suspicions; after I had received from him even painful civilities, intended to repair, as well as these could repair, the injuries of the past; and after being accompanied by his brothers from the city of Aleppo to the place of encampment, to bid me farewell, and see me safe on my journey. I have also letters from Lady Hester Stanhope, received from Syria since my residence in Calcutta, which furnish proof of *her* favourable opinion of my part in the past transactions, long since Mr. Barker's correspondence ceased, and long since my quitting that country.

I shall content myself here with a few very short extracts from one of this high-minded and honourable lady's letters, long since the transactions referred to, which with every candid mind will be enough. Her ladyship says:—

Mr. Salt is, you know, arrived in Egypt, and has been appointed East India agent, which I am vastly glad of, as it will put it in his power to serve you, which I make no doubt he will do with pleasure, since *you turn out to be the honourable character I took you for.—I shall set all things right with him.*

I hope that what has already happened will teach you to be very exact in the way of business, and in all money transactions, and that you will have completely made it up with Mr. Barker before leaving Aleppo. He was once so cheated by a Sir Somebody Callender, *that I do not wonder that he was upon his guard, and that every little thing awakened his suspicion.* As it is always a good principle to return good for evil, I hope, if it is in your power upon your return here, to be useful to his brothers in placing one of them in an agency house, that you will not allow the recollection of the past to dwell upon your mind. *The idea that you will not, is, I think, the highest encomium I can pass upon your liberality and goodness of heart.*

* To show what credit is due to these pretended fragments, for no proof whatever is given of their authenticity, it is sufficient to notice one short paragraph, wherein Mr. Barker is represented as saying of me:—

'*That Mr. Bankes pressed him, when at Aleppo, to accompany him to Palmyra, but that the sense of his duty was so strong as to overpower his ardent desire to see the only remaining antiquities of Syria which he had not visited; while* I KNOW THAT MR. BANKES HAD NO DESIRE OF HIS COMPANY.'

In answer to this unattested and unauthenticated fragment of Mr. Barker's letter, I need only oppose the attested and authenticated letter of Mr. Bankes himself, testified to by nine of the most respectable individuals in India, and the original of which is in my possession for any man to see, which he closes with these remarkable words:—

'*I shall make my way pretty direct for Aleppo, lengthening out my road by excursions, however, here and there, to give you time to come up to me, so that I trust that, at the latest, we may meet in Aleppo, and* MAKE OUR JOURNEY TO PALMYRA TOGETHER.'

Mr. Barker is made to say also, that he would not have advanced the money if I had attempted to go by Palmyra! Now every one must know, that if I could have got a guide to take me through Palmyra to Bagdad (and my not being able to do so was the only reason of my not going by that route), I might have got to that city in fourteen days by the Desert, allowing four for a halt at Palmyra, and at a small expence, instead of being from two to three months by the caravan through Mardin and Mosul, and at four or five times the cost, for which Mr. Barker *did* advance the money! The inconsistency and folly of such an assertion (if Mr. Barker ever made it,) is therefore too palpable to need a word of comment.

He is made to talk also of the '*large sums of money* taken up at Aleppo to prosecute his Travels in Persia,' when, by Briggs and Co's own evidence, the whole sum expended during twelve months of a most eventful period, and often of pressing and urgent demand for expence, was less than 4000 rupees (or 400*l.* sterling), though on my letter of credit, being unlimited, I might have taken up and been supplied with 10,000, if I had dishonest motives, and were disposed to ask it.

I have scolded you a great deal, but I have meant it for your good; and it has not diminished the interest I feel in the welfare of a person who has held up against misfortune with so much fortitude, and made so many praiseworthy efforts to place himself in a respectable situation in life.

Looking into an army list the other day, I found that Colonel Murray (remember, Murray in the dragoons, for there are two in India) was in Bengal. Perhaps, therefore, you may not see him; if so, it is not worth while, hardly, to send him the letter, as it was to *introduce you,* and give me an opportunity of hearing of the welfare of a very honest and amiable man, which I think you will acknowledge him to be if you make his acquaintance. His really amiable character caused him to be a great favorite of Mr. Pitt, when he was stationed at Walmer Barracks. Should Sir Evan Nepean be still at Bombay, present my compliments to him, &c. &c.

These are perhaps more than sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical; and if their authenticity is doubted, I am prepared to produce the original letter to any one who may desire to see it.

It is painful to me to be forced even to allude to matters of so strictly private a nature: but when my enemies leave no means untried to blast my reputation, I am compelled to show them to be wrong; and any one who will do me the justice to examine these documents for himself, will see how easily I can rebut every charge that has been raised against me.

I have already stated in the preface to my Travels in Palestine, what were my obligations to this excellent lady, of whom I shall never cease to think, with esteem and respect*; and I take occasion to repeat here, that it cannot possibly give her generous heart a greater degree of pain, than it does my own, to be forced in any manner to associate her name in the same pages with those of persons so unworthy of that distinction as the enemies against whom I am defending myself. I know, however, that her heroic spirit, gentle and mild as it is in the exercise of benevolence, forgiveness, and every virtue that can adorn her sex, would yet fire with indignation at hearing her name cited, as lending weight to injuries and calumnies against the innocent; I believe that her truly noble bosom will swell with indignation, if these pages should ever reach her eye, at finding the use that has been made by unknown slanderers here, of her unsullied name; and that I shall receive her forgiveness for having ventured to tell them the true nature of her generous and admirable conduct towards me, who had no claim whatever on her friendship or her protection.

XII. DELAYS ON THE JOURNEY TO INDIA.

To return to the journey to India. Every one who has heard of caravan travelling, knows how slow it is. From Aleppo to Mosul, I was still longer than the usual time, from the road being obstructed by the Wahabees. At Mosul, I took Tartar horses, and went to Bagdad with Turkish couriers, riding 60, 70, and 80 miles a day, in a burning sun, with the thermometer from 120 to 125 in the shade; and on arriving at Bagdad, I was laid up in Mr. Rich's house, ill for more than a month, and unable to proceed. Dr. Hine, the medical gentleman there, strongly objected to a descent to Bussorah at that season of the year; as, after a severe illness, a Bussorah fever would be almost certain of bringing death in its train. It was necessary, therefore, to go through Persia to Bushire.* This was another long and tedious journey, and accomplished with risk, difficulty, and suffering. From Bushire there were no vessels to sail for Bombay for many weeks; but an indirect opportunity offered of getting on, by accompanying a bombarding squadron of ships of war going to Ras-el-khyma, to chastise the Joassamee pirates. Safety was a duty doubly incumbent on me; first for my family, and next for the interests dependant on the personal explanations I was deputed to make on reaching the end of my journey; yet my desire to get as soon as possible to the place of destination superseded this, and I accordingly accompanied the squadron to the port of the pirates. While there, though neither fame nor fortune awaited me from the contest, I volunteered my services to act as Arabian interpreter, and actually accompanied Captain Brydges, of H. M. ship *Challenger,* the commander of the squadron, on shore, both of us unarmed, and went through the heart of the Arab town, pelted by some, menaced by others, and surrounded all the way by a ferocious band of the most lawless ruffians, all armed, and wanting only a provoking word or look to cut our throats; sat in the assembly of the chiefs during two hours' warm deliberation, without our having any protection to warrant this temerity, and returned to the ships in a safety little expected by many who had watched our landing, and who never expected to see us return alive.

This was the last event worthy of notice before my arrival at Bombay, where I went in one of the ships of the squadron, and fortunately found, on my coming there, that Messrs. Briggs and Co.'s interests had suffered nothing from this succession of delays, as the despatches had arrived safe, months before; and the only person who had really sustained injury by the delay was myself, who had, besides infinite suffering and privation, been three or four times in imminent peril of my life from deadly assaults, not to mention lesser skirmishes, and twice from dangerous illness; who had lost nearly a year in time, with the additional evil of a suspension of all correspondence with England, so that my family knew not whether I was alive or dead; and all this for the paltry consideration of having my bare expences paid, to which the meanest slave and menial is entitled during the time that he labours for another. This mighty charge of a breach of trust, on which so much stress has been laid by those who neither understood nor would use the plain and honest means of informing themselves on the matter, is therefore, of all the charges that have been alleged, the most groundless and untenable.

The only crime that can be truly laid to my charge, is that of having travelled with my eyes open, and made use of my reading to illustrate the description of a country full of interesting objects at every step. If Messrs. Briggs and Co. had sent their letters and verbal explanations by a person who could neither read nor write, he might have met with the same obstacles, have spent as much money, and have been unable to give their cause any assistance when he reached his journey's end:—but having entrusted

* The passage in the Preface to the Travels in Palestine is this (p. 15.): —

'This journey of twelve long months was protracted by dangers and obstacles which no one had foreseen, and rendered tedious by repeated illness, arising from sufferings and privations in the way. My recovery from these I owed, in one instance, to the hospitable attentions which I received in the convent of Mar Elias from the hands of the amiable Lady Hester Stanhope, a name that deserves to be immortalized, if talents and virtues of the highest order give claim to immortality; and, in another, to the friendly offices of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, in the bosom of whose family at Baghdad I found all the consolations which benevolence and sympathy could bestow, and all the pleasure that learning, accomplishments, and refined taste could yield.'

* The Friend of Burckhardt, in the blindness of his rage, makes sad havoc with his geography; for I neither visited 'Kirbilla' as he writes it, nor the ruins of Susa: and 'Shapoor' is not, as he supposes, to the eastward, but *westward* of Shiraz, whether the bearing be taken by a 'pocket compass,' or a 'brass binnacle tell-tale,' lying nearly in the direct road from Shiraz to Bushire; though his object is to show, that in visiting Shapoor, I went away to the *eastward* of Shiraz in quite an opposite direction to that in which my business lay. If this gentleman's authority as to *facts* is no better than as to *bearings,* it is worth very little indeed.

this task to one who could read and write, and who applied immense labour, long after the journey was made, to put his hasty notes into form for the public eye, like petty and needy traders, rather than like liberal English merchants, they insist on having a share of the profits, forgetting that they had no hand in furnishing the mind and talent, which was the real capital, nor any share in the labour of production; though they were mean enough to insist, that since I could not have written a book on Palestine without passing through that country, and since I should not have passed through it unless I had been charged with their letters, *therefore* they were entitled to a share of the profits derived from the book in question! They might as well claim a share in the profits of the Calcutta Journal, because they might also contend, that unless they had helped me I should never have come to India, and unless I had come to India the Journal would, probably, never have been established!!

I have regretted, often and often, since the period of consenting to give up any portion of the sum expended, that I was ever prevailed on to do so; but I gave the strongest possible proof of my desiring nothing but justice, in my readiness to submit the matter to arbitration, which Mr. Briggs, as if suspecting the weakness of his claim, would not accede to. A law-suit, to one unused to such proceedings, as I was then, is an appalling thing, and more particularly to one who has no money, who must work to earn his bread, and whose profession (of a sailor) requires that he should be free to move wherever and whenever duty calls. It was, therefore, to avoid this, in which even triumph is sometimes ruinous, that I consented, as the lesser evil of the two, to give three promissory notes, one for *50l.* at six months, one for *50l.* at twelve months, and one for *100l.* on the day the Travels might be published, all of which have been paid; though, if Mr. Briggs had a real claim to one farthing of it, he had to the whole, since he never attempted to dispute the fact of its being *all* expended on the journey in question.

XIII. SUPPRESSED VOLUME OF TRAVELS.

The next point in order, that I remember as charged against me, is, that two volumes of the Travels in Palestine were promised, and that only one has appeared; from which it is affected to be inferred that one whole volume has been suppressed, and that this suppressed part may contain the notes of Mr. Bankes relating to Jerash. The manuscript sent home, from being widely and largely written, appeared bulky enough to furnish two thin volumes, which were thought preferable to one thick volume, On making it up in type, however, it was found that the bulk had been over-rated, and that there was not more than enough for one good-sized quarto book. The only part claimed by Mr. Bankes is that which relates to Jerash; and the large space which this occupies in the volume, will show that no part of it can have been omitted. As to the rest, I declare most solemnly my entire and sincere belief that not five pages, out of upwards of five hundred, have been reduced from the original sent home, and these I believe to have been either anecdotes of manners that were thought unfit for the public eye, however necessary to a just appreciation of character, and freely enough told by all old travellers, and some quotations from Josephus and others, which were thought too long.

*XVI. IMPOSITION ON THE LATE BISHOP.

It is charged against me also that I deceived the late bishop, by keeping from his view the preface of the book, in which he was made to appear as approving of it. This is as false as every thing else that has been asserted from the same quarter. The late bishop saw the prospectus, in which his name was used, before it was printed, and afterwards also; and the preface of the book was in the bishop's hands several weeks, with the rest of the MS., nor was there a single word added to, or taken from, the book, after it came from the bishop's hands, till it was sent home, the trifling pencil emendations alluded to in his letter having been made at his own house.

XVII. PRETENSIONS TO GREEK LEARNING.

The next grave charge is, that I have pretended to be a perfect Greek scholar, while I do not understand the Greek alphabet. Both of these, it is impudently asserted, that I have *admitted;* merely because I thought the charge fit only to be laughed at. In the first place, I never once pretended to be deeply versed in Greek learning; though, with the help of a Lexicon, I can understand the sense of a passage in Josephus, in Strabo, and in other prose writers: and I should like to know, from this sage critic, who contends that no man can be said to read Homer who does not read him in Greek, and whom I laughed at by saying, if this were true no man could be said to read his bible who did not understand Hebrew, I should like to know of this Leviathan in logic, how it could possibly happen that if a person knew not Greek from Turkish (which is nearly what Mr. Bankes and his friend too would maintain), he could fill a book with Greek notes to illustrate the text, and contrive to fit every note in its right place! The Quarterly Reviewers are no mean Grecians, and they would have been too happy to show that the Greek notes were all strewed at random, probably purloined from Mr. Bankes, and ranged like empty boxes to make up a show, wherever they would look best. But the *learning* of the book has defied even *their* criticism, and in the few places in which they ventured to touch me in that, my most vulnerable part, they were more completely foiled than I had ever had the vanity to suppose possible by one who is 'no noble, ignorant of the arts, and a simple mariner,' as Euryalus said to Ulysses. So far from ever pretending to deep learning of any kind, I have invariably regretted my want of it, and confessed that, being sent to sea at the early age of nine years, I never had an opportunity of receiving any education since that period. I have long since been convinced, however, that a good cause, a pure heart, and a sound mind, are more than a match for all the learning of all the universities on earth, when mere questions of plain fact and simple reasoning are under discussion. With respect to the notes, however, whether in Greek or in any other language, I can assert with truth, that I derived no assistance from any individual in their compilation; and that the writing, reading, and illustration by notes, of the whole work, was entirely my own.

XVIII. IMPOSITION ON MR. PALMER.

It is next said, that I have imposed upon Mr. John Palmer, and practised on him the greatest deceit and duplicity. That fearless and just man would be, however, the last to continue the appearance of his friendship to one whom he did not truly and heartily esteem as worthy of his countenance and protection. It happens that he, who has been made most intimately acquainted with all that has transpired, is only on that account the more satisfied of the totally groundless nature of the charges preferred against me; and all, who like him have examined the matter for themselves, have risen with a conviction of my innocence. Shall I put into the scale against such honest men as these, persons whom apathy or any other cause deters from looking into the merits of the case, or probing matters to the bottom, and who yet suffer themselves to be carried away by unsupported assertion, while they have neither the courage to stem the influence of party, nor the candour to avow themselves

* Nos. XIV. and XV. relate to an error already corrected, under the head 'Accusations of Mr. Burckhardt,' p. 630.; and to a blunder of Captain Boog's, confounding a binnacle with a pocket compass, which is not worth repeating.

either friends or enemies? Away with such heartless trimming as this! Let the party of Government be worshipped, and their victim destroyed, if this be the only path to favour; or let the party be contemned as they deserve to be, if nothing but the unjust destruction of the innocent will serve their purpose. But men who are afraid to approve, though their hearts will not allow them to condemn, are quite unworthy of consideration.

XIX. TRANSACTIONS WITH MR. BURCKHARDT.

The next charges that remain to notice, are those of my having professed to have been honoured and respected by Mr. Burckhardt up to the day of his death, though I knew he had taken every means of showing his hatred of me;—of my having been received at the tables of many families in Calcutta, because I professed myself to be the bosom-friend at that time of Mr. Burckhardt, who I knew had reviled me;—of my having been guilty of the basest ingratitude towards the same Mr. Burckhardt, by calumniating the man who had relieved my distresses at Jedda;—and of my having ungenerously introduced to the world Mr. Babington's letter, exposing his calumnies and contradicting his assertions, though the said calumnies had not appeared against me in print, and though I knew the person who first uttered them was dead. To all these serious charges, which are just as false as every thing else that belongs to this guilty drama and its guilty agitators, I shall reply seriatim; and after these, I do not remember a single important or even unimportant point that will not have been reverted to and repelled.

My first meeting with Mr. Burckhardt was when ascending the Nile, in November 1813. Nothing could be more enthusiastic than the romantic feeling of attachment, which I firmly believe we both sincerely felt towards each other after a short acquaintance of only two days. The following paragraph of a letter of Mr. Burckhardt to me (the original of which is in my possession) dated within a few weeks after that meeting (Dec. 13, 1813,) will show what he thought of me then:—

My dear Sir,—The regret I feel at being obliged to leave Esneh before you return, much outweighs the pleasure I should else have experienced from being at last enabled to put an end to my tedious stay in Upper Egypt. But thus is the unfortunate lot of travellers. They must suddenly part with persons whose character and acquirements have inspired them with the greatest esteem, in order to mix for months with beings, the shapes of whose bodies alone entitle them to the name of human. The hope of mutual remembrance is then the only consolation: and on my part I beg you to rest assured that the memory of the two days you granted me at Esneh shall never be obliterated from my mind and heart.

The next place of my meeting with Mr. Burckhardt was at Jedda. I had arrived there from Suez in extreme distress, having been shipwrecked on the passage, and lost almost every thing I possessed, my papers only excepted, besides being almost unable to move, from a fever contracted by exposure to a burning sun by day, and heavy dews by night, in an open boat for many weeks, besides suffering hunger, thirst, and every possible inconvenience. I was so weak as to be unable to walk, and was carried on shore, where I should, probably, have ended my days, had I not been removed on board an English ship then in the harbour, of which more hereafter. Mr. Burckhardt was then at Mecca; but hearing of my being at Jedda, his unabated friendship induced him to write me another warm and enthusiastic letter, the original of which is in my possession, but of which the following extract will show the spirit and tone:—

My dear Sir,—Othman Aga arrives this moment, and tells me that you are at Jedda. My joy at knowing you so near is damped only by the news of your illness. I should have immediately set out for Jedda to see you before the Hadj; but after to-morrow the gates of Jedda will be shut, and there will be no means of conveyance between that place and Mekke till after the Hadj. My project was to go immediately after the Hadj to Medineh, but I sacrifice it willingly for the purpose of shaking hands with you, and consoling you a little during your tedious stay at Jedda. You may therefore expect me about the 14th or 15th of this month.

Mr. Burckhardt came down to Jedda as promised, remained on board the ship with me for several days, which were passed in the happiest manner possible; and at length left me with the deepest and, I believe then, most sincerely expressed regret. On referring to my notes of the following day, Dec. 8, 1814 (the original of which, like all the other papers I have, are open for the inspection of all the world,) I find the following account of the money lent me by him, which I prefer giving in its original shape, affirming its strict accuracy:—

Jedda, Thursday, Dec. 8.—Having related to Ibrahim, among the other incidents of my voyage from Suez to this place, the upsetting of the vessel in which we were embarked, and the consequent loss of all my cash, with some trunks of apparel, papers, arms, &c., he had entreated me repeatedly, before his departure, to receive from him the loan of a small sum equal to meet my immediate wants in India on landing there, he having received a remittance from Mr. Boghos, of Cairo, but I had as repeatedly refused it, hoping to acquire a sufficient sum for that purpose from the sale of my Turkish clothes, sabre, &c., now no longer necessary, and which I had already consigned to Othman Aga to be disposed of. What was my surprise, however, when this young Highlander (Othman) who visited us to-day, brought me off a sealed bag, containing three hundred Spanish dollars, sent to me from Ibrahim, who left Jedda on the evening of yesterday, and would depart from Mecca in the course of to-morrow. There are actions which, from the disinterested nature of their generosity, and the delicacy of the manner in which they are performed, absolutely overwhelm the object of them with confusion, arising, perhaps, from the combined effects of the consciousness that he feels aright when he estimates them as far beyond his merit, and the wonder and surprise which seizes him when bestowed unexpectedly. This action of Ibrahim's was precisely one of that description, and occasioned me all that embarrassment of feeling which it was so well calculated to give birth to, and is at the same time so difficult to express.

Very soon after this, on the 25th of December, I received another letter from Mr. Burckhardt, of which, to to show his undiminished regard, I shall quote only the closing paragraph, which is as follows:—

This is, perhaps, the last letter you will ever receive from Mekke, I ought therefore to make it a long one, but I have really nothing to tell you of immediate interest, and the boy comes this moment to ask for the letter. Therefore farewell, my dear sir; may your hopes be realised, may your good fortune enable you to provide for your dear family in Indian climes, and may we once meet again, both satisfied with the result of past time and labour. Wherever fate carries you, remember, I beg you, an honest Swiss, who reckons himself amongst the most sincere of your friends.

The next letter I received from Mr. Burckhardt is dated Mekke, 2d January, 1815, of which a single extract will suffice. In endeavouring to encourage me in stemming the difficulties I had to encounter, in pursuits which were painful to me, though necessary to my subsistence, he says:—

Your pursuits are sanctified by honour, by duty, by paternal love, and by connubial attachment, the strongest ties which nature possesses to bind a generous heart; they are noble because they are virtuous; their object belongs to those dear beings whose existence is interwoven with yours, and to become and to have been the author of their happiness and their comforts, will indeed be ever to you a source of sweeter and of purer joys than those which feeble Fame bestows with her bounty upon her votaries. You exert yourself for your own comforts, but still more for the happiness of those whom nature and your own arms have placed nearest to your bosom. I should be-

guile truth if I was denying that the prospect of ease and comfort has not likewise a considerable share in my exertions. It is true, I hope to wrest a wreath from the hands of Fame, but I much doubt whether the possession of that wreath will be productive of as much heartfelt joy and satisfaction to me as will be once to you the endearing thanks and blessings of your family.

I shall intreat the reader's patience for a moment to indulge me with the insertion of a single paragraph from my reply to this letter, of which I have a copy preserved, as it may be of use by-and-by, when the fact of Mr. Burckhardt's subsequent circulation of calumnies against me for ill-treating and deserting my family, comes to be considered; as he could not but have known both from my wife's letters to me, many of which he had seen, and from my children forming almost a constant topic of our conversation, that we all loved each other with too pure and too refined an affection for such a calumny to be credible, even to himself, at the moment of his circulating it as worthy of the belief of others. In reply to this particular part of his letter, respecting the nature of my pursuits, I said:—

In those hours which I steal from my accustomed occupations to enjoy in privacy a communion with my own heart, I am often consoled and supported by the very considerations which you urge to me, and say with you, that labours sanctified by honour, by duty, by paternal and connubial attachment, cannot be in themselves degrading, whatever may be the rank assigned to them by the general estimation of mankind. Were it not for this reviving cordial, hope would long ago have taken flight, and fortitude would have deserted me. But when the recollection of those dear beings, who hang upon me for support, rushes on my heart, I am all-devoted, every nerve, to wear away my life in toil for them, if their happiness could not otherwise be secured.

The next letter I received from Mr. Burckhardt (the original of which is in my possession) was dated Mekke, 9th January, 1815, and contains the following paragraph:—

Hearing that you should leave Jedda on Friday, I was greatly tempted to bid you a personal adieu, and I am ashamed to confess that the dread of the fatigues of a jack-ass ride alone prevents me from executing that design. But I shall myself depart from here on Friday with the caravan, and I am afraid that a hasty journey to Jedda and back again, with the pleasure of seeing you, and the regret of again parting with you, would cause such a revolution in my blood as to make a relapse of my fever not improbable. Receive, therefore, these lines, my dear sir, in lieu of the heartiest hand-shake. If a sympathetic feeling, which has seldom misled me, does not prove false in the present instance, my heart whispers to me that we shall see each other again, not as at present to talk of mutual hopes only, but to express our satisfaction at realities. May Neptune and Mercury be propitious to you, and guide you into the harbour, even before I shall reach it. I shall always remain, my dear sir, with sentiments of the warmest friendship and the sincerest esteem, truly and faithfully yours,

HADJ IBRAHIM.

My next meeting with Mr. Burckhardt was at Cairo on my return from India, in December 1815. Of that interview Mr. Babington was a witness, and he has already testified to the warm sentiments of regard and esteem which he professed for me during his stay with him at Cairo, after my business had compelled me to quit that place for Alexandria. If any thing were wanting to confirm this continuance of his professed regard, it may be found in an extract of a letter written to me on the 3d of December 1815, only the day preceding that of Mr. Babington's leaving Cairo, which, indeed, the letter itself mentions. In this letter Mr. Burckhardt says to me:—

Mr. Babington has just communicated to me the news of your speedy departure from Alexandria. Truly sorry as I am to forego the pleasure of seeing you again at Cairo, I still feel some satisfaction in thinking that I can evince at least my sincere desire of becoming of some service to you, in transmitting to you such local information on your intended land journey as may help you to perform it with increased hopes of success.

The letter then points out the dangers of travelling in Syria, the disturbed state of the country rendering it indispensable to travel under the firman and protection of the several pashas, &c. and urges me again and again to consider whether I should not do better to offer my services to the pasha, than go on a message for people who would reward me but slightly, and who had none but the most self-interested motives in prevailing on me to undertake the journey they had projected for their own benefit. This letter closed with these words, referring to the doubts of my being well or sufficiently remunerated for my pains:—

Perhaps I go too far in my doubts; I most anxiously wish to be mistaken. Believe me, they arise in my anxiety about your welfare; and above all, rest assured that whatever you may determine upon, my warmest wishes for your ultimate success accompany you. It grieves me to part so soon again from you without having any reasonable hope of seeing you for many years. Do therefore remember me, for I shall ever be, with warmth and truth, my dear Buckingham, very sincerely yours, &c.

All the history of Mr. Burckhardt's conduct after this has been detailed in Mr. Babington's reply to the celebrated 'paper' (some extracts of which have already been given.) When this paper was first written, or first circulated, I have no accurate knowledge; but at the most it must have been within two, or say even three, months after the date of his letter to me of December 3, 1815, and after his parting with Mr. Babington. I regret exceedingly that I have not a copy of the paper itself, that it might be printed at full length, dreadful as some portions of the language and accusations are, but the substance of it is sufficiently known. The calm and circumstantial reply of Mr. Babington to this paper, and after he had seen the last rejoinder also, is, however, so important to the case, that I hope I shall be forgiven for introducing it, at length, in the course of this defence to render the whole complete. I shall give it therefore a place in a subsequent page.

The only reasons that I have ever yet heard alleged for this change in Mr. Burckhardt's mind, from the extreme of enthusiastic regard and admiration, to the extreme of hatred and detestation, are these:—1st, That having seen and compared all my different letters to different individuals in Egypt from Syria, he was of opinion that I was not pursuing my journey as I ought to do, and was thereby injuring Messrs. Briggs and Co.; 2dly, That in those letters he discovered that I had spoken to Briggs and Co of my being advised by friends (meaning himself), before I set out on this journey, not to undertake it; and that this was a breach of confidence which was unjustifiable on my part.

Now supposing it, for the sake of argument, to be quite true, that I had delayed my journey unnecessarily, and travelled on Briggs and Co.'s money; and that I had even *named* him to them as the friend who had advised me not to undertake the task. Surely these new facts could not affect what passed between us on the Nile two years before, nor what happened at Jedda one year before. This discovery could not make my conduct to my family in England at all different from what it really was: it could not change me from a man 'whose character and acquirements were calculated to inspire admiration and esteem,' into 'a brute, a scoundrel, and a fool;' nor could it make my pursuits, which were before 'noble, honourable, and virtuous, because sanctified by love and duty,'—all at once 'the fraudulent arts of a cunning yet awkward impostor.' Yet these were the changes in Mr. Burckhardt's expressions, within three months, at the farthest, after his last friendly letter, and his parting from Mr. Babington; and all that until this had appeared to him noble and good, was changed, as if by magic, into execrable and

devilish, from the period of our first meeting up to his imprudent citation of Mr. Babington as an authority for assertions which he afterwards most solemnly denied!

But the aggravation of Mr. Burckhardt's conduct is the greater, from the circumstance, that slight, trivial, and inadequate as the *alleged* causes were, they were NOT TRUE. I have shown how I had discharged the trust of Briggs and Co. as one of the assigned causes of his anger; and with regard to the pretended breach of confidence, it was simply this:—Mr. Burckhardt had urged me most strongly not to undertake the journey, as he did not believe I should be adequately rewarded; and in doing this, he made no injunction of secrecy whatever. On Mr. Lee's writing to me in Syria as to the deviation from the straight line which I appeared to him to have made, and reproaching me with what to him appeared unnecessary delay, I defended my conduct by showing the necessity that had occasioned it; and in reply to his angry reproaches, said, I regretted having had any thing to do with it, though having begun I should now go on; adding, 'There were not wanting friends who advised my not undertaking this journey, and who recommended the offer of my services to the pasha.' If it were a breach of confidence in me to say this, it was a greater breach of confidence to show my letters to the person to whom it applied, for the purpose, perhaps, of asking him whether he did not think *he* was the person alluded to, and thus exciting his anger. Mr. Burckhardt having given me this advice without any restraint as to its use, I should have been fairly justified even in mentioning him by name as the person who had so advised me; but why any man should give another advice on so important a matter, and hate him afterwards for making it known, even without mentioning his name, is to me quite inexplicable.

For myself, I firmly believe Mr. Burckhardt's enmity to me to have arisen from other causes. If I had gone by the sea coast to Aleppo, I should not have trodden any new ground, nor have trenched at all on provinces of which he was, till that period, the only person who had any information. The change of route drove me into a portion of the country which he knew I should bring away ample accounts of, though travelling in haste, from my known industry, method, and indefatigable habits: he knew also that if I ever published I should make a better book than himself, and not only forestall, but probably also eclipse, his account of those unvisited regions. I believe that he would have done any thing to have damned my reputation, as the best mode of defeating this, just as Mr. Bankes threatened to do, unless I gave up to him materials of my own, so as to give him also a monopoly of what Mr. Burckhardt equally desired for himself; and of which the one has yet published nothing, after years of leisure and health for preparation; and the other has furnished materials for a book, which the Literary Gazette, a review rather favourable to his productions than otherwise, says, is 'neither calculated to instruct the few, nor entertain the many.'

XX. 'PAPER ON BUCKINGHAM,' BY SHEIK IBRAHIM.

When I had been in Bombay about three months (as I nearly as I remember), and while I was living with my excellent friends Mr. Erskine and Mr. Wedderburn, the celebrated 'Paper' of Mr. Burckhardt's, which had been sent through Aleppo, Bagdad, Bussorah, and Bushire, came to Bombay. It was enclosed to me in the most delicate and friendly manner, by the friends above named, to spare me the pain which a personal presentation of such a document would necessarily give to any man. I read it with as much sorrow as astonishment; and both these were increased by the recollection of my former friendship for the individual who had thus unaccountably become my accuser. Still, however, my impression was, that Mr. Burckhardt had been misled by anger and irritation, and that in his cooler moments he would really be sorry for what he had done, and like an honourable man do his best to repair it. It is not easy (at least I do not find it so) to hate even a person who has inflicted the deepest injuries, if that person were ever close in one's confidence and friendship, as Mr. Burckhardt had been in mine; and it is always more agreeable (at least so I find it) to cherish sentiments of esteem and good will than those of hatred and animosity. I accordingly waited till the commotion of my feelings had in some degree subsided, and instead of sending back a series of similar sheets, filled with intemperance and abuse, I sat down to give the man whom I considered to have been deluded, and whom I wished still to recal from error as my friend, a kind, a calm, yet a detailed and honest reply. I feel even now a considerable reluctance to intrude this document on the world, not for my own sake, so much as a lingering feeling of unwillingness that still hangs around me, and makes me slow to speak evil, even when deserved, of either the absent or the dead. Of my own chequered and unfortunate life, it reveals only a scene of poverty, embarrassment, and distress, of which I ought not justly to be ashamed, because it was neither the result of indolence nor misconduct; but which I should still have wished to conceal, on the same principle that induces us all to throw a veil over such portions of the history of private life as are known only to one's immediate family and friends. Of Mr. Burckhardt's conduct it presents, however, a far more distressing picture; and I only regret that his injudicious 'friends,' who affect to venerate his memory, and take up his defence, should have forced upon me the necessity of its publication. When, however, the question is, whether iniquity shall prevail against the living, or justice be maintained even at the expense of violating the sanctity due to the dead, no honest man should pause: and this is the only shield I present to those who may condemn me for considering the preservation of my own reputation a matter of far more importance to me than the maintenance of a false credit given to that of another.

I have before expressed my regret that I have not a copy of Mr. Burckhardt's original paper; but fortunately, among the documents so providentially preserved to me, I have the original draft of my reply, from which the fair copy written to him was taken: and this goes into such minute detail, that it will enumerate all the accusations, as well as show what were the explanations I offered to him in my defence. The reply was as follows:—

Mr. Buckingham's Reply to Sheik Ibrahim.

Bombay, March 30, 1817.

MY DEAR IBRAHIM,

In taking up my pen to reply to a paper of yours, animadverting on my conduct, a paper which, long as it has been written, has come upon me suddenly, while all the recollections of our former intercourse are yet fresh in my memory, and all the sentiments of friendship which I have so long cherished toward you, yet warm and undiminished, it is impossible to describe what my feelings are. Such a mixture of truth as to facts and misconception as to motives, such a harsh colouring given by anger to that which was so differently conceived of in cooler moments, can only be answered by following it in detail. In doing this I am quite as desirous of convincing you of the erroneous nature of the conclusions which you have drawn, as I am of defending myself from the foul calumnies which these opinions, spread abroad by you to the world, have stamped upon my character.

When we first met in November, 1813, on the Nile, at Esne, in Upper Egypt, I intended going into Nubia, and from thence returning to Keneh, cross to Cosseir, and embark for Jedda in the Red Sea. The vessel in which you describe me as voyaging like a gentleman of fortune, was one of the smallest boats or cayasses used on the river, and as I wore then an English dress, and knew nothing of the language, there was no cheaper

way of my passing through the country. When in our mutual interchange of histories, I mentioned to you both the good and the ill of my own, it was merely in that frankness of my character which has, on all occasions been, perhaps, too unreserved in these particulars; and, as you yourself admit, was not here prostituted to any unworthy purposes. I do not remember your remarking any thing on my expensive mode of travelling; and the English gun, had at Siout, as estimated at 2000 piastres, was only part of an exchange made with me of this gun and a pair of English pistols, for a pair of gaudy but expensive Turkish ones, had from Mr. Schutz, in Cairo; as I conceived, a change to my advantage. I explained to you regarding my family only that they were living with my wife's mother, who was enabled to receive them without inconvenience, but not sufficiently rich to spare any thing from the maintenance of her own; and neither stated her income at 600*l.* a year, nor said that they were then of no care to me. I was quite as intimate with Mr. Renouard, the chaplain of the factory at Smyrna, as with Colonel Missett, since I had been oftener in his company, frequently received visits from him, both in my ship and on shore, and scarcely received a letter from that place, after my departure, without hearing of him particularly in it.

We met again at Djedda, in November, 1814; at which place I had arrived in great distress, partly from losing money and clothes by the way, but chiefly from severe illness. When I heard of your being at Mekka, I sent the letters which I had for Djellany, the merchant, and for Mohammed Ali Pasha, to your care, and it was at your own suggestion that you came down to visit me after the Hadj. During the many days which you remained with us on board the ship, almost all our conversations were in the hearing and presence of Captain Boog, and I remember none of a personal nature in which he did not join. It is quite true that I had, until that period, been free of pecuniary obligations to any one, and that Mr. John Lee, of Smyrna, to whom, as a merchant, my ships had always been addressed, had more than once offered me such assistance, which I declined. Previous to my finally leaving Egypt, I had been obliged to part with articles of personal baggage to pay for others more necessary on my intended voyage to India; and Colonel Missett, unasked, sent to me by the hands of Mr. Thurburn, 1000 piastres *, only a few days before my departure, declining even to hear the reasons which I assigned for my refusal. It is true, that a great portion of this was lost, with other effects, in boxes washed overboard in coming down the Red Sea, as a part only was expended on my outfit. I never stated this sum to be greater or less than it really was, with a view to enhance Colonel Missett's liberality, or thereby to challenge your own. My intentions of returning from Bombay to Suez, and settling there as an agent, were built on the promises made to me by Mr. Lee, of support in that character. It is not true, that the 600 dollars which came to you at Jedda were on board the ship which brought me, or that I knew of its being come to you, but through yourself. I think we did not hear of it until several days after you had come to us on board the *Suffenut-ul-Russool.* Your offer of 300 of these to me was voluntary, and though often repeatedly pressed upon me was as often declined, till you yourself drew for me a picture of the inconveniencies to which I should be subject, on my finding myself set down in India among strangers without money, and declared that my persisting in refusal would be interpreted by you as a want of confidence on my part in the sincerity of your professions. You added to this an assurance that you were not likely at all to want it, as well as of your belief that my Indian prospects would soon be sufficiently realised to enable me to pay it with ease to myself, until which you would willingly defer it. As I know that my own motives for the refusals, which you admit that I made, were sincere, so I believe your desire to overcome them was equally so; since I can no more doubt the purity of your friendship then, than I do the sincerity of my own at the same moment.†

In November, 1815, we met a third time at Cairo. It was the very high opinion which I entertained of your ability to direct and assist Mr. Babington there, and the firm persuasion of your willingness to do so, added to the prospect of returning again to Cairo before he should quit it, which induced me to leave that gentleman in your charge, after so short a stay there. You yourself advised me to go down to Alexandria immediately, as the Pasha, Colonel Missett, and Mr. Lee, were all there. You offered to do every thing for Mr. Babington in my absence that he could need, and he expressed himself (and to me appeared really to be) quite satisfied with this. I did say to you, that I still hoped the trade between India and Egypt would be opened, and also mentioned that Forbes and Co. had entrusted me with a commission to the amount of 12,000 dollars, which was true.

The facts which you obtained a knowledge of, after a fortnight's stay with Mr. Babington in the same house, getting in that time, as you say, to the bottom of his opinion of me, are equally wrested from the interpretations which he himself must have given of them. I did arrive in Bombay with from 400 to 500 dollars in money, which defrayed my expences at that place, enabled me to purchase a bill of 25*l.* from Forbes and Co. to send to my family, and still left me more than 200 dollars, besides twenty Venetian sequins given me by Mr. Wedderburn in cash, before my departure, to set out with. I also received from this gentleman, and from Mr. Erskine, two bills of exchange on England for 50*l.* each, which were voluntarily offered on their parts, and not declined on mine, as I knew not then that there would be any other means afforded me of getting back to India from Egypt, a return which I always contemplated. I was obliged to quit Bombay, because I had not the licence of the East India Company to remain in India, and a vessel being just at that moment unexpectedly appointed to sail to Mokha, a passage was permitted me to be taken in her by the government. Mr. Babington seized this opportunity of going thus far, to secure a passage to England by the Red Sea, as I myself did for the sake of getting to Egypt, where my business lay. I was not at all the instigator of his coming by this route, nor did I pitch upon him to be my treasurer as far as Cairo. The interest of this route was as well known to him as to myself, and no persuasion was necessary to induce him to pursue it. Mr. Babington took with him to Cairo, from this place, a letter of credit, the only letter absolutely necessary, and this addressed to the only house of whom there were any correspondents in Bombay, so that any other would have been difficult to be had. I did express a hope that the number of my acquaintances in Cairo would render any other letters unnecessary, and that on this account Mr. Babington might be at ease. When you undertook to receive Mr. Babington from my charge, and introduce him to all your acquaintance for me, I thought he was in still better hands, from your being even a longer resident than myself. The bills brought by me from Bombay were taken to Egypt. The 500 dollars taken from Jedda to that place were not spent in foolish frolics among the fashionables of Bombay; but at least 300 of them, with the twenty sequins given me by Mr. Wedderburn in cash, went into the joint fund for defraying our expences up the Red Sea. The whole of the provisions laid in at Bombay, which formed the chief article of expence in that way, was paid for also by Mr. Wedderburn, and, as I considered myself thus

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* The piastre of Egypt was at that period the eighth of a Spanish dollar.

† In the draft of the original I find a passage, which, from being crossed through, was probably not included in the fair copy sent to Mr. Burckhardt, from an unwillingness to mix up sarcasm with calm reasoning on so serious a subject: but it is sufficiently curious to be given here, as showing that Mr. Burckhardt admitted my having repeatedly refused his pressing offers to lend me money, so that even at last I yielded with reluctance to his solicitations; while it will show the tone and temper of his mind when he wrote, from the unfeeling and discreditable simile that he chooses, to illustrate scruples, which, when they were made, he at the same time admired, though he endeavoured to silence and succeeded in overcoming them. The suppressed passage is this: —

'If I were disposed to indulge in such unmerited sarcasms as you play off upon me, I might say, that if "*I made as much fuss to receive the money as a well-bred woman of the town does before she is led to the sofa,*"' (these are Mr. Burckhardt's own words quoted from his 'paper,' which is full of still worse language,) 'your pressure of it (on me) was like that of an old usurer on a spendthrift minor, to get him to sign a bond, and have him thus in his power.'

much additionally in his debt, holding myself bound for its return, the amount was also passed as an advance of mine; which, added to the cash enumerated, made up the half of the whole expenditure of the voyage from Mokha to Suez, excepting some piastres, which remained as a balance due from me. The passage from Bombay to Mokha was given me by the lieutenant of the cruizer, under the knowledge of my being a sailor, from whom it is not usual to receive money for passage in India, but more particularly if they are not rich. Mr. Babington's paying a sum, and my not doing so, was therefore consistent. The sum of 187*l.* for our joint expences from Mokha to Cairo was not extravagant, as we paid 500 dollars from Mokha to Jedda, and, I think, 400 dollars from Jedda to Suez, for our cabins alone; besides which, we had a cook to return to Mokha, all utensils of cooking and constant supplies of fresh provisions to buy for nearly four months, with large presents to the servants of the factory; the expences of our living there, as it was then empty; presents by the way, and journey to Cairo by the Desert, all included. Mr. Babington, indeed, as well as myself, thought it economical. It is not true, that Mr. Babington knew nothing of my circumstances when in Bombay, as they were fully detailed to him, both by me and by his brother and friends, to whom they were known, and not concealed until we got to sea. The reasons for my sudden and hasty departure from Cairo are already detailed, and I have letters by me of your own now, which prove that you expected, as well as myself, that I should return to Cairo again soon.

My stay at Alexandria was so short, that I had scarcely delivered my letters, and explained the state of mercantile feeling at Bombay with regard to a trade with Egypt, before it was thought necessary for me to return to India, with a copy of the treaty made with the Pasha, and to be myself on the spot to bring up such vessels as might be sent to Suez on the faith of it. It was immediately on this being decided, that I wrote to you regarding the 300 dollars which I was indebted to you. The bills of exchange on London given me by Mr. Wedderburn and Erskine were sent to my family, whom I knew, from their not having received any thing from me since my quitting India, must have been in want of money; Mr. Babington finding his expences as far as Egypt less than he had calculated on, and being still in possession of 400*l.* out of the 500*l.* for which he had credit, while he thought 300*l.* would be enough for the remainder of his journey, pressed upon me the acceptance of 100*l.*, which I declined. He said he knew that Briggs and Co. were to pay my expences only, without giving me any thing for my loss of time or trouble; and as the expectations I entertained might fail, he knew that I should then be without funds, and urged this, as well as the assurance that he himself should not want it, and would not think of its repayment until I was more fortunate, to induce me to accept it, but I persisted in my refusal. It is true, that out of this advance, if accepted, I might have paid my debt to you; but you had yourself made me exactly the same assurances when you pressed the 300 dollars on me, as Mr. Babington had done when he offered me the 100*l.*, and, as I thought, with the same degree of sincerity. This transfer of debt seemed to me, therefore, to promise no advantage to any party, as I thought it quite as probable that Mr. Babington might want money, as that you should yourself. I was already in arrears to Mr. Babington some piastres on our joint account of disbursements for the voyage. I had received from him, at Cairo, five or six sequins to defray my expences to Alexandria, and, I think, twenty or twenty-five sequins on my finally leaving that place, to provide for my unexpected need of any thing by the way, as Mr. Lee had given me a letter of credit on Aleppo for the expences of the journey. These, altogether, I know, made the sum of 500 Egyptian piastres, or less than 20*l.* sterling, according to the rate of exchange there, in Mr. Babington's debt, which he was desirous of cancelling, but which I insisted on should remain still against me, and we exchanged copies of account current to that effect. As the money furnished me by Mr. Lee was in a letter of credit on Aleppo for the payment of the bare expences of my journey, without giving me any thing for my trouble, or even naming a specific sum, I could not, either in propriety or fact, discharge my debt to you out of that. What then was to be done? I did even try myself to dispose of a gold watch and a sword which I possessed at the time, but for the one I could find no purchaser, and for the other a price was offered so low, that it would have been almost throwing it away without its enabling me to effect my wishes with regard to you. I then thought of a sale by auction of all my effects there, containing books, instruments, clothes, &c. for the purpose of raising an immediate supply to pay you with, but I was persuaded by those whom I consulted, that this measure would excite the most scandalous construction among the Franks, to whom only such articles would be of use; and that in Aleppo I might sell my sword and watch to such advantage as to be able to raise the sum I needed. I did then write to you a day or two before my departure, which was too suddenly determined on for me to hear from you in answer, that 'I was on the rack' to know whether you would be in want of the money which I owed to you; and which it was tacitly agreed should be refunded to you when my success in India or other better fortune enabled me to do so. I did also state to you that 'I had then no money,' the bills being sent to my family to relieve their wants, which I always considered a paramount claim on me to all others, though, perhaps, in this case, my feelings led me equally with my duty. I stated to you the objections to the sale of my effects as before enumerated, and promised, if possible, to send you the sum from some other place. It was the conviction of being able to do this which alone justified my delaying it in my own mind, and I did not hold so cheaply as you think what I myself thought my duty; because, had I not entertained such conviction, I should have submitted to the public sale, however it might have been construed.

The last letter I ever received from you was only the day before Mr. Babington left you, and dated the 3d of December, 1815, in which you say, 'Mr. Babington is setting off to-morrow.' In this you say to me, 'Mr. Babington has just communicated to me the news of your speedy departure from Alexandria. Truly sorry as I am to forego the pleasure of seeing you again at Cairo, I still feel some satisfaction in thinking that I can evince, at least, my sincere desire of becoming of some service to you, in transmitting to you such local information on your intended land journey as may help you to perform it with increased hopes of success.' In this you point out the dangers of travelling in Syria, the disturbed state of the country, &c. and advise the getting the firman of the pashas of Acre and Damascus as a passport through their provinces. You desire me to give you from Aleppo a full account of my Syrian tour, and conclude by saying, 'It grieves me to part so soon again from you, without having any reasonable hopes of seeing you for many years. Do, therefore, remember me, for I shall ever be with warmth and truth, my dear Buckingham, very sincerely yours.' All this is quoted to prove, that though your intercourse with Mr. Babington had ceased at the time that this was written, and that you say you got at the bottom of his opinion regarding me during the fortnight you were together, yet that your own opinion of me must have been favourable, if your professions here were sincere. And that Mr. Babington's opinion was so, after our long voyage together, his kind behaviour to me during our subsequent stay at Alexandria after he left you, is, I should think, an equally presumptive proof. Those parts of the contents of this letter which offer me advice on the subject of my own prospects in this journey, and ask me again and again, why I do not offer my services to the pasha, where I am sure of a certain gain, while here I have very faint hopes, from the interested motives of those who employ me, being the chief reason of their advancing me money? &c. &c. I need not quote in detail. I may have appeared to you to have imprudently and unguardedly abused your confidence, in saying that 'there were not wanting friends who advised my not undertaking this journey, and recommended the offer of my services to the pasha,' in my replies to one of Mr. Lee's angry letters to me; but it was without a thought of this being applied to you by him, and therefore not considered a breach of confidence by me. I may have unintentionally given this clue to such an inference on Mr. Lee's part, but I did not, as you say, 'impudently misquote your letter in any one expression.' Even these remonstrances and suggestions enumerated by you close by saying, 'Perhaps I go too far in my doubts; I most anxiously wish to be mistaken. Believe me they arise in my anxiety about your welfare, and, above all, rest assured, that whatever you may determine upon, my warmest wishes for your ultimate success accompany you.' Your

opinion of my integrity could not, I think, if this be true, have been at all altered by your intercourse with Mr. Babington, as you affirm.

It is not true, that on my arrival at Soor I went from thence to Jerusalem in quest of Mr. Bankes; not knowing of his being there until I reached Jaffa, through which place he had but just passed. The procuration of a firman from the pasha of Acre led me from Soor to that place; and, indeed, all the reasons for my deviation from the seeming straight line, have been already fully detailed in my correspondence with Mr. Lee.

Your opinion of my character seems to have been first altered, or at least first declared to be so, after the arrival of Mr. Briggs at Alexandria. Mr. Briggs never had any personal knowledge of me, except, as far as I remember, a momentary interview at Mr. John Lee's, at Smyrna, when he was on the point of departing for England (in 1811). Mr. Briggs might have been displeased at the employment which Mr. Peter Lee had given me, for many reasons; but I do not believe that any knowledge of dishonourable conduct on my part could have been one of them. When Mr. Briggs left England, my family were, to my positive knowledge, in the country, and the letters I received from them of about that date, while in Alexandria, contained only expressions of regret at our prolonged separation, with hopes of our soon meeting, and of my prospects improving, but not a word of particular distress, though I knew, from the inadequacy of my remittances, that they must have been generally confined in their means. I do not believe, therefore, that a subscription was opened to relieve them, just before Mr. Briggs's departure; nor do I believe that he knew any thing regarding their peculiar circumstances, since they were in the country, living with Mrs. Buckingham's mother; and, as far as I am aware, they have not even acquaintances in London through whom Mr. Briggs could know this, even had it been true, which I do not in the slightest degree think probable.

It is true that I have debts in England, to which place I do not intend or wish to return until I can pay them. But it is not true that I took up goods and left the country without thinking to pay for them. I purchased very largely with money of my own, earned in my voyages to the West Indies and the Mediterranean as sea-captain, such goods as I thought suited to the market of Malta; and I had, in addition to this sum, embarked goods on credit for about *500l.* more, from various persons in London, with whom I before dealt in the same way. When I left England, it was with a view to settle at Malta, as I had hoped to have quitted the sea-service; and I brought with me many letters explaining this to be my intention, from several respectable houses to whom I was known in London; more particularly Messrs. Lee and Sons, Mr. Brant, Mr. Harris, Mr. Hoskin, St. Barbe and Co., and others, all known. to Mr. Lee, to whom, as well as to the principal merchants of Malta, these letters were addressed. Mr. Lee himself, who was then at Malta, about to embark for Alexandria with his family, gave me the kindest welcome on the strength of these, by coming alongside to see me when all the harbour was in quarantine, and all the town confined within barriers from the existence of a raging plague. The chief part of my investment landed here was consigned to Mr. James Stowe, formerly the partner of Mr. Lee himself, and some other smaller dealers; but I was myself obliged to go to Smyrna, since no one was permitted to land here. A portion of my investment was also taken to Smyrna with me, and consigned to Mr. James Brant there. After waiting some time at that place, with no prospect of the plague abating at Malta, I went, by Mr. Brant's advice, to Alexandria, to see if any business was likely to be done there, where Mr. Lee, then arrived with his family, and filling the post of English consul, gave me a kind reception.

From that time until the present moment the only sums which I received from those with whom my investment was lodged, amounted to about *300l.*, except some sums which were transferred in account towards the liquidation of my debts. Out of this, *100l.* was remitted in separate bills of *50l.*, *25l.*, and *25l.* to my family at different periods, and *200l.* spent by me, and lost when pillaged on my first attempt to get to Cosseir from the Nile. Mr. Stowe, to whom the chief part of the investment left at Malta was confided, could not sell the goods at once, from the confusion and stagnation of the trade there. He has since, as I hear, removed to Marseilles, though I have had no direct communication from him for these nearly three years. The other persons I have heard nothing of. I have frequently written to Malta without receiving answers, and have not been able to get there myself. Some of the people I know to be bankrupts, others dead, much property was even consumed by fire in the island, and the losses from bad sales and other causes were great among all classes, so that I have even now but very faint hopes of any further receipts.

The whole amount of my debts in England, however, whether domestic or mercantile, does not, to the best of my belief, exceed *500l.* sterling. That which I owe to yourself, Mr. Babington, Mr. Wedderburn, and Colonel Missett, as since contracted, though the last always insisted on my not considering his advances as such, may, at the utmost, make *400l.* more. Had any other causes than constant disappointment led to this, I should blush to be burthened with such a load; but as I am conscious of the most upright intentions from the first to the last in my conduct, I am rather alarmed than ashamed. I have lost all my own hard-earned gains, for which, perhaps, I do not sufficiently repine. I consider myself as setting out a second time, with a heavy debt of a thousand pounds to clear off. My own determination is, however, to leave no stone unturned to redeem it; I hope to continue to exercise my own profession in India until that at least is done, and I profess, both to you and to the world, my intention to appropriate every shilling of my gains, above what is absolutely necessary for the most moderate maintenance of myself and family, to the discharge of these claims against me.

There remains but little to answer after this. This calumny, with which you asperse my conduct to my wife at Smyrna, I do not believe it possible for you to be the author of; though I deny it with my oath, and would resent it on the fabricator of such a falsehood with the chastisement it deserves, should I ever meet him. The instance of brazenfaced impudence which you adduce of my having taken from you twenty-three piastres, '*in change* *,' for my journey to Alexandria, without ever thinking of reimbursing you, was in consequence of your pressing upon me this small sum '*in change*,' as you yourself express it, merely because there was not time to send to a Shroff, and you told me that piastres and paras would be constantly wanted by the way, as we all knew. My requesting you to take charge of the baggage of Mr. Babington and myself on its arrival from Suez, was certainly not done merely to put you to the expence of sixty or eighty piastres for the freight. Both those little incidents, indeed, show how even the commonest acts of reciprocal confidence and kindness may be miscontrued under the influence of anger, while, by a cool observer, they would be merely interpreted as friendly offices between intimate acquaintances not possible to be mistaken. The 400 piastres given me by Colonel Missett at Alexandria was before Mr. Babington's arrival, to purchase some articles which I needed after so long a voyage, and meet my current expences of the moment; and this, like all the kind acts of that benevolent man, was given in the anticipation of my wants, and done in such a way, that there was only to choose between acceptance and offence.

I certainly did not state the commission of Forbes and Co. to be 40,000 dollars, but 12,000, as it really was; and, indeed, the first communication I made of this was by showing the letter of the house itself to Mr. Lee, when it became necessary, by my departure, to transfer it to him, so that he could not have been mistaken. The Indian gentlemen, it is true, had given me nothing for my trouble, nor charged me with money, because my return to Egypt was forced, and not at their request; but, I did not express offence at my voyage being called an 'errand,' of which I have not even a recollection; and if I might myself have used the term 'mission,' it was not in contradistinction to any other, but simply as a phrase in common use, without attaching any higher meaning to it than I 'should have done to errand or to message, and certainly without considering Lord Castlereagh as a menial clerk in comparison of my own importance.'

From Syria I did write to Mr. Thurburn, requesting him to sell my effects left in his charge, and reimburse you the sum of 300 dollars therefrom; because I had met with the same difficulty in raising the sum from my own funds there, as I had before met at Alexandria. I desired the overplus to be remitted to my family, if any, because I thought, if my instruments and books found purchasers, there would be more than the sum re-

* Less than three dollars, or six rupees!

quired. I also requested Mr. Thurburn, if this should fall short rather than exceed, to make up the deficiency for me, because Mr. Thurburn had, to the hour of our parting, professed his great readiness to serve me, as he had always done through an intimacy of nearly three years, and because I was myself charged with a commission from Mr. Thurburn to purchase things for him in India, which would have required a much larger advance than the whole 300 dollars from me to effect, and which has been since transferred by me to Mr. Martucci. If, as Mr. Thurburn told you, the sale of these effects would not cancel one-third the sum, they must be estimated at much less than one-third of their real value, and this was my misfortune rather than my fault, since, little or much, it was, as I expressed to him, all that I possessed in the world. I can hardly thank you for ordering it to be sent to my family, when your motive for it was as you express. You ask me why I did not repay Colonel Missett and Mr. Babington, who were both as poor as yourself, and living by their salary. I can only answer, that I had it not in my power to pay either, for the reasons before stated: besides, that you had *all* assured me that you could not be inconvenienced by the accommodations you had afforded me, and that you would be satisfied to defer its payment until my fortune grew better; but, believing it more probable that *you* might want money than either of the others, I had made this sacrifice to prevent, if possible, its happening. I declare most solemnly, that such a motive as that which you ascribe to me, of 'bribing you by such means over to my side,' never once presented itself as even possible to be conceived. My letters from Syria gave to you the same details of my movements, and the causes which directed them, as they did to Mr. Lee. I hid nothing from either of you; and though Mr. Bankes wrote to you, expressing his desire that our joint labours should be given together to the public, this was from a suggestion of his own, and merely acquiesced in by myself, as I always considered myself on a message of business, and certainly made my pleasures, and even my curiosity, a secondary consideration, however much I might have aimed to gratify the one while prosecuting the other.

The whole of these comprehensive epithets, 'rascal, scoundrel, liar, and fool,' with the accusation of having 'tricked you out of 100*l.*, assuming the mask of honour and virtue to work upon the feelings and impose on the understandings of liberal friends by barefaced frauds and lies;' the assertion, 'that every one who had fallen in my way had become, without exception, the dupe of a cunning yet awkward impostor;' and the opinion that 'excess of folly and of vanity can alone drive me on in the track I now pursue, since, after all, you believe me to be a greater fool than rogue:' all these I can only treat as the ravings of a heated imagination, and the first bursts of passion from an angry mind. Had all you say of my motives been true, I should have deserved reprobation. They can be known to no one, I am aware, so accurately as to myself; but I affirm them to have been always pure, and I regret that there is nothing more powerful than this my own assertion to prove it by.

I am destitute, at the present moment, of many letters and papers which would have aided me in this respect, but I have followed the simple task of answering your accusations in the order in which they are made. To your bare assertions, I can only oppose my own; and these I am ready to seal both to you and before all mankind, with the most solemn pledges for their truth.

If I began to address you with feelings difficult to be described, so I close. Anger it is hardly in my nature to feel; but against one whom I have loved and esteemed so warmly and highly as you, against one whom I have been, till the present hour, accustomed to remember as a brother, even more closely allied by romantic meetings, frequently repeated pledges, and indeed all that can endear men to one another, I believe it would be impossible. Let me not conceal from you, however, that if my almost yet undiminished regard for you has made me incapable of anger; that very feeling lingering round my heart still serves but to give a deeper torment to my sorrow. The accusations and abuse of common men I should have resented in a common way; but stabs plunged into the bosom by what we have ever before deemed friendly hands, how are they to be borne!

I shall say nothing to you of the irreparable injury you have done me as a member of society, by the publicity with which you have given these aspersions on my character to the world. It must shake the confidence of my firmest friends, give high triumph to my enemies, for some it seems I have, and occasion even those who are otherwise indifferent to me to treat me with the suspicion which so foul a reputation justifies. May you never feel a stroke like this! to which, I think, all the thunderbolts of misfortune, hurled together on a man, can hardly be equal; and may we one day meet, you to be convinced of your harsh misconceptions, and I to find that I have not irretrievably lost your good opinion.

I am still, as ever, your faithful friend,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

P. S. Captain Boog, by whom this is sent, will, if he should have the good fortune to see you, help to remove your misconceptions on some points more immediately known to him; and I have succeeded in making an arrangement which will enable him to pay you the 300 dollars and 23 piastres, of which you thought so meanly of me as to suppose that I really intended to defraud you.

XXI. CAPTAIN BOOG.

This reply was delivered into the hands of Captain Boog, the person named in the postscript, who is now in Calcutta; and of whom, on that account, it is necessary to say a few words more.

Captain Boog is the gentleman mentioned in the preface to the Travels in Palestine, as the commander who so humanely took me on board his ship, when nearly dying at Jedda, to which circumstance, probably, I owe the preservation of my life; and for which service I have never omitted any occasion to express my sincere and unfeigned gratitude. Captain Boog was a personal witness of almost all that passed between Mr. Burckhardt and myself at Jedda; saw all our correspondence, and had an opportunity of seeing my character as clearly as the most frank and confidential intercourse would allow, after a period of six months on board the same ship, on a most tedious and annoying voyage, where we were the only associates on board, and where nothing that I ever said or did, as far as I could learn, ever met his disapprobation. On my arrival in Bombay, Captain Boog continued to possess the most favourable opinion of me, and lost no opportunity of testifying his wish to have me near him, and his desire to serve me. It was partly through his influence, conjoined with that of other friends, that I obtained an appointment to the command of a new China ship then just launched and brought down to Bombay from Damaun. I have at this moment letters in my possession in Captain Boog's own hand, from 1815 to 1817, both inclusive, which will show that, after the closest intimacy of six months, in the most trying of all situations, and the subsequent experience of a year and a half more in the circle of my Bombay friends, he had neither seen, heard, or known any thing of my character which induced him to lessen the warmth of his friendly expressions to me. Some of the notes and letters I may quote extracts from, without a breach of confidence, as *they reveal no private affairs*, but simply show his feeling of regard and respect for me after this long acquaintance. The following will perhaps suffice:—

It is most probable that after docking (the ship), we shall proceed to Calcutta. I request you will let me know before you think of making any arrangements as to your passage in any other ship. Our detention here will not, I think, exceed one month more, so that I really flatter myself with the hopes of enjoying the pleasure of your society on board the *Suffenut ul Russool* again.—April 15, 1815.

A representation has been made to government respecting the Imaum's ship, requesting British passport and register, to enable Mahomet Aly to send her to China under English colours. I have little doubt but that the application will be successful, and I sincerely hope that you will be able to take advantage of the opportunity which offers of your commanding her. The two ships will, no doubt, be in China at the same time, and I look forward with pleasure to our meeting and living together in China.—May 17, 1815.

I understand Mahomet Aly Khan has succeeded in his application for a passport, and I cannot imagine that the government will be so *brutal* as to prevent you from taking the command of the ship. If you do not shortly receive an answer, I shall be convinced that they do not mean to prevent your remaining in the country.—May 28, 1815.

I am sorry, indeed, that we are living at so great a distance, and are likely to have so few opportunities of meeting, and, on that account, I wish more to insist upon your coming to pay me a visit. I cannot express to you with what anxiety I opened your note, concluding that I was to be made acquainted with either a happy prospect opening upon you, or another instance of unmerited misfortune.—May 29, 1815.

I received your note last night, and I need not tell you how much I am affected at the unhappy result of your application; you have, my dear sir, so many friends whose knowledge and judgment are so superior to what I possess, that any suggestions of mine respecting any further steps to be taken may appear presumptuous; but I feel, that I should be dissatisfied with myself, if any false delicacy should prevent me from hinting any thing that appeared to have the most distant probability of turning to your advantage. Might not a representation from your friends, drawn up in the form of a petition to the governor, be likely to avert the threatened measures of government? I can easily prevent the Khan from disposing of your promised appointment until the result of any future application may be known. If an affidavit of mine, asserting my belief of your being a nautical man, will be of any service, it could be done immediately. Let me assure you, as far as my slender means will allow me, I shall be ever proud to assist you, and to reckon myself among the list of your friends.—Bombay, June 3, 1815.

These were the warm, and I firmly believe sincere, expressions of interest in my behalf, used by Captain Boog, *after* he had been a personal witness of all that had passed between Mr. Burckhardt and myself on board his own ship; after he had known of my receiving the 300 dollars which that traveller pressed upon me against my inclination, and out of funds supplied to him by a public body in England, the African Association, which, he declared he did not and should not want until it might be convenient for me to return them from India; after I had been with him six months on board his ship, living in the most frank and confidential intercourse that could exist between man and man. I must add here, that independently of Captain Boog desiring me to take a passage with him round to Calcutta, as I had done from Jedda to Bombay, he himself offered to lend me money if I should go by any other vessel, and introductions to the persons with whom he had formerly done business here, as he knew that my means were most limited. I declined, however, all his pressing, and, I believe, sincere and well-meant, offers, and did not receive the assistance he would have given me, though I should certainly have taken it if my objects were as fraudulent as have been pretended.

Although appointed to the command of the China ship above alluded to, and with the fair prospect of a fortune before me in a few years, the then governor of Bombay, Sir Evan Nepean, had the cruelty to order me away from the country, for no other reason than because I had not a license, (having left England without any intention of coming to India, and therefore never thinking of applying for one,) though at the same time his opinion of my character, abilities, and pursuits, was so favourable, that he himself placed a commendatory minute of these on record, which was officially transmitted to the Court at home, as the grounds of a recommendation for a license being sent out to me. I returned to Egypt with Mr. Babington, made the Syrian journey, and returned again to Bombay. Captain Boog was either then there, or arrived about the same time; and to show that during this period of nearly two years, no change had taken place in his favourable opinion of me, I subjoin an extract of a note received from him a few days after my arrival: —

I was very happy, indeed, when I heard of your being here. I am very anxious to see you, having much to say, and many inquiries to make. I have taken a very comfortable bungalo at Coulaba, where I shall be most happy if you will do me the favour to spend a few days with me. I need make no apology for not calling upon you immediately, as you are well aware of my being necessarily very much engaged on the first day after my arrival. If you are in the fort in the forenoon, I am always to be found at Mahomet Aly's office, but I shall not be satisfied with a short interview of that kind, and must insist upon your giving me the pleasure of your company at my house for a few days.—January 15, 1817.

It is remarkable enough that the very next letter which I received from Captain Boog contains an appeal to my love of justice and rectitude, and entreats me to do for him, what every honest man must feel a pride in doing for another, be he friend or foe; but the delight of doing which, for those we esteem, can be known only by such as have experienced it. The letter itself relates to a private matter in which Captain Boog had become a party, and of course I shall keep that in the secrecy which I owe it to my own love of justice to maintain: but the close of the letter will show what he thought of me in January, 1817, two years and upwards after our first acquaintance. It is this: —

You may easily conceive how much I am hurt at the occurrence of so unpleasant a circumstance, and how much reason I have to fear of its being misrepresented. You, I am sure, will do me the justice to believe, that the account which I gave you yesterday, and what I tell you now is perfectly correct; and will do what is in your power to prevent its being told to any of our friends to my disadvantage.—Jan. 21, 1817,

I did Captain Boog this justice, and put down those who misrepresented him, wherever I met them; as I would do again were I to hear any ill spoken of him, which I knew he did not deserve. Had Captain Boog been influenced by that first maxim of Christian morality, to do unto others as he would that others should do unto him, he would have followed my example, and have done me the justice which he has more than once received at my hands. But that account must be settled with his own conscience: it is no longer an affair of mine.

Whatever *he* had deposited in *my* bosom, in that confidential intercourse, which it is not necessary for me to say existed between us, since his letters prove it, and these he will not deny, I, as an honest and honourable man, have kept in that secrecy which no subsequent change of opinion can justify any man in betraying. Of me, he has not only published that which I *might* have told him, but has added other matters which I did not and could not have said, which have no foundation whatever, and which it is as disgraceful for any man to publish as it is discreditable to any one to sit down deliberately to write. This, however, must be quite satisfactory to every one, that whatever I may have said of any part of my former life to Captain Boog, whatever he may have heard from my lips or those of others, up to the early part of the year 1817, when his last letter to me is dated, when our acquaintance had been of two years' duration, and when we separated for the last time on terms of the greatest friendship, if he be not the greatest hypocrite in existence, and more double-faced than either Mr. Barker, Mr. Bankes, or Mr. Burckhardt, such knowledge, whether of my earlier or my later history, could have made *no change* in his favourable and friendly opinions of me; since up to that period, when we became separated, he esteemed me so highly as to insist on my coming to live with him for some days, and made *me* the depository of his confidence, *me* the agent of setting his friends right with regard to misrepresentations that had gone abroad respecting him, and *me* the channel of advocating his cause and rendering him justice in the eyes of others! If shame and remorse can be felt for any thing, Captain Boog must feel it on contrasting *this* with his attempts to degrade *me*

in the estimation of mankind now. He began here, by doing a generous act, that of endeavouring to lessen, if possible, the weight of odium which lay on the memory of a man he esteemed. His generous intention was met by a correspondent feeling on my part, and as the action was a well-meant and an honourable one, I need not and do not repent it. Had Captain Boog rested here, his name would never have been called in question. But after a month's silence, which every one must interpret as indicating satisfaction, he joined the outcry raised by the pretended Friend of Bankes, and what he had not the firmness to do alone, he does when backed by others: he acknowledges, that in consequence of the appeal of Bankes's friend, he again entered the field; and not content with endeavouring to whitewash Mr. Burckhardt's deeds, he joins the rest in endeavouring to blacken mine: he goes back even to the years of boyhood; he drags before the world, what, if ever told to him, must have been in moments of the most implicit confidence, and which can have no relation whatever to subsequent events in manhood: he violates every bond that men hold sacred among each other; and, blind with rage and disappointment, and rendered furious by defeat, he adds to his own shame, confusion, and discomfiture, by making the last of his acts more violent and unjustifiable than any that have gone before, till he is in the condition of that man who combined with seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and became in his last state infinitely worse than at first.

These are facts on which the world will not fail to pronounce a right opinion; and to their judgment I shall leave them, while I return to the narrative thus for a moment interrupted.

The nature of the intercourse between Captain Boog and myself, up to the period of our parting at Bombay, in April, 1817, was the most friendly that could be maintained; and when the celebrated 'paper' of Mr. Burckhardt reached Bombay, about February, 1817, and was shown to him among others, he was one of those who expressed himself most shocked at its violence, and who unhesitatingly confessed that he considered my reply to the charges it contained, as full and satisfactory! No change took place in his friendly demeanour; and he knows well that no change took place in the friendly countenance of any of my Bombay friends, by whom the 'paper' and my reply to it were seen. He knows that such was his professed friendship for me, after that paper had been read and answered, that he readily took charge of the 300 dollars sent from Bombay to repay Mr. Burckhardt, that he took charge of a copy of my reply to deliver to him, which he read and approved, and that I accompanied him out of the harbour on board his own ship, took a parting dinner while the vessel was under way on her voyage to Suez, and after the most friendly interchange of good wishes, returned with the pilot who took her out.

After parting with Captain Boog on this occasion, I went in my own ship to the Persian Gulph, and on my return about twelve months after, Captain Boog was still absent; but nothing had reached Bombay from Suez or Egypt in this interval, which had changed the opinion of any one of my Bombay friends towards me. If it were in this interval that Captain Boog delivered Mr. Burckhardt's reply to Mr. Wedderburn in my absence, I can only say that it produced a more unfavourable opinion of its writer than the first 'paper' on the minds of those who saw it; since, in return for the most generous attempt to retrieve a person from error, and to bring him back to reason and truth, only fresh insults, fresh calumnies, vituperation, and abuse, were offered; and having once inflicted injury, it seemed that he never could relent or forgive. What was the fate of that reply I have at this moment no recollection, any more than I have of the date on which I first received it; but of its merits this may be considered a fair test, that not a single friend in Bombay who had before honoured me with his esteem and confidence, at all changed his behaviour towards me; and that Mr. Babington, the very best judge of the whole question in dispute, wrote his letter to his brother to defend me from these aspersions, *after* having heard the original 'paper' read to him, *after* having seen my reply, and *after* having also seen the last answer of Mr. Burckhardt which closed our correspondence; so that he wrote after being in full possession of ALL that had been written on BOTH sides, and then pronounced his opinion of Mr. Burckhardt's criminality, and of my innocence of all that he had laid to my charge, as far as his knowledge, conviction, and belief extended. This document is so important that I trust I shall be forgiven for republishing it, as promised, here:—

LETTER AND ENCLOSURE.

Tannah, April 4, 1819.

My dear Buckingham,

At the request of my brother Benjamin, I have the pleasure to forward to you the copy of a letter which he prepared and transmitted to me, on a subject immediately connected with yourself; and I have the more gratification in complying with his wishes, as it affords me the opportunity of letting you know how we and the rest of your friends in this quarter of India have been getting on since you left us.

Very sincerely yours,

S. BABINGTON.

Letter from Benjamin Babington, Esq. of the H. C. Civil Service, Madras, to his brother, Stephen Babington, Esq. of the H. C. Civil Service, at Bombay.

My dear Stephen,

I take up my pen to remark on certain ill-founded assertions which have been made public by Sheik Ibrahim (Mr. Burckhardt), of Cairo, apparently for the purpose of injuring the character of Mr. Buckingham, and I wish to make you the medium of communicating to his friends at Bombay what I am about to say in refutation of them; as well because you are acquainted with most of those concerned, and are interested in the welfare of my companion, as that you may exercise your discretion in correcting any of my expressions which appear to you misplaced or intemperate.

I am in possession of Mr. Buckingham's answer to Sheik Ibrahim, and the consequent reply of the latter. The paper 'on Buckingham' was also once read to me, but I have it not at hand, which I regret, because I shall not, perhaps, be able from memory to state all that might occur to me on a deliberate examination of the accusations.

It would be going out of my way to touch on any facts but those regarding which my testimony, as an eye-witness, must be held worthy of some credit; but to withhold my evidence on these would not only be unjust to Mr. Buckingham, but, as I am especially called on, a disappointment to Sheik Ibrahim himself.

You cannot but be aware that my mind was directed to the going home overland, long before I knew even of Mr. Buckingham's existence. Before I left Madras I received a letter from you, stating the practicability of the route, and in the first page of my journal, written about the same time, the opportunity afforded of getting to Bussora, or the Red Sea, is mentioned as one cause of my proceeding first to Bombay. I am willing to admit that an account of the entertainment I should receive by the way had some effect in determining my choice; but I deny that it was a false account, for I verified, on experiment, all I heard. Mr. Buckingham's descriptions, if I mistake not, were given at a time when he had no intention of going to Egypt, and my inclination to take the Red Sea route was still strong when he was likely to become master of the Wellesley *; surely, then, he stands exonerated from any

* A new 74-gun ship built at Bombay, and just launched, to which I was then about to be appointed.—J. S. B.

sinister design in drawing a lively picture of the scenes he had just been delighted by visiting.

For Sheik Ibrahim's attention to me while in Cairo I am very much obliged to him. They were such as one gentleman would be likely to pay another, and which I should much wish an opportunity to return. He finds fault with Mr. Buckingham, however, for having left me on his hands: and he certainly does not increase my debt of gratitude by the remark. But let us examine how far it is correct. Mr. Buckingham lodged me in the Catholic convent, where I messed, and was provided with every thing I needed, and the Sheik was merely requested to give me advice respecting my visits to the pyramids, &c., and to introduce me to his acquaintance among the Franks; surely there was nothing very difficult in the task of hospitality he had thus to perform.

He pretends, indeed, that in his character as an Arab it was peculiarly dangerous and injurious to his views to be seen in my company; but how is this borne out by his general conduct? He was in the habit of visiting at the houses of several Franks while I was in Cairo; and, by his own account, he had been often with Messrs. Legh and Smelt, as their work indeed shows; often with Mr. Bankes; and still oftener with Colonel Missett. Sheik Ibrahim cannot seriously suppose that among Arabs he passes for one. I have it from excellent authority that he could not open his lips before a native of the country without betraying that he is a foreigner. If we apply the case to a foreigner in our own country, especially if he be an Arab, we shall feel convinced that it could not be otherwise. There is not, I believe, any doubt in the mind of the natives, certainly not in that of my informer, as to his being a Mussulman, since there are renegadoes of all nations.

I must here observe, that when Sheik Ibrahim mentions my being in the same house with him for a fortnight (I think this is his expression), it is a mistake or inadvertency. I never lived in the same house with him, as my journals, written at the time, will show. He affirms that his residence with me enabled him to get at the bottom of my opinion of Mr. Buckingham; and that I told him of my having paid all our joint charges on the way from India to Suez. How far a gentleman is justified in publishing a private conversation involving the opinions of another I will not stop to inquire. I averred to Sheik Ibrahim my belief, that I had borne the greater part of the current expences of our voyage, and that the account when balanced would appear much in my favour. I also coincided with him in thinking Mr Buckingham's history so extraordinary, that it yet required proofs to establish its truth; I qualified these remarks, however, by saying, that I had never discovered him in a falsehood, and that doubts respecting the state of our accounts still remained, as we had never settled them. This, as far as I recollect of a conversation which took place nearly three years ago, is the substance of what passed between us, and I believe we never spoke but once on the subject.

On reaching Alexandria I found out the error of my calculation. This arose from my having omitted to take in the expense of provisions that had been procured in Bombay for our voyage, which cost a larger sum than I had expended on the passage, and to the purchase of which I had not contributed. Whether these provisions were furnished at Mr. Buckingham's or at Mr. Wedderburn's expense, it was not my business to inquire; but as a proof that the former did not wish to deceive me in this respect, I shall here give an extract from a letter dated December 6, 1815, which he wrote me regarding our accounts, at a time when he expected to quit Alexandria before I should arrive there: —

'The account of disbursements on our voyage from Bombay to Cairo I have left here for your inspection. By it you will see that the whole sum expended has been 669 dollars; that the united sum of what was paid by Mr. Wedderburn for me in Bombay for our stock, with 135 dollars and sequins brought from thence in money, amounts to 334 dollars; that the sum advanced by you at different dates and places specified in the account, amounts to 343 dollars; and that the balance remaining due to you is, therefore, by this statement, nine dollars, or ten including all fractions.'

If we consider the advances made by Mr. Wedderburn as borrowed, I cannot perceive that Mr. Buckingham was guilty of the least impropriety in charging me with the provisions; it would have been giving them to me not to do so; and all will allow that he was not in circumstances to make it laudable or even honest to make me a present.

I am sorry to observe, however, that all which is advanced, as well respecting my opinion of Mr. Buckingham, as on the state of our accounts, cannot but be *wilful* misrepresentation; for no sooner did I arrive at Alexandria, and discover the error that I had laboured under, than I wrote to Sheik Ibrahim, acquainting him in a detailed manner with the circumstance, and stating the confirmed belief I had in my companion's integrity.

I made no copy of this letter, and I repeat its substance from memory, but to the fact of having written it I am ready to swear.

As for Mr. Buckingham's 'brushing up a bill of fare to balance arrears with me,' I should express myself far otherwise than temperately, were I to give way to my feelings regarding that assertion. It is at least as severe an attack upon my understanding, as on my friend's principles.

The account that was delivered to me was the *original* that had been written at the time the several charges arose; and as I was present at all purchases and bargains, there could be no deception.

The very amount of the sum expended is a sufficient proof that the account was genuine; and I feel very confident, though I have long lost or destroyed the statement, that I could, at this distant period, call to mind items that could make up at least three-fourths of it.

That I offered to lend Mr. Buckingham a hundred pounds, and even pressed him to accept it, is perfectly true, and equally so that he borrowed only twenty sequins. My desire to serve him would not, as he knew, have been at all lessened by his acceptance of either sum; nor could he, if dishonourable, have had any motive for refusing the larger one. His reason for doing so was, as he stated, that he only wanted sufficient money to carry him to Syria, whence his expences were to be paid by his employers as far as India.

The assertions that he had ill-treated and abandoned his wife, and that a subscription had been raised for her on account of her extreme poverty, did not, I believe, originate with Sheik Ibrahim; though, by inserting them among his own accusations, he has become responsible for their truth.

Without enlarging on the improbability that Mr. Buckingham would direct his endeavours to having that wife whom he had ill-treated and abandoned brought out to India (and this I could prove that he has done, if it were worth while), I shall appeal to the testimony of the lady herself, who must be admitted as an incontrovertible evidence in this case. In so doing I have to apologise to her for quoting passages of her letters to me, which I trust she will excuse, on consideration of the end which is thus to be answered. The following are extracts from a letter dated January 9, 1817: —

'You say it is your intention to quit this country for India, about the middle of the ensuing February. What extreme pleasure would it afford me were I so soon to leave it! for, believe me, I am heartily tired of being so long separated from my dearest connections.

'Notwithstanding that I am settled in the bosom of my family, and that the happiness of being surrounded by those who are endeared to us by the ties of kindred is one of the highest kind, yet it affords but a very inadequate compensation for the loss of the society of him who is dearer to me than my own existence. I trust we shall not much longer be separated; for I feel my own happiness so essentially interwoven with a participation in his fate, that nothing but the hope of our soon meeting again affords me a gleam of consolation. Were I to give way to my feelings I should go on to panegyrise him; but I will wave so unnecessary a task, under a conviction that nothing that I might feel or express could possibly increase a merit so conspicuous, and which I am persuaded, however highly I may estimate it, I do not view through too magnified a medium.

'It is, indeed, extremely gratifyng to me to observe that he has met with so much attention everywhere, and that even strangers have conferred on him the most unlimited kindness, a circumstance which will always afford the most pleasing recollections. I sincerely hope he may remain in India, as I think it will be more advantageous to him. If so, you will no doubt meet him on your arrival there; under this idea I have requested Captain ——, if possible, to see you, and give you

every information in his power relative to my dear little children, that you may be enabled to tell their father how much they are grown, the good state of their health, &c.

'Since I had the pleasure of hearing from you I have received a very long and interesting letter from him,' &c.

I have another letter from Mrs. Buckingham, expressing throughout the same glowing affection for her husband; but what I have already quoted will be sufficient to remove all doubts as to their reciprocal feelings. My letters to Mrs. Buckingham were partly on the subject of her affairs; and her total silence as to distress is enough to convince that she was never reduced to the straits mentioned by Sheik Ibrahim; at least if his assertion applies to any period prior to January, 1817, and I think his 'Paper on Buckingham,' is of earlier date: but further, I saw Mr. Buckingham's sister, Mrs. Humphries, in London, in December, 1816, and though I made particular inquiries respecting his family, nothing of the kind was stated. I also saw Mrs. Buckingham's friends, Mr. Brant and Mr. Hoskin, who, if money was to be advanced for her support, would have been no doubt among the first to come forward. Though I was consulting with these gentlemen on the very subject of Mrs. B.'s affairs, they mentioned not any pecuniary distresses. All were silent on this point; while all confirmed the truth of Mr. Buckingham's extraordinary history.

This was to be expected; and the Sheik's abusive remark, that 'my companion was more fool than rogue,' would indeed have been verified, if he had introduced me to people whom he did not know, or who were likely to be the means of detecting him in falsehood.

It is brought as an accusation against him that he did not pay for his passage to Mocha; Captain Maillard can settle this point, by saying whether any deceit was used by Mr. Buckingham in holding out hopes of remuneration for his passage, and whether such remuneration be deemed customary between gentlemen of the same profession. Captain Boog, also, should be called on for his testimony respecting the truth of such accusations as refer to events transacted in his presence. *

So extended, indeed, is the period to which these accusations apply, that even supposing them false, it cannot come within the compass of any one person's positive knowledge that they are so.

In the foregoing defence I may have omitted some points that, if my memory served me, I could throw light upon. If, however, I have disproved even *one* unjust accusation, I shall not have taken up my pen in vain; for a single falsehood, whether uttered intentionally, or from erroneous impressions, must affect the credit of all assertions from the same source, and make an impartial judge suspend his opinion, at least, till he has heard both sides of the question.

I cannot close my letter without expressing my disgust at the abusive style of language used throughout the 'Paper on Buckingham;' language which, even if applicable to the object against which it was levelled, it is surely beneath the dignity of a gentleman to use. If we contrast this abuse with the uncommonly kind expressions of extreme regard uttered at the very time when the feelings which gave rise to the accusations were the strongest, we shall find it difficult to put much faith in Sheik Ibrahim's sincerity in expressing either his regard or contempt; and this circumstance alone must weaken our confidence in the disinterestedness of his assertions.

Believe me, my dear Stephen,

Your very affectionate brother,

B. BABINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above I have, with much regret, heard of the death of Sheik Ibrahim. This circumstance makes it more necessary than ever that the truth may be known respecting Mr. Buckingham's character, because the Sheik's papers may do him irreparable injury. I do not think it worth while to alter this letter.

I shall not attempt to weaken the value of this testimony, by adding any comment of my own to a reply at once so clear, so manly, and so entirely in the spirit of an upright witness, a perfect gentleman, and a sincere yet conscientious friend. I need only mention that up to the latest period of my advices from England, three years after this was written, I have no reason to believe the slightest change has taken place in the opinions there expressed. I pass on, therefore, to the consideration of another charge, on which, as on all the others, great stress has been laid, though its foundation is quite as sandy as all the preceding ones.

XXII. SELF-INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA, AS MR. BURCKHARDT'S BOSOM FRIEND.

I came round to Calcutta in my own ship, where I arrived in June, 1818. In September of the same year, at the suggestion of several friends, who thought favourably of my capacity for the task, I undertook the duties of a public editor, and in October following, I published the first number of the Calcutta Journal. I had by this time digested the materials of the Travels in Palestine, had had a long interview with Lord Hastings, and obtained his permission to dedicate the book to him, had passed many days with the late Bishop, and had seen and become intimate with the principal literary characters and families of distinction in this city. I enumerate these particulars not from vanity, but for the purpose of challenging contradiction, when I assert, that with the single exception of Lord Hastings himself, I did not meet with one individual in this whole city, to whom Mr. Burckhardt was known; and he was known to his lordship only as a young Swiss, sent out at the expence of the African Association, of which Lord Hastings was a member; nor do I believe there were ten individuals in Calcutta who had ever *heard* of Mr. Burckhardt, and certainly not *one* to whom my calling myself his friend, could have been the slightest recommendation whatever. It is asserted, however, by the FRIEND OF BANKES, that I introduced myself to this society as the bosom friend of Mr. Burckhardt, whose esteem I professed to have enjoyed up to the day of his death; and that I was received at the tables of several families in Calcutta, as a friend of this Mr. Burckhardt, whom not a single family in Calcutta knew, or had ever heard of, either as a traveller or a man! My introductions to most of the first families of Calcutta were by letters from their friends at Bombay, Madras, and elsewhere; and beyond this, my acquaintance was never once made with any single individual as 'the bosom friend' of Mr. Burckhardt. Indeed it would have been as absurd to look for a kinder reception on that account, as from being a friend of Mr. Bankes, who was then quite as unknown as Mr. Burckhardt to any member of this 'limited society,' and who has even now, it would seem, no better 'FRIEND' in it, than a man who professes that he has no personal acquaintance with him and no personal regard for him! and who, I believe, only advocates *his* cause, and openly calls himself *his* friend, because he is *my* secret though bitter enemy.

This material charge of my having represented myself to this society, with a view to deceive them and benefit myself, as the bosom friend of Mr. Burckhardt, and as having enjoyed his respect and esteem up to the day of his death is, however, as false as every other that has been advanced against me, and I hope to satisfy even my enemies that I am not guilty of it. When the prospectus of my Travels in Palestine was published, Mr. Burckhardt's death was known to me. Those very persons who now

* Captain Boog was the person who took my reply to Egypt; who read and approved of it before it was sent; and who then considered the charges of Mr. Burckhardt's 'paper' false and unfounded; who took back for me the 300 dollars to repay Sheik Ibrahim, and whose behaviour to me up to the period of our parting in Bombay was such as to furnish the strongest possible testimony of his considering me an innocent as well as an injured man; unless his thoughts and deeds were at variance with each other, of which of course he alone can be a judge.—J. S. B.

cry out against the baseness of my calumniating the absent and the dead, will surely applaud my forbearance, under the influence of the very feelings which they *profess* to entertain. I had loved and esteemed Mr. Burckhardt as a brother; for *my* professions of regard were neither hollow nor affected. He had striven to do me unmerited injury; and had returned all my subsequent indulgence and forbearance with new and aggravated insults. But he was numbered with the dead; and even *had* I any lurking desire of vengeance (which I thank God I never did entertain towards any living being for more than a moment), the thought of his death, and of his being gone to give his last account before a higher tribunal, would have stayed my hand.

Do we live among Christians, who preach forgiveness of injuries as the highest of virtues, who tell us to bless those who persecute us, to pray for those who despitefully use us, who enjoin us to return good for evil, and bid us imitate the example of that bright pattern whose last prayer for his murderers was—'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do?' Must we hear this as the essence of the highest and most sublime morality; and shall forbearance towards a dead and deluded enemy be accounted a crime? Shame on such Christians, who know so little how to practise what they preach!

In the prospectus to the Travels in Palestine, which was a mere narrative of the events connected with my journies, I spoke of Mr. Burckhardt, as 'the late lamented and accomplished traveller,' epithets which were strictly true; and he was by none more sincerely lamented than by myself; for I believed then, and I believe to this hour, that, had he lived, a day would yet have arrived when he would have done his utmost to render me justice, as I am quite sure I should do to any man breathing whom I thought I had wronged. In another part of the same prospectus, I spoke of Mr. Burckhardt as my '*former* friend;' in what sense I used that phrase I do not now remember: it might have been as relating to his death, or as relating to his change of sentiment; it is at least *capable* of the *last* interpretation, and charity would so construe it: but the malignity against which I have to contend would, of course, never listen to such a reading. Be this as it may, there is no portion of the whole prospectus which either asserts or insinuates that I enjoyed Mr. Burckhardt's friendship beyond the period there adverted to; and that I did then, his own letters unequivocally prove.

The mighty crime of which I have been guilty towards this mistaken and deluded individual is, therefore, this; that with all the recollections of our former intimacy, added to the knowledge of his subsequent death, I did not obtrude either upon the world or on private society, the tale of Mr. Burckhardt's unwarrantable attempts to ruin and degrade me; and though I never asserted to any human being that I enjoyed his friendship up to the hour of his death, I was yet so moved to forbearance by the knowledge of that sad event, as to bury the injuries he had done me in my own bosom, and to speak of his general accomplishments, and general character, as if his conduct to me had been blotted out from the record altogether. I am vain enough to believe that there are few men who would have had the magnanimity to do this; and that a sullen silence would have been all that even well-disposed and ordinarily generous men would have observed. But surely those who still hold up Mr. Burckhardt as a 'venerable (dying at the age of 30), pure, and immaculate character,' and who tax me with base ingratitude for saying *any* thing to his discredit, should be the *last* to charge me with the crime of keeping what I did know to his shame, from the public eye, when he was laid in the silent grave! Yet these are the very men who are loudest in their reproaches. Such is the blindness and inconsistency into which hatred plunges even sensible minds; like the intoxication of any other passion, that of hatred amounts almost to madness, and never was rage more blind in the direction of its fury than in the present instance.

In the month of November, 1818, the authentic account of Mr. Burckhardt's death, which had before reached this country from Egypt, came to India in a number of The Quarterly Review. This was republished in the public papers here; and observing the interest that it then excited, I should have been deservedly condemned, if I had attempted to blot the fair fame with which his name was associated, by obtruding his quarrel with me upon the world. With the single exception of myself, he may never have behaved ill to any one: he had never met with another, perhaps, of whom he had so much reason to be jealous, if fame as a traveller in Palestine were his object, nor with any one from whose frank and unsuspecting disposition he had been able to learn so much that was capable of being perverted and distorted to his injury. At all events there was now, as before, the 'still small voice' which whispered that the grave contained his earthly remains, and that he was no more able to answer in his defence. I therefore added to the account of his last moments, which appeared in a letter from Mr. Salt at Cairo, several extracts from my manuscript journal, detailing all that I could find interesting relating to Mr. Burckhardt, and the history of our meetings on the Nile and at Jedda more particularly, including all that occurred in the presence and hearing of Captain Boog. Even this, however, I introduced by saying, that 'though the form and style of a journal, written while all the impressions it records are yet warm upon the mind, are objectionable to some; yet, in our opinion, it is this very freshness and genuine glow of truth about them, which give to loose memoranda of this description, their highest charm; and with this belief we choose rather *to hazard the imperfections they may contain than* ALTER A SINGLE PHRASE of the journal in which they are preserved.'—Nor did I.—I spoke of this traveller as I then found him, and then believed him to be; and left for Mr. Burckhardt, Mr. Bankes, and their avowed friends, the task of pronouncing a man at one period every thing that is admirable, and at another every thing that is contemptible, merely because they have done him deep and grievous injuries, and therefore seek to justify a hatred of which they have not the courage to avow the true cause, envy of superior skill and industry, and jealousy of the fame and fortune that is likely to reward a perseverance in an honest cause, and a firmness that they know not how to imitate or appreciate.

Throughout the whole of what I then published, however, I never said that I enjoyed Mr. Burckhardt's friendship or esteem up to the day of his death; I spoke of him as an accomplished traveller, and an excellent man, which I was still inclined to hope that he might be, notwithstanding the delusion under which he laboured with respect to myself; and even still more lately I gave it as my opinion, that if he had lived he might have been made sensible of his errors; and, if so, that he would have had the virtue to endeavour at least to atone for them. This, then, is the way in which I have revenged myself for Mr. Burckhardt's injuries to me, by keeping back the tale of his misdeeds, and suffering my respect for the sanctity of the dead, and my remembrance of past kindness, to obliterate from my heart every rising desire of retaliation that nature would necessarily prompt. This is my crime; and they who call themselves *Christians* would denounce me as an outcast, for practising, at the expence of many a hard struggle, the purest and most sublime virtue of their creed! Shame on such hypocritical perversion of all that is open and manly!

Not long after this, Captain Boog was in Calcutta; and it was then, for the first time, that I learnt any change in his sentiments towards me. At that period, all that I had said of Mr. Burckhardt was before the world, and known

no doubt to him also; so that if my conduct had appeared wrong in giving myself out as the bosom friend of an individual who had done all he could to express his enmity to me, it was in the power of Captain Boog to have undeceived the world at that early period, had he thought it a matter of importance so to do. He then had an opportunity of seeing also the reply of Mr. Babington to the charges of Mr. Burckhardt, written after Mr. Babington had seen Mr. Burckhardt's original paper and his last rejoinder; and if this made no impression on his mind, it only proves how much less open to conviction it was, than the mind of my friend who penned it, and who was the most competent witness that could be cited in the case. I had the same desire to retain Captain Boog's good opinion as I had to retain Mr. Burckhardt's; and gratitude to both those individuals influenced me more than it appears either of them conceived, in confining the story of our differences to my own breast; for I did not even communicate them to many of my confidential friends; and should never have thought of adverting to them in a public paper, had I not been driven to the necessity of either doing this, or suffering my reputation to be blasted for ever.

XXIII. CHARGE OF UNJUSTIFIABLE PUBLICATION.

Next came the letter of Mr. Bankes from Thebes, accusing me of being about to make use of his notes, though he knew not what I was going to publish; of ignorance, incapacity, &c. &c. In this letter, Mr. Bankes admits that Mr. Burckhardt's letters to him first changed his good opinion of me. He then copies some of the most insulting expressions of Mr. Burckhardt's 'paper' as applied to myself; and tells me that these sentiments were not confined to the pages of a single letter, but that during the last two years of his life this 'excellent person' lost no opportunity of testifying his contempt and aversion for my character.

All this I bore with that calmness and fortitude which it is in vain to affect, and which none but the innocent can know. I assembled together my friends, to lay before them certain accusations which, had I been guilty, I should have been too happy to have kept an inviolable secret. My first step was to prove to them, from Mr. Bankes's own letters, that much of what he said of me could not be true; next to show them my notes of the journey made to Jerash after our separation; and, lastly, to produce the draftsman who constructed the plan of that city from my own materials, though Mr. Bankes insisted on it that it was copied from a tracing of his own, which on comparison it scarcely at all resembled. When nine of the most estimable and respectable members of this society were satisfied on these points, I produced to them also Mr. Babington's complete refutation of Mr. Burckhardt's calumnies, on which calumnies Mr. Bankes admitted that his contempt for me was originally grounded. They were equally satisfied with this; and every new enquiry only served to make their conviction of my innocence clearer and stronger than before.

I was even then urged by many to *publish* the whole of these transactions from beginning to end; but my answer to all such intreaties was invariably this;—that, as one of the individuals was absent and the other dead, and as their calumnies against me had not been issued to the world through the press, I should for the present content myself with obtaining notarial copies of all these documents, and send them to England for the purpose of counteracting the influence which such misrepresentations might be supposed to have there, and await the publication of my book for further measures.

This was accordingly done. The papers were sent home in 1820, and reached England in TRIPLICATE, about the beginning of the next year. I have evidence of Mr. Bankes being in England from 1820 up to 1822. I have evidence of his having received a letter from me in June, 1820, which he returned unopened; and he was in town during the whole of the period the book was advertising by Longman and Co., during the time it was publishing, and while it was reviewing. He knew also of the transfer of the book from Murray to Longman, and of the latter having only consented to publish it after a delay of nearly two years, in consequence of their entire satisfaction with the refutation of Mr. Bankes's and Mr. Burckhardt's calumnies sent home to them. Yet during all this time he remained silent. At length came The Quarterly Review, and after my book had been praised by every other periodical publication, spoken of highly in private literary circles, quoted from extensively in Dr. Burder's new edition of Scriptural Illustrations, and, above all, passing into a second edition within an almost unprecedented short space of time for a book of travels, The Quarterly attempts to stamp it with every species of reprobation that the ingenuity and malignity of its conductors could supply. In their review, if such a tissue of malevolent misrepresentation can be so called, they say,—

'His transactions with Mr. Bankes seem to have been an episode in his plan; we have *not only* the STATEMENT OF THAT GENTLEMAN with respect to them, but have seen also *the deposition upon oath of his servants*, that Mr. Buckingham bore no part whatever, either in the dispositions or the expenses of the journies beyond the Jordan; that he never made a single sketch during this time, nor had materials for so doing, and has, moreover, been heard to lament his inability; that the plan which is the *ground-work* of that here given of Djerash was made by Mr. Bankes, and traced, by his permission, at a window of the convent of Nazareth, by Mr. Buckingham, upon a direct promise that it should never be published.

Here is a direct avowal of Mr. Bankes giving his statements and the depositions of his servants on oath to the Reviewer as materials for his review. Mr. Bankes is then a party, and a principal one, to the calumnies therein contained. It is true, that his statement and the oath of his servants (one an Albanian renegado, and the other a Portuguese valet), were equally destitute of value; since incontestible evidence of a much safer kind (Mr. Bankes's own letters in my possession, and the written testimony of the gentlemen in Calcutta) proves my having gone over a large portion of the country beyond Jordan, not only free of Mr. Bankes's 'dispositions or expense,' but without his company, and that he knew of this, and acknowledges seeing my notes on these very portions; while the deposition of Mr. Hamilton, of the Surveyor-General's office in Calcutta, and a comparison of the tracing and the engraved plan prove that the one was of no use whatever in constructing the other! So much for the accuracy of this gentleman's statements and his servants' oaths. But my object in adverting to this is to show, that Mr. Bankes having made himself a party to the calumnies in The Quarterly Review, (if he did not write the article itself, which I still think probable,) the time for me to repel these calumnies as publicly was arrived, and the limits of just forbearance were broken down. The John Bull, indeed, sagaciously surmised, that as none of the Calcutta papers had republished this article from The Quarterly Review, I was not justified in repelling it through my paper, or introducing the subject through that channel to the Indian public. Profound reasoner! Why, for one copy that is circulated of the John Bull, there is perhaps a hundred of The Quarterly Review, and its articles are copied and recopied from paper to paper in all quarters of the civilised world, till, perhaps, a million of impressions may be made in the aggregate of any article that has the particular charm of personality and malignity, like that on the 'Travels in Palestine,' to recommend it. I was bound, therefore, to repel these calumnies without delay, and in the most public manner possible. My own paper was the only channel in which I could hope to do this effectually in India, and that I accordingly chose. In entering on the subject it was necessary to go to the root.

With a fairness and honesty, therefore, seldom seen in literary controversy, I republished the whole article from the Review, and never, perhaps, were its mere criticisms made to appear more contemptible than on that occasion. In entering into the moral charges, I could do no less than publish all the notarial documents relating to them; and as Mr. Bankes, in his letter from Thebes, had made Mr. Burckhardt's calumnies the ground of his original hatred to me, and laid considerable stress on the authority of 'that excellent man,' as he called him, I was also bound to show that his authority was not to be relied on, and to introduce Mr. Babington's letter to his brother as the safest and most unexceptionable refutation that could be offered.

XXIV. CHARGE OF INGRATITUDE.

This brings me, therefore, to the charge of ingratitude, which is urged against me, for having, it is said, gratuitously and unnecessarily brought before the public the misdeeds of one who had relieved me when in distress! Surely never was there such a perversion of terms as this;—*I*, who had, in memory of this man's former kindness and friendship, exercised a forbearance almost above humanity,—*I*, who had returned all his insults with mildness and expostulation,—*I*, who when he had even reiterated his calumnies and added fresh injuries to those he had before inflicted, still buried them in my own bosom, because the grave contained his earthly remains, and another world his, perhaps, repentant spirit,—*I*, who had literally blessed him who had persecuted me, done good to him who spoke only evil of me, and prayed for him who had despitefully used me,—*I*, to be charged with ingratitude, because I would not also suffer my own reputation to be blasted for ever, rather than disturb the repose of the dead, by which alone I could with justice defend my good name! Of all the hypocritical affectations of my enemies I know of none that equals this. When I abstained from intruding on the world, without extreme necessity, the story of Mr. Burckhardt's unjust treatment of me, I was called an artful impostor, covered with falsehood and iniquity, *because* I kept these injuries to myself! When the extreme necessity arrives, and, as either my fair fame and honest reputation, or Mr. Burckhardt's memory, *must* be tarnished, I put forth, in the most temperate and well attested form, the true state of the case, I am then called a villain and assassin, *because* I tell these injuries to the world!! Never, never, surely, was prevarication and crookedness so marked as this!

At length, some few months after this publication, Captain Boog addressed me a note, saying I had committed an error in stating that Mr. Burckhardt's 'paper' was circulated *at the time he was* writing me friendly letters; as the change in his sentiments was subsequent to this by a month or two, and arose from the causes already detailed, and calling on me to correct, as far as I could, the impression which this seeming duplicity had, no doubt, made to Mr. Burckhardt's prejudice. What was the result? At the sight of a name so familiar to me as that of a man to whose kindness I probably owed my life, when taken on board his ship in an almost dying state at Jedda. and at the thought also of having possibly borne too heavily on the memory of another *former* friend, who was numbered with the dead, my heart relented. I yielded a ready assent to what I believed to be a just, and knew and felt to be a grateful, task, and I accordingly wrote in my paper of the following day, an article of the most conciliatory nature, such as I never could have been prevailed on to *think* due to any, but a man now in the grave, who had, perhaps, repented of the injuries he had done me before his last breath escaped, and who, at least, was gone to his last account before another and a higher tribunal. This conciliatory and exculpatory article I closed with the following sentence:—

"But, as we before observed, we rejoice as much as any one could possibly do, at the opportunity offered us to remove any portion of error that is capable of correction; and having always regarded Mr. Burckhardt as one of the most promising travellers of the age, and long esteemed him as a man, our regret at any change of sentiment, more particularly when arising from misapprehension and error, is only heightened by this association. We lament that he did not live to prosecute his intended discoveries, as well as to be convinced, as we believe he would have been had his life been spared, of his having yielded too readily to false impressions, when we are satisfied he would have promptly avowed his conviction."

What was the return I received for this, by those too who dwell so loudly on *my* ingratitude? Captain Boog, after remaining silent a whole month, from which every reasonable person would infer that complete satisfaction had been rendered, and that nothing more was intended to be demanded, joins in the train of the pretended FRIEND OF BANKES (who is *of course* no impostor, though he calls himself one of the friends of a man with whom he admits he has no personal acquaintance, and for whom he says he has no personal regard), and they play into each other's hands with scraps and extracts of letters, without name, date, or any of those attested securities with which I have stamped every document brought forward in my defence; and lay hold of the most trifling circumstance to make some impression or even some diversion in their favour.

It is really like the vultures of the desert trying with their beaks to make an impression on the pyramids. They may detach a loose fragment here and there, but the proud mass stands firm on its base from which no human power can shake it. They have made the mighty discovery that a paper was seen, though from some error of the press it was said not to have been seen; and they have corrected the exact period of its first circulation. They have doubted whether I had a binnacle compass or a pocket one, and whether Mr. Palmer is satisfied or not. But what have they done to overturn one tittle of the *evidence* on which the whole case rests? I answer, ABSOLUTELY NOTHING. The accusations of Mr. Burckhardt and Mr. Bankes remain exactly where they stood on the 15th of August last, when the refutation of them was first made public; that refutation is founded on evidence of the most invulnerable description, and if fifty BULLS, with all the functionaries of India to back them, and all the influence of all the great men and women of the earth (not to say of India merely) were exerted to overthrow it, they would fail; since it has candour and innocence for its origin, truth for its basis, and justice for its end.

Having brought this detailed examination of the several heads of charges urged against me to a close, I am compelled to ask—Is it for these transactions, in a distant country, with men unknown and (in the ordinary sense of the term) friendless here; or is it for events still farther back, and still unveiled to the prying gaze of an anxious and expectant world, that the call is made, for every man to lift his hand against me, for every assassin to have his secret stab at my name and reputation in the dark? Is it for a series of struggles and exertions, of which few can produce so long and unexceptionable a catalogue, amidst the pressure of every thing appalling and discouraging to perseverance, that the call is made to hunt me from the civilised world, and draw the daggers of every man against my single bosom?

No, no! There are deeper-seated causes of hatred to me than this; and the passion burns stronger in the breasts of men who never heard of Bankes and Burckhardt before, and who do not value their reputation a jot, than in the breasts of those poor deluded instruments whom they have first seduced to arm, and then pushed into the front of the battle.

It is the 'FREEDOM OF THE INDIAN PRESS' which is the object of all this hatred and scorn; that freedom which it was the fashion for every one to eulogise as the greatest of blessings, when authority, power, rank, place, and patronage were the banners that floated over it; and which it is now the fashion to denounce as the greatest of curses, by those subservient slaves, who would lick the dust beneath the feet of their masters, and whose tone is changed, because the banners by which the free press of India was first protected, have been since unhappily abandoned, deserted, and ingloriously furled, by the very hands that were the first to unfold and wave them in pride and exultation over our heads.

This is the secret cause of the murderous and death-exciting irritation with which the warfare of its enemies is now carried on. They have seen that as far as the press is engaged, 'the blood of Douglas can protect itself;' they have seen that whether in the vestry room, the council chamber, the court, or the field, whenever it became the duty of its friends to meet their opponents, they never shrunk, as long as the grounds of contest were fair and honourable. They have seen six successive newspapers disappear from the arena of publication before the influence of that press, which was the first to assert, the most strenuous to defend, and will, I trust, be ever the most faithful to maintain its freedom. They have seen six successive editors beaten and discomfited in their management of a paper, which has reserved to itself the peculiar disgrace of courting, hugging, and rejoicing in its political chains; while, with demoniac fury, it goes about like one possessed of devils, whom no bonds can bind, tearing asunder all those ties which render private life and honourable confidence sacred. They have seen all this, and therefore they hate, and would, no doubt, triumph, in the destruction of that press which I conduct, and in the disgrace of all those who conscientiously lend their aid to maintain its honourable freedom.

If any doubt remain as to this being the only true cause of the hatred and persecution against me, I entreat the reader's attention to the following confession, in the very last of the Series of Letters written by the pretended FRIEND OF BANKES, wherein he freely explains what were the motives that led him to this contest, for which the names of Bankes and Burckhardt were mere convenient watchwords. He says:—

'It was also my aim to draw the Journalist forth in all his strength; and those who remember his 'Something in Self-Defence' must, like myself, have anticipated a fierce and formidable contest. It is not my fault that public expectation has not been gratified; and had my only object been to *silence* the wordy Journalist, I had long ago retired from public notice. Had it been to gratify public curiosity, it would hardly have been deemed a very worthy motive; had it been to feed the revenge of those have suffered under the lash of Mr. Buckingham's pen, it would have deserved the severest reprehension. They do me injustice who ascribe my appearance in the arena to any such motive. I have aimed at *higher objects than these*; whether I have attained them remains to be seen. I have, at least, attempted to stem a current of *licentiousness* issuing from a press boasting to be FREE, and employing its freedom *in sowing the seeds of every thing disorderly and disreputable among all ranks and denominations of Englishmen in India*, insulting public authority with an effrontery that, tolerated a little longer, cannot fail to shake it to its foundations, and in ungratefully vilifying the grace to which it owes its liberty. The Indian public may still choose to drink from the stream; but I deemed it a duty, and a service, to warn society of the poison which it draws from a contaminated source. The phenomenon of a Journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a censor is but new in India; and it was manifest that in this country such a man might prove the instrument of incalculable evil. In looking around me I beheld the evils that might be feared, actually occurring. I saw them insinuating themselves *into the very strong hold of our power*, and possibly paving the way for an event which the enemies to this power have hitherto attempted in vain. Entertaining these views, THE CONDUCTOR OF SUCH A PRESS BECAME IN MY EYES A PUBLIC ENEMY; and resting his power, *as he did*, as well on his *character* as his *principles*, HIS REPUTATION BECAME A FAIR AND A LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF ATTACK, *and its overthrow a subject of honest triumph to every lover of his country.* If, in the course of this argument, I have shaken this reputation, I must, on his principles, have necessarily weakened his arguments, and paralysed the evil influence of his doctrines. Were I called upon to combat these doctrines in themselves I should not shrink from the task, nor should I fear being able to prove, that the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, which he advocates, is inconsistent with the government under which we live, and would prove the worst of evils that could overtake us. While the press in India is in the hands of honourable men, freedom from censorship must prove a blessing; and it is due, in justice to the gentlemen connected with it, to say, that with the solitary exception of the Journalist, this blessing has not been abused. He *alone* has converted it into a curse.'*

Here, then, is the secret of all this blood-thirsty and devouring persecution. The Freedom of the Press is the monster that is hated! and a Journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a Censor, is the man that is to be denounced!! *Any* conductor of such a press, who dares do his duty to his country or mankind, is the PUBLIC ENEMY to be expelled from society! and if the good *character* he enjoys gives weight to his *principles*, his reputation is then a fair and legitimate object of *attack*, and its overthrow a subject of honest triumph to every lover of his country!!!

Never was any thing so monstrous as this ushered to the world through *any* press till now; written by the very hand that affects to oppose licentiousness, and paints the principles of the Calcutta Journal as converting a blessing into a curse! My enemies have tried every method to effect my ruin and have failed. In every contest with authority I have had reason and public sympathy on my side. In the great struggle made before the common tribunal of our country, I had the verdict of an honest jury, and the cheers of a crowded court, to grace my triumph. In my editorial contests it has been my fate to see papers sink into annihilation, and editors retire in defeat or dissatisfaction; while I have had the cordial support of thousands of my fellow-countrymen in India to sustain me in my unwearied labours.

Strong in all these points, a band of moral assassins appears, at the head of whom ranks one who avows that because my character gives weight to my principles, and because my principles cannot be shaken by any other means, it is fair, legitimate, and honourable, to attack, to overthrow and to ruin that character, and he calls on every miscreant like himself to join him in this dark and murderous purpose!

If there be yet British blood in the veins of my countrymen; if their hearts swell with British feeling; if truth, justice, honour, and high-mindedness be yet reckoned among their virtues; and if the dearest rights of British subjects have any value in their eyes, I know they will not suffer them to be trampled on. For myself, individually considered, I ask no aid, no sympathy, no support. I am strong in my innocence and integrity, and can face a host. But for that freedom of thought and speech, which alone can give dignity to man, or distinguish the free from the slave, for that cause which must be ever dear to British bosoms, for the preservation of that 'no-

* It should be stated here, that the Journalist here alluded to, Mr. Buckingham, was never once convicted of a libel, private or public; while, on the other hand, the proprietors and editor of the John Bull were convicted in the Court of Calcutta, of libels against this very Journalist, which the Judge on the bench declared to be so atrocious that they could not be even thought of without horror!

ble spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments,' I *do* implore their general co-operation, their countenance, their protection, and their support. I ask it of that noble lord, who first taught us to revere and cherish this proud spirit in an Indian clime. I ask it of those honourable councillors who stood by approving, when they heard that noble lord's eulogium on public scrutiny and an unshackled press pronounced. I ask it of those high functionaries who themselves joined in the general encouragement and applause bestowed by India, England, and even America, on the emancipation of our minds from Asiatic slavery. I ask it of that extended civil service, to whom a free press ought to be valuable, if it be well to distinguish active merit from indolent incapacity. I ask it of that proud army, whose chief was the first to set the proud example; and to whom the press that records their deeds of valour, and holds them up to the admiration of the present age as well as of posterity, ought to be, and must be dear. I ask it of every Briton who remembers the history of his country, who reveres her constitution, or who respects her laws. And above all, I ask it of every philanthropist and Christian, to whom the spread of knowledge and of virtue, the increase of morality and happiness on the earth, are dear; for to the freedom of the press these have been, and must still be, more indebted than to any other human cause.

I implore them all to watch over this talisman, by which every thing great and good may be effected; and for all the abuses of which, the law, administered by an upright judge and honest jury, provides abundant remedy. I ask them not to think of me, but of that noble cause of civil and moral liberty, which spurns the chains and shackles of the soul, and fulfils the high behest of heaven, in bidding the mind be free. It may be my fate to quit India, or to end my existence, before a few brief days are past; but whether I am spared to live, or be mingled with the dust, the cause of freedom must be dear to all who feel that they possess an immortal spirit. When that spirit is rendered up to God who gave it, it will be my pride to remember, that it never lent its aid to tyranny, to persecution, or proscription; it will be my pride to remember, that for insults and injuries I did my best to return forbearance and forgiveness; it will be my pride to remember, that I opposed the iron rod of oppression, stemmed the torrent of prejudice, and long and ardently toiled to promote the cause of public virtue and intellectual liberty. I ask only of others the fulfilment of those duties, whether public or private, which I strive zealously, and I hope successfully, to perform; and if they answer the call, the proud cause, of which I am the fervent though humble advocate, is yet safe from all the machinations of its most devoted enemies, and as long as that cause prospers I shall be happy.

Calcutta, Dec. 21, 1822. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

The publication of the foregoing Defence in India appeared to produce all the effect I could desire. I was literally inundated with congratulations from every quarter, and my triumph was considered complete: so much so, indeed, that had not legal proceedings been already commenced against the propagators of the scandalous aspersions here refuted, they would not have been thought necessary, for the redemption of my character from unjust imputations, the only object I had in view in undertaking them.

The truth is, the controversy had been maintained for several weeks, increasing every day in virulence on the side of my accusers; and it was at last marked by such false and scandalous imputations of crime, that there was no longer any virtue in forbearance. Accordingly, the writers in the Indian John Bull were invited to disclose their names and prove their assertions; or, in default of this, they were told, the publishers would be prosecuted in a court of law. They were afraid or ashamed to make themselves known, and rejected the alternative offered to them. A civil action for damages was accordingly instituted against the proprietors and editor of the John Bull, in which the letters of the pretended Friend of Bankes, and others, had appeared. The proprietors of this paper were, Mr. John Trotter, Mr. John Pascal Larkins, Mr. Richard Chichely Plowden, civil functionaries of the Bengal government; and Mr. Thomas Lewin, clerk of the crown in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The principal writers in it were known to be members of the Bengal government, and were generally understood to include Mr. John Adam, Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, Mr. Charles Lushington, Mr. Archdeacon Loring, the Reverend Mr. Hawtayne, the Reverend Doctor Bryce, Doctor Jamieson, Captain Lockett, and other distinguished persons in the pay and service of the East India Company; and its sixth editor (within little more than six months), was Mr. Charles Beckett Greenlaw, himself also the son of a clergyman, and filling the office of coroner of Calcutta; all the proprietors, writers, and editors, being thus in the public service of the Indian government and the Supreme Court.

A civil prosecution was chosen by me, in order to give my accusers the fullest opportunity of establishing their assertions by proof; and as there are no juries in civil cases in India, they would have had whatever advantage might be supposed to arise from their case being decided by a judge to whom all the proprietors of this libellous paper were well known; one of them being his own son-in-law, two others his intimate friends, and two officers of his own court. When the day of trial came, however, they confessed themselves unprovided with proofs by which to substantiate their accusations; and asked for further time, with permission to send to Syria and Egypt, to see whether proofs could not be collected there. The judge resisted the application, and said, that those who thought proper to slander the character of another ought to take care that they possessed the proofs in their hands; for otherwise no man's character would be safe; it would be sufficient to lay the scene of imputed crime in some remote quarter of the globe, to be secure of impunity. Further time was, however, granted, though not sufficient for the purpose for which it was asked; but when the day of trial again arrived, the prosecuted parties were still obliged confess that they could not to prove their assertions, and were accordingly unable to make a satisfactory defence.

The judge then proceeded to pass his decision; in doing which he confessed that the libels were so atrocious that they could not be even thought of without horror; and he accordingly awarded me damages of 1,000 rupees, with costs; expressly stating, however, that as I had professed my view in

coming before that court to be merely to redeem my character, and not to seek for large pecuniary compensation, he was precluded by such a profession from granting the heavy damages which he should otherwise have felt it his duty to adjudge.

It should be added, that it was while this action was pending; while I stood before the supreme court of justice as a plaintiff, seeking reparation for injuries inflicted on my character by the libellous publications before adverted to, that Mr. John Adam, acting as temporary governor-general of India until Lord Hastings's successor should arrive, thought proper to issue his decree, and to banish me from the country, without a trial or a hearing, on the frivolous pretence of my exciting a laugh at the appointment of the Reverend Doctor Bryce to be a clerk to the committee for supplying stationery! which there was every reason to believe was bestowed on him as a reward for his zeal in the transactions hereinbefore detailed.

It was *after* my banishment from India, therefore, that the decision of the judge was pronounced. Though Mr. Adam had done his utmost to remove me from India before this trial came on, as well as to stamp me as a person suffering under the most marked displeasure of the government, — thereby depriving me of whatever advantages might have resulted from my prolonged stay in India, and my freedom from the public disapprobation of persons in authority, which is certainly not calculated to give either a plaintiff or defendant a very strong recommendation in the eyes of any judge; — yet, the wrongs I had suffered were so flagrant, and the utter want of evidence on the part of my accusers so visible, that the judge could not do otherwise than decide in my favour; and, therefore, to the signal triumph of the most complete victory in controversy, was added the conviction of my slanderers by the sentence of a court of law.

With this I was perfectly satisfied; and, accordingly, on the intelligence of this reaching England, a civil action for damages was also commenced against Mr. William John Bankes, the writer of the libellous letter sent to India by Mr. Hobhouse; against Mr. Henry Bankes his father, the writer of the prohibitory letter to Mr. Murray; and against Mr. Murray himself, as publisher of the Quarterly Review. After various delays, on grounds unknown to me, about the month of August last, an affidavit was put in by Mr. Wm. J. Bankes, stating that he could not go to trial without the evidence of a certain Mohammed (whom he did not otherwise characterise, but who is understood to be an Albanian soldier of that name who had abjured the Christian faith and embraced the Mohammedan, changing his name accordingly, and who acted for some time as interpreter to Mr. Bankes in Syria, from his speaking Arabic, Italian, and Romaic, but understanding no other European tongue); and as he had reason to believe the said Mohammed to be in some part of Egypt or Syria, he begged the trial to be further postponed until he could send to those countries to find out, and bring over from thence, the witness in question.

It must be borne in mind that the main features of Mr. Bankes's accusations against me, were these: 1st, That I was incompetent to make notes by myself (which I am able to rebut by his own letters, acknowledging his having read my notes, and highly approving of them); and 2dly, That I copied his notes and gave them to the world as mine (which I am also able to rebut by his own letters, acknowledging that he seldom or never made any; as well as by the fact of his never having shown, during a period of three years since their publication, a single line of mine to have been copied from him). Supposing, therefore, that this Mohammed should really be found and brought over from Egypt or Syria; and supposing him to be wholly uninfluenced by a desire to shape his testimony to the wish of the person from whom he would receive his reward; there would be this insuperable obstacle: — he must be totally unable to recognize Mr. Bankes's notes, unless he thoroughly understands English; and equally unable to prove their being used in the Travels in Palestine, if they should be put into his hands, so that his being able to help Mr. Bankes in his dilemma seems utterly impossible. In short, Mr. Bankes himself has been unable, during three years of leisure, with his own notes (if they exist) and my volume both before him, to prove that I have taken a single sentence of his, and given it to the world as my own. What then can this Mohammed do in such a matter?

The judges, however, granted the prayer of Mr. Bankes, notwithstanding the objections set forth against it, and allowed him the necessary delay, to send out in search of this Mohammed, without whose evidence he admitted that he was not prepared to go to trial! This needs no comment. Time will reveal the result. The reader will draw his own conclusions as to the motive for asking, and the reason for granting, the delay obtained. That it should further the ends of justice appears to me impossible. But it may increase the expence of the proceedings, it may weary the patience of the injured party, and it may postpone the period of conviction and disgrace.

Be the issue of this question, however, what it may, the facts of the case cannot be altered; and until Mr. Bankes shall be able to annihilate or disprove the authenticity of the letters inserted in the preceding collection, and bearing his signature, he must be content to go down to posterity as a man convicted of the most glaring self-contradiction, and as one capable of calumniating an individual on such insufficient grounds, that when called on to substantiate his accusations by proof, he is obliged to send around the world in search of an obscure and ignorant Mohammedan, to assist him with his testimony on a question of alleged plagiarism, in a language of which he cannot have a competent knowledge; and which, if it had any foundation in truth could be substantiated at once, without a moment's delay, by the production of Mr. Bankes's original notes, and a comparison of them with the contents of my printed volume. This he has never yet attempted to do. Let the reader draw the unavoidable inference.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

POSTSCRIPT.

London, March 15. 1825.

The present Volume, with its Preface and Appendix, was ready for publication early in December last, and was intended to have been then issued from the press. Having been given to understand, however, that there was a slight hope of the causes against Mr. Murray and the elder and younger Messrs. Bankes coming on within a month or two at farthest, the publication was suspended, in order that no suspicion, even, might arise, as to any wish or intention on my part to influence the verdict of the jury.

When these actions were commenced, I was assured that they might be terminated in a few months; and that the whole of the costs to be incurred by me in the proceedings could not exceed a moderate sum. More than three times the period allotted has already passed away, and three times the sum named has already been expended, apparently without my being much nearer to a close of the affair than when it was first entered on. A brief sketch of the progress made, and a statement of the obstacles intervening, will explain to the reader the difficulties under which I have laboured.

The solicitor, to whom the management of these causes was confided, had been strongly recommended to me, as a person of great professional talent and knowledge; and in his hands were placed the letter of Mr. William John Bankes, sent to India by the hands of Mr. Hobhouse; the letter of his father, Mr. Henry Bankes, addressed to Mr. Murray; and the article in the Quarterly Review on the Travels in Palestine: the three principal documents on which the three several prosecutions were to be founded.

It was necessary to prove the publication of each of these, as the first step in the proceeding, without which all other measures would be useless. The publication of the Review could be proved by any purchaser of the work; and the publication of the elder Mr. Bankes's letter could be proved by Mr. Murray, to whom it was addressed, and by whom it was given up; — but the publication of the younger Mr. Bankes's letter could not apparently be proved without the evidence of Mr. Hobhouse, by whom it was sent open to India. On this point my solicitor was consulted; and, after a reference made by him to some legal authority, in whom he had confidence, he assured me there would be no difficulty in the case, as it had been legally decided that the bare possession by any one person of a libellous letter written by any other person whose hand-writing could be proved, placed on the writer of such letter the *onus* of showing how it had passed out of his own possession into that of the person on whom it was found, this being of itself an act of publication in law.

In the case of the letter in question there were also these peculiarities. It was without a seal of any kind; it contained on the top of the first page, the following words in the hand-writing of Mr. W. J. Bankes, "*Copy* of a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated from Thebes, June 12th, 1819;"— and previously to its passing out of the possession of Mr. Hobhouse, to whom it was given for the purpose of showing it to whomsoever he pleased, this gentleman had blotted out a motto of five lines in Italian, too atrocious to be repeated, and written underneath it the following words, which still remain: "I desire this motto not to be noticed, Henry William Hobhouse."

Having full confidence in the legal opinion above adverted to, and conceiving that these peculiarities might render further proof of publication unnecessary, this cause against the younger Mr. Bankes proceeded equally with the others. Circumstances arose, however, which lessened my confidence in the accuracy of those authorities on which my solicitor so strongly relied; and this, coupled with the multiplicity of errors found in the pleadings and other papers drawn up in the course of the proceedings, rendered it necessary to transfer the management and conduct of the causes to other hands, which was accordingly done. Having now discovered the error of supposing the evidence of publication in the case of the younger Mr. Bankes's letter complete, new and more active exertions were instantly applied to remedy this defect. Two of the gentlemen whose names are appended to the notarial documents given in the Appendix, being in London, were examined on

this point; but though each of them recognised the letter of the younger Mr. Bankes as the identical one produced by Mr. John Palmer at the meeting of June 16th, 1820, in Calcutta; although one of them had heard Mr. Palmer state that he received this letter from Mr. Hobhouse to give to me; and the other had heard Mr. Hobhouse declare that he received it *open* from Mr. Bankes, for the purpose of publication in any manner he might choose; yet, neither these facts, nor the existence of Mr. Hobhouse's own hand-writing on the face of the letter itself, amounted to that kind of evidence which a court of justice would admit as proof. Nothing but the testimony, on oath, of Mr. Hobhouse himself, that he received it open, for the purpose of publication, would do; and Mr. Hobhouse being in India, that evidence could not be immediately obtained.

It should here be observed that Mr. Bankes, not being aware of any deficiency in the legal evidence of the publication of his letter, had, in his justification, pleaded the truth of all that it contained, and stated his being prepared with proof. For this purpose he had (or at least pretended to have), at great expense, succeeded in finding out, and bringing over to England, the Albanian, named Mohammed, and a Portuguese, named Antonio, both servants of his, and the only witnesses he professed to need. Nay, he had even pressed the Court to make a special appointment for the trial of the action against himself, on the pretence that these two witnesses were here waiting to be called, and could not be further detained without considerable expense.

Under these circumstances, it appeared to me that there could be no difficulty in prevailing on Mr. Bankes to admit the publication of his own letter. His hand-writing was undoubted, and could be proved by others; so also could that of Mr. Hobhouse; he had already pleaded the *truth* of every part of the letter, in justification of his having written it; and he had (or pretended to have) under his own care and keeping the only witnesses he needed, to substantiate his case. Will it be believed, that after all this, when applied to, on two separate occasions, by my former as well as present solicitor, to admit the publication, and thus remove the only obstacle to our going immediately to trial,—will it be believed, that he refused to admit it? and thus shrunk from a scrutiny which he, who pretended to have written nothing more than was strictly true, should have done all in his power to seek rather than to shun. Yet so it was; and this act alone cannot fail to determine the moral merits of the question in the minds of honourable and reflecting men.

There was yet, however, one hope of a remedy remaining. As the Court of King's Bench had granted Mr. Bankes permission to send to Syria and Egypt, for the purpose of finding out and bringing over from thence the person called Mohammed, to help his master with proofs of the truth of his libellous letter (although other Courts have held, that whoever libels another should have the proofs in his own possession); and as the trial had been delayed for many months in order to give Mr. Bankes this important assistance; it was conceived that no objection could possibly be raised to my sending to India to get the deposition of Mr. Hobhouse, a step *forced* on me by Mr. Bankes's declining to admit the publication of his own letter, though he professed to be ready to prove its truth. A motion was accordingly made in the Court of King's Bench for a rule to show cause why a commission should not be granted to send for the evidence required. It was said, however, to be too late in the term to grant the rule to *show cause;* and it was added, that the rule could not be made *absolute*, without Mr. Bankes's consent. This consent not being obtained, the motion was accordingly refused.

The contrast is remarkable:—Mr. Bankes has been permitted to send to a foreign country wholly beyond our jurisdiction, to find out a man whose name was not known*, and without stating where he was to be found, or what he was to prove when he came: while I have been refused permission to send to a dependency of our own, having a British court of justice on the spot, to obtain the testimony of a gentleman, whose name, occupation, and present place of abode, are all distinctly stated and accurately known, and who would be required to depose only to one particular and specified fact — a fact which Mr. Bankes himself will not admit, though it is one which he cannot deny — notwithstanding which, he persists in refusing the admission which would render further delay unnecessary, and enable us to go at once to trial.— From this also the reader will draw his own unbiassed inference.

The consequence of all this is, that after a large expenditure of money, after infinite labour, anxiety, and sacrifice of time on my part, the action against the younger Mr. Bankes is of necessity suspended, because he is not prepared to admit the publication of his own letter, and the Court without his consent cannot grant a commission to examine Mr. Hobhouse in India; thus obstructing the progress of the trial, which, but for this obstacle, that a single word of his would remove, might be brought to an immediate conclusion. Should Mr. Hobhouse not live to return to England (which may Heaven forbid!), Mr. Bankes may escape the consequences which *his* evidence would render certain. Even should Mr. Hobhouse at some future period come home, it may not be for many years hence, when I may perhaps be in my grave, and the evidence now within reach on my behalf be scattered through the four quarters of the globe. The object which Mr. Bankes obtains by his refusal is therefore clearly enough to be seen. But which of us is most anxious to promote the ends of justice let the world decide.

* The sending from London to Syria and Egypt for a man named Mohammed, is like sending from Cairo to England and Ireland for a man named John,—except that there are more Mohammeds in Turkey than Johns in all the world.

Respecting the other two causes, against the elder Mr. Bankes and Mr. Murray, there is nothing yet to complain of, beyond the ordinary evils of expence, vexation, and delay; evils which are inseparable from our system of law, and which all who seek redress through its means must be prepared to suffer. We had advanced to the very eve of trial in both these cases, which were set down for hearing in the sittings ending on the 5th of March: but these have terminated without either of them being called on; and those who are competent to judge of probabilities in such cases, assure me that they may even stand over until next December.

I have thus remained for three years under the stigma affixed to my character by the Quarterly Review, as an ignorant, pilfering, and fraudulent pretender. I have shown my deference to public opinion, by publishing my defence as soon as I could in India; and I have evinced my respect for the laws, by appealing to them for protection as soon as I set my foot on the soil of England. Nearly two years have passed away, and legal redress appears to be as remote as ever. Thousands who have read the slanderous article in the Quarterly Review have never yet seen any contradiction of its aspersions, or any defence against its calumnies, from under my hand, although it is publicly known that I have been in England so long. I cannot, however, consent to remain silent for another year, under imputations from which my mind revolts with horror: and as I have hitherto failed in my attempts to obtain justice, from the refusal of my chief accuser, Mr. W. J. Bankes, to remove the only obstacle which now exists to our going together before a jury of our countrymen, I feel myself justified in laying at once before the world the story of my wrongs, and asking their impartial judgment on the facts laid before them.

I am not ignorant of the disadvantages against which I may have to contend hereafter, in consequence of this determination: but I am prepared to hazard something, rather than remain longer silent under calumnies that are utterly without foundation. In the pending proceedings, let them come on when they may, Mr. Murray will have the younger Mr. Bankes to place in the witness box, to support by his oath the truth of the article (probably written by himself) in the Quarterly Review: the elder Mr. Bankes will also have the testimony on oath of his son to support the allegations contained in his letter to Mr. Murray; whilst I cannot be heard at all, either in refutation or reply. To these disadvantages will perhaps be added the topic of my having taken into my own hands a defence that I should have left to the slow but certain operation of the law*, whose decision I may never live to see. But a moral triumph is equally the object of my desire; of this the world can judge from the materials now laid before them; and this I feel confident that I shall obtain.

If Mr. Bankes should follow my example, and defend himself through the press, by writing a volume in his own proper name, and not by concocting his secret malice with the spleen and ill will of others, in an anonymous article in a newspaper or a review, I shall be ready to meet him on that fair and open ground. If he should prefer the prosecution, by civil process, of the publishers of this work and its appendix, I will then come as readily into the witness box to support them, and defend what I have written in my own name, as he will do to support Mr. Murray, and defend what he himself has written without a name. My statement will then be heard in Court, as well as his own: and I shall be prepared to undergo the cross-examination to which he will be subject, with as little fear of the consequences as himself. Let him take his choice of the remedies proposed; and the issue will determine which of us is most worthy of belief.

To conclude, I place before my countrymen the present portion of my labours, in the same humble hope of approbation which first led me to appeal to their judgment, on the portion already in their possession. With the favourable reception of that, in all quarters save one, I was abundantly satisfied. May this be deemed equally worthy of me to offer, and of them to receive!

Cornwall Terrace,
Regent's Park.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

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* On the very day on which the trials were to have come on in the King's Bench, March 5. 1825,) Mr. Scarlett opened a case, and began by stating it to have been already before the public upwards of twenty years!



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THE END.

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